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A

HISTORY OF ROME,

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE DEATH OF COMMODUS, A.D. 192.

BY

DR. LEONHARD SCHMITZ, F.R.S.E.

RECTOR OF THE HIGH SCHOOL OF EDINBURGH.

FOURTH EDITION.

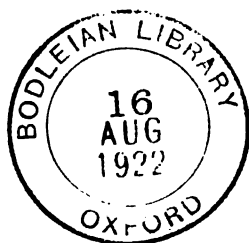
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PREFACE.

It is a fact which cannot but be surprising to every one who has at all considered the subject, that notwithstanding the extraordinary efforts which have within the last thirty or forty years been made by great men of all countries in investigating the History of Rome—her Constitution. Laws, Religion, Literature and social condition;—and notwithstanding the important results of those labours, which have not only changed the aspect of the early History of Rome, but have also given a different tone and colour to the latter history of that extraordinary nation,—the books on Roman History which are used in our schools are still, to a great extent, what they were half a century ago. Old errors and misconceptions, which have long since been exposed and exploded by scholars, are daily repeated and impressed upon the mind and memory of the rising generation; and the student is left to discover these errors at a maturer age, when it is not always an easy matter to get rid of them. But why, it may be asked, should boys continue to learn that which has again and again been proved to be false or incorrect, and which they afterwards have to unlearn? The teacher has so much to do in storing the minds of his pupils with knowledge, and in training their mental powers to independent activity, that it is worse than waste of time to teach that which is false or unsound, and

which in the progress of their studies must prove an obstacle rather than an assistance.

So long as any science, of whatever kind it may be, is yet in its infancy, and so long as no great and positive results have been gained in it, the subject is not a fit one for educational purposes : that only which is well known and firmly established affords a safe foundation upon which the mental training of a youth can be based ; from this he may afterwards extend his studies in whatever direction he pleases. What is here said of a *science in general*, holds good also of *uncertain or disputed points* in any science of which use is made in education. But if great and important discoveries have been made in any subject which does form part of a liberal education, certainly no teacher who is in earnest about the intellectual advancement of those entrusted to his care should treat with indifference or disregard the new light thus obtained. But this, unfortunately, is the case with Roman History : it is taught more or less in all schools, but in the majority of cases without the least regard to the immense progress that has been made in it since the year 1811, when Niebuhr published the first edition of the first volume of his great work.

The object which the author of the present undertaking has had in view, was to produce a book which should place the History of Rome before the young student in a manner worthy of, and consistent with, the actual state of this branch of our historical knowledge. Whether he has been successful in his attempt, others must judge. It should, however, be borne in mind, that to condense and select out of an immense mass of detail that which is really necessary to give a vivid picture of any period in history, is often far more difficult than to give a minute narrative of all the particulars recorded in the authorities. In conformity with the principle above laid down, he has stated as facts those points which are now acknowledged

by all competent judges to be facts, though in older books they are either not mentioned at all or are placed in a wrong light. Among them he may mention the nature of the plebeians, with their relation to the patricians, which renders the history of the long-protracted struggle between the two orders so instructive and interesting; and the character of the *ager publicus* and the agrarian laws: the statements made in this work upon these subjects are no longer the opinions of this or that scholar, but facts established as firmly as any others in history. Those points, on the other hand, which are still matters of uncertainty or dispute, have when necessary been stated as such, or passed over altogether, in order not to confuse the learner. References to ancient authorities have been given only where they seemed to be of particular interest; and on the whole the author has been sparing of them, partly to avoid increasing the bulk of the work, which even as it is has grown larger than he anticipated, and partly because he knows from experience that they are of little use to young students, the majority of whom do not possess all the ancient writers, and if they did, would not be able to consult them with advantage.

The author need hardly remark, that he has availed himself of all the more important works on Roman History, or those portions of it, which have appeared since the time when Niebuhr gave a fresh life and new impulse to the subject; and wherever the opinions of Niebuhr have been confirmed by subsequent investigations, he has not scrupled to adopt them, and even to use the very words, when they seemed to him to convey in the most appropriate manner what he had to state: those words, when he had the happiness of being among the pupils of that distinguished man, made in many instances so deep an impression upon his then youthful mind, that it would be at once difficult and painful to him to express his sentiments

in any other terms. But, notwithstanding this veneration for his instructor, he has endeavoured to exercise his own judgment, as will be perceived by those who are acquainted with the views of Niebuhr.

When the author entered upon this undertaking, he intended to carry the History of Rome down to the year A.D. 476, that is, to the overthrow of the Western Empire ; but during the execution he found that, in order to get the whole within reasonable compass, he should have to curtail considerably the history of those periods which are of most importance to young scholars : to make this sacrifice for the purpose of being able to relate the history of a period which offers little to instruct and less to interest a young mind, and nothing calculated to ennoble the feelings, seemed to him to be opposed to the objects for which the book was intended. He has therefore carried the History of the Empire no further than the death of Commodus, at which period the moral degradation of the Empire reached its lowest point ; and he must refer those who wish to prosecute the study onward, to the master-work of Gibbon, or to the brief but graphic sketches in Niebuhr's Lectures on Roman History. In conclusion, he ventures to express a hope, that the present work, though mainly designed for schools and colleges, may be found a not unwelcome gift to the more intelligent among general readers.

L SCHMITZ

EDINBURGH,
March, 1847.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE HISTORY OF ROME—ITALY AND
ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS.

EVERY nation owes the position it occupies in the history of the world, partly to its innate genius, and partly to the circumstances under the influence of which it has grown and developed its character. In the history of Rome both these things combined to make her the mistress of the world; and it often happened that when circumstances had reduced her to the last extremities, her peculiar genius rose with fresh vigour and energy, and ultimately secured the victory. From the moment of her foundation, Rome had to maintain her existence by force of arms; like a young giantess, she crushed, one after another, every one of her neighbours that came in contact with her, until, towards the end of the fifth century after her birth, she had subdued all the tribes of Italy, and acquired the sovereignty of the whole peninsula. What, in her youth, the giantess had been obliged to do in self-defence, and what had been a struggle for her own existence, became in the end her favourite pursuit; one war ever gave rise to fresh wars; she hastened from victory to victory, and from conquest to conquest, till about the beginning of the Christian era she dictated her laws to nearly the whole of

the known world. A most wonderful system of polity, such as in ancient times was devised only by the genius of the Romans, and as is seen in modern times nowhere but in the vast empire of Britain, kept together the heterogeneous masses of nations and countries, that were brought under one rule: one mighty spirit pervaded the whole system of government and administration, and gave to the empire its life and its power. But what had been built up by the virtues of the earlier Romans, was lost or destroyed by the vices of their degenerate descendants, and, after Rome had enjoyed her triumphant existence for nearly a thousand years, the ancient spirit gradually died away; the lifeless mass of the empire sank into decay and dissolution, and the whole became the prey of barbarians, who invaded it on all sides, and raised new kingdoms and states upon its ruins. But the spirit of dominion which had been developed at Rome, though now unable to maintain itself by the power of the sword, was not extinct, but after the fall of the Roman empire, showed itself in a different form: Rome assumed the spiritual and ecclesiastical supremacy, and for a period of more than a thousand years ruled over the whole of the Christian world as its spiritual sovereign. At the time of the Reformation, this power was again broken, and broken by the descendants of those same barbarians who, a thousand years before, had brought about the overthrow of the Roman empire. Only a shadow and a faint echo still exist, to tell the tale of the former greatness of the eternal city.

The history of Rome forms the transition from ancient to modern times, and it is mainly owing to this intermediate position of Rome between the two that we are indebted for our knowledge of the ancient world and its history. This is a point which we ought not to forget, when at times we hear of the immense ravages and devastations which marked the conquests of the Romans in various countries. Innumerable treasures of Greek art and literature would have been lost and forgotten, but for the intervention of Rome, where a certain spark of the spirit of antiquity was glimmering, throughout the middle ages, beneath

the overwhelming heaps of its ruins ; until, about the middle of the 15th century, at the time of the revival of letters, it burst forth into a blazing flame which soon spread light and warmth over the whole of civilised Europe.

But more important than all this is the fact, that our modern civilisation is only a further development of that of the Romans, and is essentially based upon it ; for the history of all the nations of antiquity ends in that of Rome, and that of all modern nations has grown out of that of Rome. The languages of Italy and its surrounding islands, of Spain, Portugal, France, and to some extent of England also, are to this very day so many proofs of the power and influence of the Romans in those countries. These languages are only dialects formed from the Latin, and modified by time and a variety of circumstances : so that whoever wishes to acquire a thorough knowledge of them will find the key to it in a proper understanding of the Latin. Most of the towns in the southern and middle parts of Europe were founded by the Romans, and owe their origin to their wonderful system of colonisation. In this respect, again, there is no modern nation which presents such striking resemblances to Rome as England, whose spirit and system of colonisation is not equalled by any other European nation. The barbarians, who destroyed the Roman empire towards the end of the fifth century of our era, were themselves subdued by the spirit of Rome, which still continued to live in her institutions and her language ; and thus it came to pass, that, although Rome's political and military power was broken, yet the spirit of her institutions and language exercised its influence upon the victorious barbarians, and so became the groundwork of a new European civilisation. Proofs of this readily present themselves to an attentive observer in all the countries of Europe, from its southernmost point to the Baltic and the extreme north of Scotland. But it was, above all things, the Roman law, the most genuine and perfect production of the Roman mind, that retained its influence almost unimpaired. No nation of antiquity had shown such wisdom

in its legislation, or brought its code of laws to such a state of perfection and internal consistency as the Roman; nay, there is, perhaps, not one among modern nations which can in this respect be compared with it. This legacy of the Roman mind, therefore, retained its ascendancy down to the latest times, among the nations which conquered Rome. In England, the Roman law, it is true, never struck such firm root as in some other countries, especially in Germany, where a shadow of the Roman emperors continued to exist down to the beginning of the present century; but, even in our English law, the traces of Roman influence are greater and more numerous than people are inclined to think; and, it is not too much to say, that a considerable portion of Roman law is still in force among us. In like manner it may be asserted that the Latin language, properly speaking, was never reduced to the state of a perfectly dead language, in the sense in which the ancient Etruscan and many others became so. For although, after the fall of the western empire, the language of the people, by mixture with the languages of the barbarians, was gradually transformed into the Italian, Spanish, and French, yet the Latin language continued to be written in all parts of Europe down to the middle of the last century; and throughout the middle ages all works of a philosophical or scientific nature were written in Latin. In the church of Rome, Latin is the ordinary language to this day. Until the last century, Latin was thus the common language of all scholars, philosophers, and men of science in every part of Europe. The practice of writing in Latin works belonging to the higher species of literature has, indeed, ceased in our days; but whether science is really benefited by the innovation or not, is still a doubtful question.

A nation which has exercised such an influence upon the fate of its contemporaries, and upon posterity, has a claim to the most careful consideration of every thinking man; and all that can be said of the importance of history in general holds good in a much higher degree of that of Rome. As there is no modern

nation whose history presents so many points of resemblance and comparison with that of Rome as the English, so the history of Rome deserves the greatest attention from every Englishman, who has here an opportunity of seeing the history of his own country foreshadowed, as it were, in a mirror. There is a class of persons who look at all historical studies, and more especially at the study of antiquity, with disregard, if not with contempt, and at best treat it only as a matter of curiosity. Such a mode of thinking however is only the fruit of ignorance, which generally depreciates that which lies beyond its comprehension; and, surely, no one ought to listen to the advice of persons who talk about things of which they are ignorant. That school of modern philosophy, moreover, which would fain turn our eyes from the past, and persuade us to contemplate only the present and the future, is of the shallowest kind: it removes from under our feet the firm ground on which we stand, and shows as much wisdom as it would if it taught us to believe that men were made for flying instead of walking. He who wishes to comprehend the present, and divine the future, must take his lessons from the past; for it is there that he finds the roots of the present, and the germs of the future.

Italy is a peninsula stretching into the Mediterranean, in a south-easterly direction, from the foot of the Alps to the straits of Sicily. The length from north-west to south-east is about 750 miles: its breadth, in the central parts, about 150 miles. In the north, where its breadth is greatest, it is protected by the Alps from the north winds. A range of mountains issuing from the western Alps, and running along the coast of Genoa, traverses Italy from north to south, and, forming as it were the spine of the peninsula, sends out its ramifications and rivers to the west and to the east, thus creating the most beautiful valleys and fertile plains. This range of mountains bears the name of the Apennines (*Apenninus mons*): in the south it seems to have been originally connected with the mountains of Sicily, from which it was torn asunder by the formation of the straits of Sicily. The

two halves, into which Italy is divided by the Apennines, are countries of a totally different nature: the part east of the Apennines is a country of secondary, or still more frequently, of tertiary formation, and of exactly the same character as Illyricum on the opposite side of the Adriatic; the western part, on the other hand, is mostly of a volcanic nature, similar to the islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica: so that the Apennines rise between two large valleys, the deepest parts of which are filled on the one side by the Adriatic, and on the other by the Tyrrhenian sea. The northern part of Italy, between the Alps, the Apennines, and the Adriatic, forms an extensive plain (the plain of Lombardy) intersected by the river Po, and its numerous tributaries; while the whole of Italy, south of this large plain, is a more or less mountainous country, including the richest and most fertile plains and valleys, with hilly districts of the most beautiful and picturesque character. The whole peninsula enjoys, generally speaking, a clear, bright, and transparent atmosphere, and is endowed by nature with the greatest advantages and facilities for both agriculture and commerce. No wonder, therefore, that Italy in ancient times was one of the most populous and best-cultivated countries: the number of its towns is said to have amounted at one time to 1197.¹

The name Italy (*Italia*) was originally confined to the southernmost part of what was afterwards called Bruttium, and was believed to have been derived from the numerous and fine oxen (*vituli*, *ἰταλοί*.) which that district produced:² it was afterwards extended to the country south of the river Laos, in the west, and of Metapontum in the east; Tarentum being beyond the limits of Italy, and belonging to Iapygia.³ At a still later period, when

¹ *Ælian. Var. Hist.* ix. 16.

² Varro, *De Re Rust.* ii. 5: *Graecia enim antiqua (ut scribit Timaeus) tauros vocabant ἰταλούς a quorum multitudine et pulchritudine et foetu vitulorum Italiam dixerunt.* Comp. Varro in Gellius, xi. 1; Festus, s. v.

Italia, p. 106, ed. Müller. Niebuhr, however, has shown that *Italia* is nothing else but the country of the Itali.

³ Strabo, vi. p. 254; Thucyd. vii. 33; Comp. Dionysius, i. 12; and Plin. *H. N.* xviii. 12.

the Greek colonies in the south of the peninsula formed an alliance among themselves for the purpose of mutual protection against Dionysius of Syracuse on the one hand, and the Lucanians and Bruttians on the other, the name *Italia* comprehended the whole country south of a line drawn from Posidonia (Paestum) to Tarentum.⁴ After the war with Pyrrhus, B.C. 278, when the Romans had become masters of all the southern part of Italy, the name *Italia* comprised the whole peninsula south of the river Tiber, and included a portion of Picenum. Lastly, about the time of Polybius, the name was used in its widest extent, embracing the country from the rivers Macra and Rubicon to the straits of Sicily; so that Etruria and Umbria were regarded as countries in Italy. The country from the foot of the Alps down to the rivers Macra and Rubicon was called Cisalpine Gaul (*Gallia Cisalpina*), being inhabited by a number of Gallic tribes. There are many other names used by poets as designations of the peninsula: they are derived either from the inhabitants of particular districts, or are connected with and explained by certain Greek legends: names of this kind are Hesperia, Opica, Ausonia, Oenotria, Camesene, Argessa, Saturnia.

The greater part of Italy was inhabited, in the earliest times, by *Pelasgians*, belonging to the same stock as the original inhabitants of Greece. The Siculians about the lower part of the Tiber, the Tyrrhenians in Etruria, the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Reate (also called Casci, Prisci, and Sacranî), the Chones and Oenotrians in the west, and the Peucetians in the east of southern Italy, appear to have been branches of the widely-spread race of the Pelasgians. A second great tribe, which inhabited the north of Italy, were the *Umbrians*, who are called the most ancient inhabitants of the country.⁵ Their territory seems originally to have been very extensive, and it is not improbable that they may have belonged to the same stock as the ancient Siculians; but for us the Umbrians are a great forgotten people, whose name alone survives. The country in

⁴ Dionys. i. 73.

⁵ Plin. *H. N.* iii. 19.

the north-west of Italy was inhabited by the *Ligurians*, who appear to have occupied, in early times, a much larger tract of country than they did afterwards : unfortunately, however, their history is unknown, till the time when we find their nation in a state of decay and dissolution. The country between the Tiber and the lower sea, and as far north as the Raetian Alps, was inhabited by the *Etruscans*, or, as they called themselves, *Rasena*. They seem to have invaded Italy from the north, and to have subdued the Pelasgian Tyrrhenians and occupied their country. The Umbrians also lost a considerable portion of their territory by the conquest of the Etruscans ; tradition related that the Etruscans conquered three hundred Umbrian towns ;⁶ nay, the Etruscans are said to have carried their conquests even as far as Campania ; and Velleius Paterculus⁷ states that the towns of Nola and Capua were founded by Etruscans about forty-seven years before the building of Rome. There can be no doubt that the Etruscans were a mighty nation : although their history is involved in the greatest obscurity, it is manifest that they possessed a high degree of civilisation ; and that arts and sciences flourished among them long before the foundation of Rome, which derived many of its religious and political forms from them. The country about Amiternum, in the Apennines, was inhabited by the *Sabines*, who formed the stock to which belonged the Marsians, Pelignians, Samnites, and Lucanians. These tribes, which are now usually called by the generic name of Sabellians, produced a complete revolution in central and southern Italy, of which we shall speak hereafter. The Vestinians, Marrucinians, and Frentanians, were, in all probability, of the Sabellian race. The *Oscans* or *Opicans* dwelt in the country to the south-west of the Sabellians, from the Tiber to the river Laos. The Ausonians or Auruncans formed a distinct branch of this race ; to which the smaller tribes of the Volscians, Sidicines, Saticuli, and Aequi, likewise belonged. The Oscan language was spoken throughout the south-western part of Italy, and

⁶ Plin. l. c.

⁷ l. 7.

was understood even at Rome, where Oscan plays were performed and understood down to a comparatively late period. The peninsula forming the south-west of Italy was inhabited by the Oenotrians; and the districts to the north and east of the Oenotrians were occupied by the Daunians, Chones, Peucetii, and Sallentines or Messapians. We must add the observation, that the whole of southern Italy, from the river Silarus in the west and the Frento in the east, was afterwards called Magna Graecia, on account of the establishment there of numerous Greek colonies, which formed the connecting link between the civilisation, arts, and literature of the Italians and those of Greece.

CHAPTER I.

LATIUM AND ITS EARLIEST INHABITANTS AND TRADITIONS—ARNEAS AND
THE TROJANS—ALBA LONGA—THE LATIN CONFEDERACY.

LATIUM, which Aristotle¹ describes as a district of Opica, anciently extended from the mouth of the Tiber in the north to Cape Circeii in the south, and was subsequently distinguished as such by the name of *Latium vetus* or *antiquum*.² At a later time the name of Latium was extended as far south as the mouth of the river Liris, and inland as far as the country of the Marsians and Pelignians; and this additional country was distinguished from ancient Latium by the name of *Latium novum* or *adjectum*.

According to Aristotle, who, as above mentioned, calls Latium a district in Opica, its inhabitants would have been the Oscans or Opicans: but, according to the traditions of the Romans themselves, which are collected and minutely discussed in Dionysius, Latium was inhabited, in the earliest times, by Siculi, a Pelasgian tribe, whom tradition traced to some mythical king Latinus. These Siculi were connected with the Itali in the extreme south of Italy. The district north-east of Latium, in the neighbourhood of Reate and Carseoli, was inhabited by the Aborigines, a kindred tribe of the Siculi. These Aborigines were driven from their seats, and urged forward to the river Anio, by the Sabines.³ The Siculians of Latium were obliged to give way before the Aborigines,⁴ and a portion of them is said

¹ *Polit.* vii. 10.

² Plin. *H.N.* iii. 9; Strabo, v. p. 231.

³ Dionys. ii. 49.

⁴ Some writers call the conquerors of the Siculians, Opicans, Umbrians,

or Pelasgians; but the fact is, that both Umbrians and Opicans were in all probability Pelasgian nations, like the Aborigines.

to have emigrated to Sicily, which derived its name from them. The ancient name of the Aborigines was *Casci*, *Prisci*, or *Sacraui*;⁵ and, uniting with those Sicilians who remained behind in Latium, they gradually formed the people of the *Prisci Latini*, that is, *Prisci et Latini*, or simply *Latini*. The emigration of the Sicilians to Sicily was placed by some ancient historians about the year B.C. 1264,⁶ but by Thucydides⁷ at a considerably later period, viz., about three hundred years previous to the first Greek settlements in Sicily, that is, about B.C. 1035. But these chronological statements cannot be considered as of any historical value.

The Aborigines are described by the poets and historians of later ages as a savage nation, without laws and civilised manners, and living on the produce of the chase; but this description seems to be no more than a sort of philosophical notion, which persons of a civilised age are always apt to form of the earliest periods of their history; we know that the Aborigines were an agricultural people, and lived in villages and towns, of which Varro, in his *Origines*, had given a list, and some of which continued to be inhabited in the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, such as Palatium on the Quintian road. Most of these towns, however, lay then in ruins.⁸ The population of Latium was thus a mixed one; consisting, on the one hand, of Sicilians, Aborigines, and Oscans, all of whom belonged to the Pelasgian race; and on the other, of Sabellians (Sabines). This fact is not only stated in the ancient traditions, but is manifest from the language spoken in Latium (the Latin language, or the language of the Latins), for we can still distinguish the two elements; one is of a Pelasgian character, and constitutes the great affinity between the Latin and Greek languages; the other element, which is utterly foreign to the Greek, is of Sabellian origin. From these

⁵ Saufeius in Servius *ad Virg. Aen.*
i. 6; comp. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*,
i. note 47.

⁶ See Hellenicus and Philistus ap.

Dionys i. 22.

⁷ VI. 2.

⁸ Varro in Dionys. l. 14.

elements, so far as they are discernible, we may form some idea of the character of the two nations. Most Latin words relating to agriculture and a more civilised state of society, are the same in Latin and Greek; but others, which are of Sabellian origin, are chiefly words relating to war and the chase.⁹ The Aborigines are said to have worshipped Janus, as the founder of a better mode of life: Saturn was believed to have taught them husbandry, and accustomed them to live in fixed habitations. Janus, or Dianus, was the god of the sun: Saturn and his wife Ops were, in all probability, the god and goddess of the earth; that is, personifications of its vivifying and productive powers. Late accounts describe Saturn as a king who, after being expelled from his own dominions, came to Italy by sea, and was hospitably received by Janus. The story of Hercules arriving in Latium, and of his adventure there with the fire-breathing giant Cacus,¹⁰ has been considered by some writers as suggesting an immigration into Latium from the east; and it is asserted that Cacus, who was slain by Hercules, is identical with the Cretan Talus, or even the Phœnician Moloch: but this opinion is more than doubtful: and if any inference at all is to be drawn from the wanderings of Hercules through Italy, it is that the Pelasgians and their civilisation spread throughout the western parts of Italy and in Liguria. The same idea is implied in the tradition that Evander, the Arcadian, came into Italy with a train of followers; but this story, although ancient, and of native origin, seems to be based only on an etymological speculation, and to be a mere fiction. We mentioned above, that the ancient Pelasgian town of Palatium, which was situated on a hill near the Tiber, about twenty stadia from Reate, was still inhabited in the time of Augustus. The name of this town naturally

⁹ It should however be observed that both sets of words occur in the Sanscrit, a circumstance which shows that the Sabines also belonged to the same great family of nations to which

the Pelasgians belonged, and accordingly that all the elements of the Latin language are of a kindred nature.

¹⁰ Dionys. i. 39; Liv. i. 7.

reminding the Greeks of the Arcadian town of Pallantium, some ancient connection between the two places was devised by the imagination in the shape of a genealogy, which could be done the more easily, as Pelasgian and Arcadian are convertible terms with the Greek genealogists. Evander, accordingly, was said to have come from Arcadia, to have landed in Italy near the Tiber, and to have introduced there a knowledge of the arts and ways of civilised life. During his reign Hercules arrived in his kingdom, was hospitably received, and obtained Evander's daughter Launa (Lavinia) in marriage. By her he became the father of Pallas, and from this Pallas the hill and town of Palatium were made to receive their name. Evander himself appears to be only another form of Latinus, for the legends of the two bear a strong resemblance to each other. But tradition separates them by two generations, making Picus and Faunus the successors of Evander, before Latinus became king of the Aborigines. In the reign of the latter, Aeneas is said to have landed in Italy with his Trojans.

The tradition of the Trojan colony in Latium is the more important, as it stands in direct connection with the stories about the foundation of Rome. It should not indeed be regarded in any other light than as a fiction; but it cannot be passed over unnoticed, forming as it does the direct road to the earliest part of Roman story. It would be a hopeless undertaking to seek for any direct or circumstantial evidence to prove the tradition to be either historical or fabulous; and in the absence of all evidence, considering also the time of the reputed immigration of the Trojans—the destruction of Troy is commonly dated about 430 years previous to the building of Rome—no one imbued with the spirit of historical criticism can for a moment allow the tradition about the Trojan colony to have any historical weight. If indeed that colony were described as numerous, and as one that could by any possibility have influenced the people among whom it settled, we might expect to discover some trace by which to establish its truth; but giving the greatest

latitude to the tradition, the Trojan immigrants were only a small band, for whom the fields of a single village would have been sufficient, and they cannot possibly have changed or modified the character and manners of their neighbours. The only questions therefore that we can endeavour to answer here, are, whether the tradition arose in Italy, or was introduced there by the Greeks? and what was its probable origin? The story itself runs thus. After long wanderings, Aeneas and his Trojans arrived in Latium, and as signs seemed to point to that country as the place where their sufferings were to end, they took possession of a part of it. When king Latinus received the tidings of the arrival of the strangers, and of their attempt to settle in his dominions, he marched out with an army to expel them; but as he was engaged in a war against Turnus, king of the Rutuli, he concluded an alliance with the Trojans, and gave them a tract of land. With their assistance, he then conquered the Rutuli. Aeneas married Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, and called his colony, after her, Lavinium. Another war with the Rutuli soon broke out, and when Latinus fell in it, Aeneas thenceforth ruled over the Aborigines and Trojans, to both of whom he gave the joint name of Latins. The Rutuli now strengthened themselves by an alliance with the Etruscan Mezentius. The Latins were victorious in the ensuing struggle, but Aeneas was slain in battle, and as his body could not be found, he was believed to have ascended into heaven, and was worshipped by the people under the name of *Jupiter Indiges*.¹¹

This is the story of Aeneas and his Trojan colony, as related by Livy and Dionysius: it was also adopted by Virgil, though with poetical license he has extended and embellished it with a variety of incidents. The earliest writers on the Trojan war, and on the subsequent fate of its heroes, do not appear to have known anything about a Trojan colony in Latium: Cephalon of Gergethes who probably lived about 350 years after the building of

¹¹ Liv. i. 2; Dionys. i. 55.

Rome, seems to have been the first to introduce Aeneas into Latium: but while the common story represents Ascanius as the son and successor of Aeneas, and assumes an interval of many generations between Aeneas and the foundation of Rome, Cephallon called one of the sons of Aeneas, Romus, and stated that this Romus in conjunction with his followers built the city of Rome.¹² From that time forward the story gained more and more ground among the Greeks; and at the period when Pyrrhus waged war against Rome, which then for the first time attracted the attention of the eastern world, the belief in its being a Trojan colony appears to have been generally entertained by the Greeks.¹³ Another tradition, which is evidently much older, since it is alluded to even by Hesiod,¹⁴ represents Latium as having received a colony consisting of the Greeks, who, on their return from Troy, were thrown on its coasts; just as other places in Italy were believed to have been founded by Greeks returning from the Trojan war. But this tradition never became popular; and the one universally adopted by the Romans, in later times, was that of which an outline is given above. Now it can scarcely be conceived that a traditional story like this, so firmly established, and so universally believed by a proud nation like the Romans, who looked with contempt upon everything foreign, should have been imported from abroad. It appears that it was current among the Romans previously to the time when they are known to have been generally acquainted with Greek literature, for allusion is made to it in an account of an occurrence belonging to about B.C. 240,¹⁵ and afterwards it is very frequently mentioned. The poet Naevius, who lived in the time of the first Punic war, related the story of Aeneas and his arrival in Italy, at full length. Considering all these circumstances, it seems highly probable that the tradition was not introduced into Italy by the Greeks, but that it was of native origin. It is in itself without the

¹² Dionys. i. 49, 72.¹³ Pausanias, i. 12; Dionys. i. 67.¹⁴ *Theogon.* 1011, &c.¹⁵ Justin, xxviii. 1; Sueton. *Claud.* 25.

slightest historical truth or importance, as we shall endeavour to show by stating what we conceive, probably, gave rise to it.

It may be observed in general, that the accounts of the early migrations of nations frequently indicate neither more nor less than that there existed a national affinity between the reputed immigrants and those among whom they are said to have settled; and this appears to have been the case in the present instance. The Trojans belonged to the Pelasgians; so also did the Arcadians (from whom Evander was believed to have come to Italy) and the Epirots on the one hand, and a great part of the inhabitants of Italy, such as the Oenotrians, Aborigines, and Tyrrhenians, on the other; and it was probably this national affinity, between nations of the east and of Italy, that gave rise to the stories about the coming of the Trojans into Latium, and about the migration of the Tyrrhenians to the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and the countries about the Hellespont. The worship of the Penates at Lavinium was believed to be the same as that of the gods of Samothrace; and such a belief might easily give rise to a legend respecting the introduction of the Penates from the east into Italy.¹⁶ The Samothracians themselves were regarded as kinsmen of the Romans.¹⁷ Now, Samothrace was the centre of the ancient Pelasgian religion; and as Pelasgians met there, for religious purposes, from all parts of the world, it may readily be imagined that there they awakened and strengthened in one another the belief of their kindred through a common ancestor, Aeneas.

When the elements of the story had once taken root, it was, like all other legends of the kind, further developed and propagated by oral tradition and poetry; but it was looked upon in the main as an indubitable historical fact, notwithstanding the most palpable inconsistencies, and although it might be at variance with the best authenticated events. Among the discrepancies in the various accounts we may mention the following.

¹⁶ *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* ii. 717.

¹⁷ *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* iii. 12.

According to the ordinary calculations, Troy was taken and destroyed in B.C. 1184, and Aeneas must, consequently, have reached Italy a few years later; but Virgil, probably after the example of Naevius and Timaeus, described the arrival of Aeneas in Italy as contemporaneous with the founding of Carthage by the Phœnician princess Dido or Elissa, about B.C. 814.¹⁸

But to return to the story about Aeneas and his descendants: the common tradition is, that he was succeeded in the government by his son Ascanius, or, as the Romans called him, Iulus,¹⁹ who, thirty years after the foundation of Lavinium, is said to have led its inhabitants away, and to have founded the town of Alba Longa, along the slope of the Alban Mount. But besides this, there existed at Lavinium another tradition, which inverts the order of things by stating that Lavinium was an Alban colony, founded by 600 Alban families.²⁰ A reconciliation between the two is attempted, in the story that the Penates, who had been carried from Lavinium to Alba, refused to dwell in the latter place; and that the Alban king, having at last consented to restore them to the deserted Lavinium, sent with them 600 Alban families. But the story about the foundation of Alba Longa must stand or fall with the legend of the Trojan colony. This much we can see clearly, that Lavinium²¹ was the seat of congress for the Latins; it was the sacred abode of their gods, and stood in the same relation to Latium as Panionium stood to the Ionian towns in Asia Minor. From the position which, in the legends, Alba Longa occupies among the communities of Latium, it seems clear that it must have existed at an earlier period than that which is implied in the tradition of its being a colony of Lavinium.

¹⁸ The year of the foundation of Carthage is not the same in all accounts. According to Velleius Paterculus (i. 6) that city was built in A.C. 819; according to Justin (xviii. 6) in A.C. 826; according to Syncellus in A.C. 861; and according to Appian

(*De Reb. Pun.* 1) even fifty years previous to the fall of Troy.

¹⁹ To him the Roman gens of the Julii traced its origin.

²⁰ Dionys. i. 67.

²¹ The name of Lavinium is evidently the same as Latium.

The successors of Ascanius now reigned at Alba for a period of upwards of three centuries ; but the list of the kings, as given by Livy and Dionysius,²² have evidently been made up in later times for the purpose of filling up the long interval between Aeneas and the founders of Rome : some of the names are not even Italian, others are repetitions out of earlier or later times, and some are formed from geographical names.

All the inhabitants of Latium were comprised in two distinct unions or confederacies, which conjointly bore the name of the Latins. We are forced to make this distinction in order to understand the contradictory accounts of our authorities, for the Latins, or, as they are called, the *Prisci Latini*, are commonly said to have inhabited thirty townships, which are called colonies of Alba, founded in the reign of Latinus Silvius ; but, in the first place, many of the towns which must have belonged to these thirty, such as Laurentum, Ardea, and Tibur, were older than Alba ; and, secondly, Pliny²³ clearly distinguishes between the Latin towns, of which he enumerates upwards of twenty, and the *populi Albenses*, who inhabited Alba Longa, and thirty other townships or villages. Hence we must infer that only these *populi Albenses*, and not the other more important towns, were the colonies said to have been founded by Alba ; and that the *populi Albenses* were in the same or a similar relation to Alba as the Attic demes were to Athens : "they formed," as Niebuhr expresses it, "the boroughs of a free commonalty," like the thirty plebeian tribes in the constitution of king Servius Tullius. This Alban state took part, with the other Latin towns or states, in the common festival celebrated on the Alban Mount in honour of Jupiter Latiaris. The thirty Latin states were probably dependent cantons : they seem to have stood in the same relation to Alba, the head of the confederacy, as they subsequently did to Rome.

From these preliminary investigations, it is evident that, long

²² Compare Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 39—56, *Metam.* xiv. 609 ; Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* viii. 330.

²³ *Hist. Nat.* iii. 9.

before the time assigned to the building of Rome, Latium was a flourishing country, containing numerous towns and villages. Its inhabitants formed a powerful confederacy, the affairs of which were discussed in assemblies held near the well of Ferentina in the neighbourhood of Alba, and which extended from the Tiber in the north to Terracina in the south. The history of the confederacy previous to the building of Rome is completely lost, for the lists of the kings of Alba, as well as the number of years assigned to the reign of each, must be rejected as late fabrications. The founders of Rome are called descendants of the Alban kings, although the legends nowhere describe Rome as a colony of Alba.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDATION OF ROME—LEGENDS OF ROMULUS AND REMUS, AND THEIR
HISTORICAL VALUE—THE TRIBES, CURIAE, AND GENTES.

THE story concerning the foundation of Rome was the subject of ancient lays, and was regarded by the Romans with implicit faith and almost religious reverence. When they began to reflect upon the probable origin of their community, they naturally fell upon the idea, which is universally met with in the history of Greek cities, that the founder's name must have had some connection with that of the city, and that consequently it must have been Romus or the diminutive Romulus. Now, supposing that there existed on the Aventine, a place called Remuria,¹ the idea of a twin brother of Romulus would readily present itself to the mind of a Roman antiquarian; and a hero Remus, who had been slain by his brother on the Palatine, would be the result of such genealogical speculations. The notion that Rome was the work of twin brothers was thus in all probability of Roman origin: it is peculiarly adapted to the character of the early Roman constitution, in which nearly all the great offices were divided between two persons. The legends about the foundation of the city, however, have come down to us in such confusion, and with such contradictions in the various reports, that it is impossible to say what belongs to the genuine ancient tradition, and what may be mere embellishments and inventions grafted upon it by poets. There is no other town in Italy respecting the foundation of

¹ The existence of a place of the name of Remuria, is attested by Dionysius, *i. c.* Remoria or i. 85.

which there is so much doubt and obscurity, as there is about that of Rome: but the origin of the eternal city was to be clothed in impenetrable darkness; its beginning is as obscure and indefinite as the time of its duration.

The various statements about the date of the foundation of Rome may be divided into two classes: the first contains those accounts in which the building of the city is placed in close connection with Aeneas (or his son) and the Trojans; the second, those in which Rome is connected with Alba Longa, through the ruling family of the Silvii.² One isolated statement places the building of Rome even before the Trojan times.³ Timæus, without mentioning the name of any one person as founder, made the building of Rome contemporaneous with that of Carthage.⁴ The traditions of the first class appear to have been current principally among the Greeks, whose interest it was to connect the founder of Rome with their own mythical genealogies; those of the second, which seem to have been a combination of national Italian traditions with others imported by the Greeks, and which allow a considerable interval to have intervened between the arrival of Aeneas in Italy and the foundation of Rome, were adopted by the Romans themselves. The accounts of the latter class vary, in regard to the date of the building of Rome, between the third year of the sixth Olympiad and the fourth year of the twelfth Olympiad, that is, between B.C. 753 and 729. The former of these eras was adopted by Varro: as it is supported by most authorities, and has been followed by most modern writers on Roman history, we shall adopt it in the present work, in order to avoid confusion. We may add the remark, that Cato placed the building of Rome one year later than Varro, that is, in B.C. 752.⁵ But whatever discrepancies exist in regard to the year of the foundation of the city, all

² It is said that all the Alban kings, after the time of Latinus Silvius, bore the surname of Silvius; hence the whole dynasty is called the Silvii.

³ Antiochus, *op. Dionys.* i. 73; comp. Syncellus, *Chron.* p. 193. D.

⁴ Dionys. i. 74.

⁵ Censorin. *De Die Nat.* 17.

are agreed upon the *day* of the event ; stating that it was on the 21st of April, that is, the festival of the Palilia, when the country people, having prayed to the gods to protect and increase their flocks, and to pardon their involuntary violation of sacred spots, purified themselves by passing through a fire. That day was in later times celebrated every year as the birth-day of the city of Rome.

It would be idle indeed to attempt to establish the truth of any part of the story connected with the foundation of Rome ; for whatever may have been its original form, successive story-tellers and poets in the course of time established one particular form of the legend, which then became an article of popular belief. This beautiful form of the legend, which was related in prose by Q. Fabius Pictor and many others after him, was the subject of national songs among the Romans as late as the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It runs as follows :—Procas, king of Alba, who belonged to the family of the Silvii, had two sons, Numitor and Amulius ; on his death he left his kingdom to Numitor the elder. But Amulius, disregarding the will of his father, and stimulated by the love of dominion, not only deprived Numitor of his kingdom, but put his son to death, and compelled his daughter, Rhea Silvia,⁶ to become a vestal virgin ; whereby he hoped effectually to secure his usurpation against any attempts on the part of Numitor's family to vindicate their rights. Numitor himself was left in possession of his father's private estates, in the enjoyment of which he lived rich and secure. But the gods interposed, and made the injured maiden the means not only of avenging the wrong that had been done to her and her family, but of raising a new power, before which that of Alba and all the Latins was one day to fall prostrate. Once as Rhea Silvia was going to draw water from a well for the service of the goddess Vesta, the sight of a wolf made her fly into a cave. There Mars overpowered the timid maiden, and

⁶ They who connect the founders of Rome with Aeneas, call the unfortunate princess, Iliia, and make her a daughter of Aeneas.

then consoled her with the promise of illustrious children. But he did not protect her; and when she was delivered of twins, Amulius, in accordance with the severe law in regard to vestals guilty of unchastity, ordered her to be put to death. Her twins were to be drowned in the river Anio. The bowl or cradle containing the children was carried into the Tiber, which had at the time overflowed its banks far and wide, even to the foot of the woody hills. As the waters decreased, the cradle remained standing on the ground near a wild fig-tree⁷ at the foot of the Palatine hill. A she-wolf which came to drink at the river, and heard the whimpering of the babes, carried them into her den and suckled them; whenever they wanted other food than milk, a wood-pecker (which, like the wolf, was an animal sacred to Mars) brought it for them, while other birds hovered over them, and protected them from insects. This marvellous spectacle was beheld by Faustulus, the shepherd of the flocks of Amulius: he took the children, and carried them to his wife Acca Laurentia, who became their foster-mother, and brought them up with her own children, in straw huts, on the Palatine.⁸

The two boys, Romulus and Remus, grew the stoutest among the shepherd-lads, fought bravely against wild beasts and robbers, and, by their might, maintained their right against every one. The followers or comrades of Romulus were called Quintilii, those of Remus, Fabii. Their wantonness engaged them in disputes with the shepherds of Numitor, who fed their flocks on Mount Aventine. Remus was made captive, and dragged to Alba before Numitor, as a robber who had encroached upon his estates. When Numitor heard of the two brothers, he was involuntarily

⁷ This fig-tree, called *Ficus Ruminalis*, was preserved at Rome, and held sacred for many centuries afterwards. *Ruma* signifies *mamma* (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xv. 18; Non. Marcell. s. v. *ruma*). It is also said that, at one time, the Tiber was called *Rumon*, that is, the fertilising river. (Serv.

ad Virg. Aen. viii. 63, 90.) The name *Roma* is perhaps connected with *ruma*.

⁸ The hut of Romulus (*casa Romuli*) was preserved, and, of course, repaired when necessary, as a sacred relic, down to the time of the Emperor Nero.

reminded of his own grandsons, and in the end recognised Remus as one of them. Romulus, in the mean time, had likewise been informed of his kindred by Faustulus; and the two brothers, joined by their faithful comrades, made an attack upon king Amulius. Amulius was slain in the affray, and Numitor restored to the throne of Alba. Romulus and Remus then resolved upon building a town on the spot where they had passed the days of their infancy. Their former companions joined them in their undertaking; some say that a number of Albans and Latins, and even some nobles descended from the Trojans, also took part in it. Discord, however, soon arose between the two brothers, who began to dispute as to which of them was to rule over the new city, and whether it was to be called Roma or Remoria. Others add that the brothers were not agreed upon the site of the new town: Romulus wishing to build it on the Palatine, and Remus on the Aventine, or on a spot which was four miles further down the river.⁹ As there was no difference of age between them, and neither was willing to yield, it was left to the gods to decide the point by augury. Romulus accordingly observed the heavens from the Palatine, and Remus from the Aventine; he whom the gods favoured was to be king, and to give his name to the new city. Remus had the first augury, seeing six vultures flying from north to south. When tidings of this were brought to Romulus, he suddenly saw twelve vultures¹⁰ flying past him. Right was on the side of Remus; but Romulus and his party insisted upon the double number of birds as a proof of the divine favour, and Remus was obliged to yield.¹¹ Romulus now set about making the sacred inclosure called the *pomoerium*,¹² according to the

⁹ Serv. ad Virg. *Æn.* iii. 46; Plut. *Romul.* 20.

¹⁰ This number of vultures was afterwards believed to contain a prophecy respecting the duration of Rome, the number of vultures being taken for the number of *saecula* or centuries that Rome should exist. The six

vultures of Remus were interpreted to refer to the six *saecula* of republican Rome.

¹¹ According to a statement in Livy this dispute ended in blows, and Remus was killed.

¹² See the *Dictionary of Greek and Rom. Antiquit.* under *Pomoerium*.

custom of the Etruscans : he yoked a bullock and a heifer to a plough, and drew a furrow round the foot of the Palatine so as to include a considerable tract below the hill. Where a gate was to be made, the plough was carried across the space.¹⁴ On the line of the pomoerium the city was inclosed with a wall and a ditch. In the centre of the city a vault was built underground, filled with the firstlings of all natural productions necessary to support human life, and with earth which each of the settlers had brought with him from his own home. This vault was called *mundus*.¹⁵ Remus, who still felt the wrong that had been done to him, leaped in scorn over the low wall, for which insult he was slain by one Celer, or by his own brother Romulus, who exclaimed, "So shall die whoever ventures to leap over my wall." But no sooner was the murder committed, than Romulus was seized with remorse and grief : he rejected all food and every comfort, until the shade of his brother appeared to their foster-father Faustus, and promised to be reconciled if Romulus would institute a festival for the souls of the dead. Romulus not only fulfilled the desire of his brother's shade by instituting the Lemuria,¹⁶ but, as a permanent mark of honour to him, he set up a second throne by the side of his own, with the sceptre, crown, and other badges of royalty.¹⁷

The first act of the founder of Rome was the murder of his brother,—an ominous sign of the position which Rome was destined to occupy, and of the fate which awaited those who should venture to insult her majesty. When the city was built, it was found that the small number of settlers would be unable to defend themselves against enemies that might attack them ; and in order to increase the population, Romulus threw the city open to every stranger : freemen and runaway slaves, as well as exiles

¹⁴ Hence *porta*, the name of a gate, was derived from the verb *portare*, to carry.

¹⁵ This *mundus* was regarded as the entrance to the lower world, and on three different days in the year was

opened for the souls of the departed. Festus, s.v. *Mundus* ; Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 807 ; Plut. *Romul.* 11.

¹⁶ Ovid, *Fast.* v. 461, &c.

¹⁷ Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* i. 276.

and criminals, found a welcome reception at Rome.¹⁸ But one element was still wanting, for there were no women at Rome, so that the whole population would have died away after a while. Romulus, therefore, tried to conclude treaties with the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of rendering possible legitimate marriages between his Romans and the women of other states.¹⁹ But the offer was treated with dislike and mistrust, and the answers which were brought back were insulting to the Romans. Romulus then resolved upon obtaining by stratagem or force what was denied to his open and honest request. He proclaimed that a festival (the *Consualia*) was going to be celebrated at Rome, and invited the neighbouring Latins and Sabines to come and witness the solemnities and games. Numbers of strangers, with their wives and children, flocked to Rome, not suspecting the fate which awaited them. The Romans set aside all regard for the laws of hospitality and for the religious sanctity of the occasion, which should have protected their visitors; when all were intently looking upon the games, on a signal being given, they fell upon the strangers, and carried off their women.²⁰ The fear and alarm of the maidens were soon soothed; but their parents and relatives, who had dispersed and taken to flight on the outbreak of the conspiracy, prepared to avenge the wrong by force.

¹⁸ It is stated that Romulus opened an *asylum* for these strangers. The *asylum* itself was shown in later times as a small inclosure. If that place contained all the strangers who took refuge at Rome, their number surely cannot have been very great; nor can it, in general, be conceived, that the rabble described by Livy and Dionysius should have been very numerous in those early times. The whole story of the *asylum* probably arose out of the idea of the *ius exulandi*. See Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 324.

¹⁹ Had Rome been regarded in the legend as a colony of Alba, the new

settlers would not have been in want of women, for they would have had the *connubium*, i. e. the right of contracting legal marriages with Alban and Latin women.

²⁰ The number of the Sabine maidens thus carried off was said to have been thirty, and the thirty *curiæ* were believed to have derived their names from them. Liv. i. 13; Plut. *Romul.* 14. The numbers 3, 10, 30, ran through all the Roman Institutions, but Livy forgetting this peculiarity, thinks that the number of Sabine women was in all probability greater.

The inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae, who were Latins, impatient of the slowness of the Sabines and of their king Titus Tatius, resolved to act for themselves, and took up arms first. They marched into the Roman territory; but as they could not agree among themselves, Romulus conquered them one after another. Acron, king of Caenina, fell in battle. Romulus, with his victorious band, returned to Rome, offering the first *spolia opima* to Jupiter Feretrius. At length the Sabines also rose in arms, and, under their king T. Tatius, marched against Rome, resolved upon humbling the robbers either by force or fraud. Unable to resist in the open field, Romulus kept the Romans within the walls of the city. As Tarpeia, the daughter of Tarpeius, the commander of the Roman citadel on the Capitoline, was descending from the hill to draw water, she was dazzled by the splendour of the Sabine armour; and Tatius, by promising her some of the gold ornaments of the Sabines, prevailed upon her to betray her country. When the enemy were led to the gate, which was opened to them by Tarpeia, they rushed through it, but crushed Tarpeia under the weight of the ornaments she had desired, and she expiated her crime by her death.²¹ Being now in possession of the Capitoline, the Sabines next tried to storm the city. The Romans had made a fruitless attempt to recover their citadel, and now prepared to meet the Sabines in the valley between the Palatine and Capitoline. They were on the point of being defeated, when Romulus vowed a temple to the flight-staying Jupiter (*Jupiter Stator*), and thus encouraged his men to maintain the contest. The fight continued for a long time with varying success, till at length the Sabine women, anxious to effect a reconciliation between their husbands and fathers, rushed between the combatants, and brought about a peace.²² Its terms were, that

²¹ The remembrance of Tarpeia's guilt and death is still preserved at Rome in popular legends. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 230.

²² Married women at Rome enjoyed many rights and distinctions which they did not possess in other states of antiquity, and tradition says that they

henceforth the two nations should be inseparably united in one state under the name of Romans and Quirites;²³ each, however, was to continue distinct and under its own king, while all temples and religious rites were to be common to both. This was the first step to the increase of Rome's extent and power. The Sabines now built a new town for themselves on the Capitoline and Quirinal; the former hill being its citadel, and the residence of king T. Tatius; while Romulus continued to dwell on the Palatine. When any affair of importance was to be deliberated, the two kings or their senates met in the plain between the Capitoline and Palatine, which was hence called the *comitium*.

This happy union, however, did not last long; for, after a few years, T. Tatius was slain at Lavinium, during a solemn sacrifice, by some Laurentines, against whom his kinsmen had committed a wrong, which the Sabine king had refused to redress.²⁴ No successor of Tatius was appointed; and Romulus, who thenceforth was sole king of the Romans and Sabines, made no attempt to avenge the murder of his colleague. But both the Romans and the Laurentines were visited by a plague, which did not cease until the guilt of both parties had received the punishment it deserved.

During the long period which now ensued, until the death of Romulus, tradition is very meagre; and the events we have on record scarcely suffice to establish the warlike character which fame has at all times ascribed to Romulus. We hear only of two wars. The first is that against Fidenæ, the inhabitants of which had begun to feel uneasy about the growing power of

were conferred upon them by Romulus as a reward for the happy peace and union they had brought about between the Romans and Sabines.

²³ *Populus Romanus et Quirites*, or *Populus Romanus Quirites*, which was afterwards corrupted into *Populus Romanus Quiritium*.

²⁴ The tomb of T. Tatius was after-

wards shown on the Aventine hill, where, according to some authorities, the Sabines received settlements from Romulus. (Plut. *Romul.* 23; Varro, in *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* vii. 657.) The latter statement, however, seems to have arisen from a confusion of the Sabines with the plebeians, to whom the Aventine peculiarly belonged.

Rome, and had ravaged the Roman territory. Romulus, however, put them to flight, and took the town of Fidenæ,²⁸ which received a colony. The second war is that against the Etruscans of Veii, who were actuated by the same spirit as the Fidenates. They ravaged the Roman territory and returned home with their booty; but Romulus set out and conquered them in a pitched battle: he drove them back into their city, but abstained from besieging them; and, having laid waste their country, he returned to Rome. The humbled enemy sued for peace, which was granted them, on condition of their giving up a part of their territory. A truce also was concluded with them for a period of one hundred years.

Romulus is said to have ruled thirty-seven years; and in the account of his death, the legend again assumes that beautiful and poetical character in which it relates the circumstances of his birth and early life. On the nones of Quintilis, that is, on the day on which the festival of the Quirinalia was celebrated, while the king was reviewing his people in the plain near lake Capra, the sun withdrew his light; and while the earth was covered with darkness, Mars descended in a tempest, and bore his son up to heaven. The people fled in dismay, and when light returned they sought their king in vain; but their lamentation was changed into religious reverence, when they were told by Proculus Julius, that the glorified king had appeared to him in a vision, and promised to watch over his people as the god Quirinus.²⁹

These are the outlines of the traditional story of Romulus, which was held sacred at Rome for many centuries; it was commemorated in poetry, and repeated by successive historians. That such a legend cannot be taken as history, has been felt at all times by those who looked at history with critical eyes; but the question is, whether any information of real historical value can be derived from it, and in what manner it is to be arrived at.

²⁸ This war against Fidenæ is related in almost precisely the same manner as that which occurred about a.c. 457, and is probably nothing but the

transfer of an historical event to the mythical ages.

²⁹ Liv. i. 16; Cicero, *De Re Publ.* l. 41, ii. 8, 9; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 475, &c.

There have been men, in ancient as well as in modern times, who fancied they could make history out of any poetical or legendary story, by stripping it of its poetical features, cutting away the supernatural and marvellous, and thus reducing it to a common and intelligible every-day occurrence; as if it had not been the *intention* of the authorities thus mutilated to give a marvellous story.²⁷ The results of such dull and perverse proceedings appear in the story of Romulus in various ways, and may be read in the accounts of Dionysius and Plutarch, who looked upon such critics as sensible men. The she-wolf, who suckled the twins, was thus changed into a woman of the name of Lupa; and the miraculous disappearance of Romulus was made out to have been nothing but an insurrection of the senators, who are said to have been dissatisfied with the king's rule, and to have assassinated him, in order to get rid of him and take the government into their own hands; but fearing the resentment of the people, they are supposed to have spread the report that he had been carried up to heaven. This latter interpretation was probably got up in after-times by the plebeians, who thought the patricians capable of every crime that might further their selfish interests; but they forgot that in the ancient legend Romulus is nowhere represented as a tyrant. On the contrary, after the death of T. Tatius, whose rule is really described as tyrannical, the reign of Romulus is said to have become more legal and milder than it had been before; he consulted the senate on all matters, and punished the refractory citizens only with fines of cattle; in short, there is no trace in the story of his having ever been an object of hatred with the senate.

The only manner in which we can derive any historical results from national legends, if, as is generally the case, they have an historical basis, is to receive them just as they are handed down to us; not altering or modifying them in any way, but looking steadily at what they state as facts, as well as at what they teach

²⁷ The school of critics here alluded to has not yet quite disappeared; and it is a matter of the highest importance

that the minds of young students should be cautioned against it.

us by implication. It may, indeed, happen, that not one of the facts stated is of any historical value; but we frequently catch a glimpse of the political, social, and religious life of the times, to which the traditions refer; and this is pre-eminently the case in early Roman history. It is, indeed, impossible either to assert or to deny that Romulus and Remus are historical personages, that Romulus actually did build Rome, or really was the founder of the institutions ascribed to him; but with regard to the questions as to what Rome was before the dawn of her historical period, how she grew out of her cradle, and what her political and social institutions were, a great deal of information may be gleaned from the traditions. Much assistance may also be derived from the institutions of later times; for their principles remained on the whole the same, and the changes they experienced were only the results of a natural progress and development. Proceeding in this method we offer the following observations, which partly complete and partly illustrate the above-mentioned traditions.

It was the general belief of the Romans themselves that Rome, the name of their city, was not Latin; and that its Latin name was kept as a sacred secret.²⁹ There existed on the Palatine hill, previously to the time of Romulus, a Siculian, Pelasgian, or Tyrrhenian town, whose name was in all probability Roma.³⁰ This explains the statement that Rome was a Tyrrhenian place, as well as the foreign character of its name. All accounts agree in placing the original town of Rome on the Palatine hill, just as the Aborigines dwelt in a number of villages on the neighbouring heights. Its territory was bounded on the Etruscan side by the river Tiber, and on the other sides by the territories of the small towns of the Aborigines: it was only on the side towards the sea that it extended to any distance.³⁰ Niebuhr supposes that on what was then called the Agonian hill there existed a town, of which the Capitoline might be considered as the citadel. It was

²⁹ Macrob. *Saturn.* iii. 9.

³⁰ Dionys. i. 29.

³⁰ Festus, s. v. Pectusculum Palati, p. 213, ed. Müller.

inhabited by Sabines, and bore the name of Quirium, whence its citizens were called Quirites, and the Agonian hill was afterwards named Quirinalis. That the Sabines constituted a part of the Roman people, is not only implied in the story about king T. Tatius, but is evident from the fact that most of the Roman religious ceremonies were Sabine, and were said to have been introduced by T. Tatius, or Numa Pompilius.³¹ It is well attested that the Sabines had pushed their conquests far down the Tiber, and that the towns of Collatia and Regillum belonged to them, though the surrounding places were in the hands of the Latins.³² The story about the rape of the Sabine women seems to indicate, that at one time there existed no right of intermarriage (*connubium*) between the town on the Palatine and that on the Capitoline; and that the former, which was probably in a state of dependence, raised itself by force of arms to an equality, and even to a preponderance of power. The double character of the Roman people may be traced in a variety of circumstances, such as the double Janus, the symbol of the double state;³³ the story about the twin brothers, Romulus and Remus; the double throne of Romulus; the title of the whole body of Roman citizens, *populus Romanus Quirites*, that is, *populus Romanus et Quirites*; and in the double number of so many Roman magistrates. A third element was introduced into the population of Rome, but it was not placed on an equality with the two others till a much later period.

Romulus, the founder of the city, was naturally regarded by posterity as the author of the groundwork of the political constitution of his new state; just as his successor, Numa Pompilius, was considered as the founder of most of the religious institutions. Romulus is thus said to have divided the whole people into three *tribes*, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres; each tribe again into ten *curiae*, and each *curia* into *gentes*. The original

³¹ Dionys. ii. 50; Liv. i. 33, Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vi. 74. ed. Müller.

³² Liv. i. 38, ii. 16; Dionys. vi. 40.

³³ Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* i. 291.

senate, consisting of one hundred members, is stated to have been increased by one hundred others, at the time when the Sabines were united with the Romans into one state. These traditions require some explanation. The two nations, of which the Roman state consisted, are called tribes, the Ramnes and Tities (or Ramnenses and Titienses), the names of which are universally traced by the ancients to their respective kings, Romulus and T. Tatius. Along with these two, a third tribe, the Luceres, is mentioned as early as the time of Romulus;³⁴ but the ancients are not agreed upon the origin of the name. Most writers derive it from one Lucumo, an Etruscan ally of Romulus, who is said to have fallen in the war against the Sabines;³⁵ others, from Lucerus, a king of Ardea. According to the former opinion the Luceres would be Etruscans; according to the latter, Tyrrhenians; but we believe, with the majority of the ancients, that they were Etruscans, and derived their name from a Lucumo, either Caelus Vibenna or an earlier one.³⁶ The existence of an Etruscan element, in the population of Rome, is also well attested by a number of institutions and religious rites, which are expressly said to have been borrowed from the Etruscans. But whatever we may think on this subject, this much is certain, that for a considerable time the Luceres were in a state of subjection to the other tribes, from which they emerged only by degrees; though the gradual extension of the full rights of citizenship is scarcely perceptible in the historians whose works we possess, except in their accounts of the gradual increase of the senate; for at the time when the Luceres were incorporated with the Roman state, the number of senators was raised to 300, which number afterwards

³⁴ Liv. i. 13.

³⁵ He is, perhaps, no other than the Etruscan, Caelus Vibenna, whose title Lucumo has mistaken for a proper name. Caelus Vibenna is said to have settled on the Caelian hill, which derived its name from him.

³⁶ Niebuhr infers from another form

of the name of the third tribe, *Luceres*, said to occur in Festus (*s. v.* *Lucerenses*), that they were the inhabitants of a place called *Lucer* or *Lucerum* on the Caelian hill; and he assumes that they were Latins; but the form *Lucertes* does not occur in Festus, nor in any other passage that we know of.

remained unaltered for many centuries. The members of the first tribe had, for a time, certain privileges in which those of the second did not participate; and when the Luceres were admitted, they were for a long period inferior in rank to the members of the first two tribes, and were hence called *patres²⁷ minorum gentium*; whereas the others were designated *patres majorum gentium*, and gave their votes before the Luceres.

Each of the three tribes was divided, for political purposes, into ten *curiae*; and each curia constituted a body of citizens, united together by certain religious rites and civil duties. Each had a separate name, said to have been derived from one of the Sabine women, who brought about the reconciliation between the Romans and Sabines; and the affairs, especially the religious ones, of each curia were managed by an officer called *curio*. The thirty curiones formed a college or body of priests, headed by one of their number, who bore the title of *curio maximus*.

Each curia contained a number of *gentes*. The real nature of the ancient gentes, and their relation to the decads mentioned by Dionysius,²⁸ are among the most difficult points in early Roman history. Dionysius states that each curia was subdivided into ten decads or decuriae; and Niebuhr, identifying these decads with the gentes, believes that the thirty curies, that is, the whole body of Roman citizens, consisted of 300 gentes. He further regards the gentes as analogous to the clans of other countries; and with reference to the definition given by Cicero,²⁹ he maintains that there existed no family affinity between the members of a gens, who had only one name in common; and that the gentes were purely political divisions. A gens might, accordingly, contain different families; as the Cornelia gens, *e.g.*, contained the Scipios and the Sullae. Now it should be observed in the first place,

²⁷ *Patres* in the early times always means *patricii*.

²⁸ II. 7.

²⁹ *Topic*. 6: "Gentiles sunt, qui inter se eodem nomine sunt. Non

est satis. Qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt. Ne id quidem satis est. Quorum majorum nemo servitutem servivit. Abest etiam nunc. Qui capite non sunt deminuti. Hoc fortasse satis est."

that the decads mentioned by Dionysius are not spoken of by any other author; and that, whenever the subdivisions of the curiae are referred to, we hear only of gentes; whence we must infer that the decads (decuriae), like the decuriones, had nothing to do with the political division of the Roman people, but perhaps referred only to the organisation of the army. Secondly, Varro⁴⁰ expressly recognises a family affinity among the members of the same gens. The fact of different families appearing in the same gens, in later times, does not prove that the same was originally the case; for in consequence of the great changes occasioned by intermarriages, it at last became impossible for any particular individual to trace his origin to the earliest times, and accordingly he was compelled to be satisfied with the gentile *name*, which had become the main requisite. Each gens had its *sacra privata*, which also appears to indicate that it was not a mere political body, like the curiae; else it would, like the latter, have had its *sacra publica*. The supposition, that the number of gentes was limited to 300, thus seems to fall to the ground; it is irreconcilable also with the fact, that when strangers were admitted among the gentes, as the Julii, Servilii, Quintii, Geganii, and others, they retained their gentile names and formed new gentes; whereas, if they had been incorporated with other gentes, they would have been obliged to give up their own names, and to take those of the gentes into which they were introduced.

The three tribes and their subdivisions (the curiae and gentes) contained the whole body of Roman citizens; and besides them there existed, in the earliest times, no one that could be truly called a Roman citizen. They constituted the sovereign people, and were the *populus*, *populus Romanus*, *patres* or *patricii*. The plebeians, as a distinct order, did not exist in those times. But along with those real citizens there occur two other classes of persons, viz., slaves, as in all the states of antiquity, and *clientes*.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *De Ling. Lat.* viii. 2, p. 398; with the word *cluere* (κλῦω), to hear or obey.
comp. Festus, s. v. Gentilis, p. 94.

⁴¹ The name is probably connected

The latter formed a class of people altogether peculiar to some parts of Italy, and occurring especially among the Sabines and Etruscans. There is no perfect analogy in the whole range of ancient history with these Italian *clientes*. They formed a body of people who had fewer rights than those contained in the *curiae* and *gentes*: they stood in a relation of strict dependence on the free citizens; not indeed as a body on the body of Roman citizens; but as individuals, one or more being attached to a particular gens or family.⁴² They appear in Roman story from the earliest times; but their origin can only be conjectured, being beyond the reach of historical investigation. It is probable, however, that they were the original inhabitants of those districts, who being subdued by the new settlers and having lost their landed property, continued to live in a state of submission to their new lords, and retained pieces of land for cultivation, which however were the property of the conquerors.⁴³ The nature of this *clientela* is sufficiently indicated by the term *patronus* (from *pater*), the title of the person to whom a client was attached. The relation of the *clientela* descended from father to son, and involved hereditary rights and duties: it was of peculiar sanctity, and analogous to the relation existing between a father and his children; nay, it is expressly stated that the clients had higher claims on their patron than his own relatives.⁴⁴ The duties of the patron, as well as those of the client, are stated by Dionysius:⁴⁵ the patron had to expound the law to his clients; to protect their property and interests, just as he would those of his own children; to defend them against any unlawful attacks; to represent them in the courts of justice; and in general to afford them every protection both in public and private affairs. The client, in return, was obliged to support his

⁴² Dionys. ii. 46, v. 40, x. 14; Liv. ii. 16.

⁴³ It may also be that the clients were strangers who did not belong to any of the three tribes, and who settled at Rome under the protection of

certain Roman citizens, who became their patrons. Others believe that originally clients and plebeians were the same people.

⁴⁴ Cato, in Gellius, v. 13.

⁴⁵ Dionys. ii. 10.

patron in various ways : thus, he had to contribute towards the dowry of his patron's daughter, if the patron himself had not sufficient means ; and if the patron or any of his sons had been made prisoner of war, the clients had to pay the ransom for him. A like assistance was expected from the client on many other occasions. He belonged, of course, to the gens of his patron, and accordingly bore the same gentile name. Neither of the two was allowed to come forward as accuser of the other, to bear witness, or to vote, against him. It is further frequently mentioned that the clients accompanied their patrons in war.⁴⁶ The patron who was guilty of a crime against his client was devoted to the infernal gods ; he was outlawed ; any one might kill him ; and severe punishments awaited him even in the lower world.⁴⁷ It was the pride of illustrious Roman families to have a great number of clients. Commerce and trade seem to have been the principal means from which the clients derived their subsistence.

In the course of time, however, the nature of the ancient clientela became completely altered ; and at the period when the plebeians had raised themselves to an equality with the patricians, the ancient relation must have ceased altogether : it appears gradually to have passed over into that kind of clientela, which we find at Rome during the latter period of the republic, and which resembles the relation between a legal adviser and his client, in the modern sense of the term.

We defer speaking of the plebeians till the time when they appear in history as a distinct order, and as opposed to the patricians. Our authorities speak of plebeians as early as the time of Romulus ; and Dionysius confounds them with the clients, who may in some respects indeed be regarded as the plebeians of those early times, but are by no means identical with the later order of plebeians. We do not, however, mean to deny that there existed, even in the time of Romulus, the elements

⁴⁶ Dionys. vi. 47, vii. 19.

⁴⁷ *Serv. ad Virg. Aen.* vi. 608 ; Dionys. ii. 10.

of the plebeian order, that is, persons who were neither contained in the three tribes, nor among the clients. The political constitution of Rome under the kings, or the division of the powers of government between the king, the senate, and the assembly of the curiae, will be discussed hereafter: we shall now proceed with the legendary history of the successor of Romulus.

CHAPTER III.

NUMA POMPILIUS AND HIS RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS—TULLUS HOSTILIUS—
ANCUS MARCIUS.

AFTER the disappearance of Romulus, the senate, being desirous of getting the reins of government into its own hands, would not allow a new king to be elected; and for a whole year the senators enjoyed the regal power in rotation under the title of *interreges*. But the people grew tired of this state of things, being more severely oppressed by these many rulers than they had before been by one; and they became vehement in insisting upon their right to elect a sovereign to protect them. The senate yielded, lest in the end it might lose even more than what was now demanded; and permitted a king to be elected by the people, subject to its approval. But the Romans and Sabines now began to dispute from which of the two tribes the king should be taken: it was at length agreed that the Romans should choose him out of the Sabines. All concurred in electing the Sabine, Numa Pompilius of Cures, who was famed far and wide for his wisdom and piety, having been a disciple of the Greek sage Pythagoras.¹ When he had consulted the auguries, and assured himself that the gods approved of his election, his first care was turned to the establishment of civil order, based

¹ Most ancient writers, as Polybius, Livy, and Dionysius, seeing the chronological impossibility of this statement, since Pythagoras lived nearly two centuries after the time assigned to Numa, endeavour to show that the mistake arose from confounding the philosopher Pythagoras with a later person of the same name. But it should be remembered that the

story about Numa is altogether legendary, and as such sets chronology at complete defiance. It may further be observed, that the historical existence of Numa himself is more than doubtful; and that a connection between the king and the Greek philosopher was believed at Rome for many centuries. See *Plut. Numa*, 8; *Liv. xl.* 29.

on a proper distribution of landed property. He made peace and concluded treaties with the surrounding states, and divided among the people the lands which Romulus had conquered, and which yet remained unoccupied. In connection with this distribution of landed property, he instituted the worship of Terminus, the protector of boundaries, who was to watch over the security of property.

After having thus bestowed due care upon human affairs, he set about legislating for religion, thinking that he would best and most effectually rule his people, who had no longer any foreign enemy to fear, by instilling the fear of the gods into their minds. He acted under the guidance and instructions of the Camena Egeria, who was married to him in a mortal form, and with whom he had private interviews in a sacred grove. As a preliminary step to his religious legislation, he undertook the regulation of the year; and by adding to the Romulian year of ten months the January of 29, and the February of 28 days, he made out a lunar year consisting of twelve months, or 355 days.² He also fixed the days on which public business might be transacted, and those which were to be set apart for religious purposes. After these things he regulated the whole of the Roman hierarchy, or the different colleges of priests, and all the religious affairs of the state. He instituted the flamines, or priests of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, to minister in the temples of these great divinities; the chaste vestal virgins; the twelve Salii of Mars Gradivus, who worshipped the god with songs and dances in armour; the pontiffs, to whose keeping were intrusted the written instructions about sacred rites, sacrifices, temples, religious days, and the means of defraying the expenses of all things connected with religion: he further placed under their

² In order to make this year harmonise with the solar one of 365 days, he is said to have inserted every other year an intercalary month (Mercedonius), alternately of 22 and 23 days. This mode of reckoning remained in

use at Rome until Julius Caesar's reform of the calendar. See Liv. i. 19; Censorin. *De Die Nat.* 20; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 16; Macrobi. *Sat.* i. 13; Plut. *Numa*, 18, &c.

superintendence whatever related to the religious affairs of the state, and gave them power to punish any violation of the laws of religion. The augurs also, are said to have been instituted by him: it was their duty to endeavour to ascertain by augury the will of the gods, for the purpose of guiding the counsels of men. Numa himself was acquainted with the means of compelling Jupiter to make known his will by lightning or the flight of birds. The incantation or charm by which he effected this, he had learned from Faunus and Picus, whom, by the advice of Egeria, he enticed into his power and bound in chains. He also built numerous temples and altars to the gods.

Amid these pious works the reign of Numa glided away in quiet happiness, and without any war or other calamity; for the neighbouring people, who had before looked upon Rome as though it were an enemy's camp, were so overawed by these pious proceedings, that they did not venture to undertake any enterprise against a city so completely devoted to the worship of the gods. The temple of Janus, which was Numa's work, was closed during the whole of his reign, for peace prevailed at Rome and in all its neighbourhood. After a reign of forty-three years³ (from B.C. 715 to 673) Numa, the favourite of the gods, died full of years.⁴

The legend of Numa Pompilius, though not without some highly poetical features, does not seem to have been the theme of an ancient epic: he is said in fact to have enjoined that among all the Camenae the highest honours should be paid to Tacita.⁵ As Romulus had been the son of a god, and in the end became a god himself, so Numa was closely connected with divine beings; his story is as much a poetical fiction as that of Romulus, if not more so; and the number of years assigned to their reigns resulted either from the arithmetical speculations of the

³ Polybius (*ap. Cic. de Re Publ.* ii. 14) assigned to him a reign of only 39 years; others make it last 41 years.

⁴ Liv. i. 18-21; Dionys. ii. 58-76;

Cic. De Re Publ. ii. 13-15.

⁵ The Camenae were divinities whose function it was to sing the praise of ancient heroes and kings. (*Festus, s. v. Camenae*).

priests who kept the annals of the kingdom, or from mere caprice and chance. Romulus and Numa Pompilius, therefore, stand quite apart from the remaining five kings: the former are gods or demigods; whereas the historical existence of the latter cannot reasonably be doubted, though the details in the accounts about them, and the statements as to the duration of their reigns, cannot be regarded as history. The account of the election of Numa seems to indicate, that it had been adopted as a principle by the two nations of which the Roman people consisted, that the king should be elected alternately from the Ramnes and the Tities, and by one tribe out of the other; but that after the death of Romulus, the Ramnes at first refused to adhere to the regulation; just as Romulus himself, after the death of T. Tatius, would not allow a successor to be appointed. This alternation continued in the case of the two successors of Numa; Tullus Hostilius being a Ramnes, and Ancus Marcius a Sabine.

All the principal religious institutions of Rome were referred in the Roman legends to Numa as their founder, just as the main features of the political constitution were traced to Romulus. The religion of the Romans, however, was surely not the work of one man: all that the king, whom the legend calls Numa, can have done, was to regulate the elements he found already in existence, and to reduce the outward religious forms and observances to a system. The Roman religion was neither exclusively Latin, nor Sabine, nor Etruscan, but contained elements of all three, though the Sabine seems to have been predominant; and Numa did nothing but reduce the heterogeneous mass to order and consistency. The worship of Vesta, for example, had existed at Alba Longa before the time of Romulus; and the science of the augurs, which is known to have been derived from the Etruscans, was applied by Romulus, who is even said by Cicero⁶ to have appointed three augurs: in like manner it is certain that the curiones, whom Dionysius mentions among

⁶ *De Re Publ.* ii. 14.

the colleges of priests instituted by Numa, must have existed as long as the curiae themselves, whose religious representatives they were; and the two flamines of Jupiter and Mars are stated, in some traditions, to have been appointed by Romulus.⁷ The legend, therefore, which referred the establishment of the Roman hierarchy, and the ceremonial law, such as it existed in later times, to one of the semi-divine kings, who was encouraged and assisted in his work by the goddess Egeria was nothing but a pleasing fiction; for a well-informed Roman must have been aware that Numa did not establish any worship that was absolutely new, but only regulated and systematised that which he found prevailing among his own subjects, and among the neighbouring people. The institution of the several colleges of priests, with a view to insure the observance of religious duties, and the number of the members of each college, were closely connected with the number of the tribes; and we perceive from these numbers that the institutions of Numa had reference to two tribes only, the Ramnes and Tities, the Luceres either not existing at that time, or not being taken into consideration in his religious legislation. Thus there were four augurs, two for each tribe; two vestals, one for each tribe; four pontiffs (not including the pontifex maximus), two for each tribe; and twenty feciales, or judges of international law, that is, one for every curia of the first two tribes.

The Roman hierarchy, although it exercised a most powerful influence upon all matters of public interest, yet could never acquire that independent and overwhelming power which was possessed by the priesthood among the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and other nations of antiquity; for the priests did not form a distinct and privileged caste of persons. Private worship was left to the care of the head of each family, and the public sacra were under the immediate charge of the curiones or presidents of the curiae: all the Roman magistrates were invested with certain priestly rights and functions; and the king himself was

⁷ Plut. *Numa*, 7.

the high priest of the nation: the pontiffs, augurs, and other priests, again, might at the same time possess civil offices: in short, all the ecclesiastical institutions were most closely connected with the civil government; and the religion of the Romans was pre-eminently a political or state religion. The main objects of worship among the Romans were the various powers and manifestations of nature: hence their whole religious system must be called a theology, rather than a mythology, such as we find among the Greeks. For a period of 170 years, the Romans are said to have worshipped their gods without any images; and it was not till the time of Tarquinius Priscus, who was initiated in the Samothracian mysteries, that statues of Juno and Minerva were erected.⁸ But after that time the religion and mythology of Greece gradually became mixed up with that of the Romans; for the latter, like most nations of antiquity, did not look upon the gods of foreign nations with disdain or contempt: they respected the divinities and religious ceremonies of other countries; and in most cases, recognised in them only modifications of those to which they themselves had been accustomed; guided by such feelings, they very frequently contrived to make out that foreign gods were the same as their own.⁹ This peculiarity is the source of great confusion in the history of the Roman religion; for the Romans in later times often forgot the meaning and import of their own ancient divinities, having been in the habit of transferring to them all the attributes of the Greek gods with whom they were identified. It must at the same time be observed in honour of the Romans, that licentious and orgiastic mysteries, such as we meet with in Greece, were at all times held by them in abomination; and that whenever attempts were made to introduce them, they were energetically

⁸ Varro, ap. Plut. *Numa*, 8; Augustin, *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 31; Macrobi. *Saturn.* iii. 4.

⁹ This broad principle of toleration may, in many cases, have been followed from political motives, as it was found

an efficient means of keeping a conquered nation in good humour, to adopt the worship of its gods; but generally, the feeling which gave rise to such adoptions was a purely religious one.

suppressed by the state. The great historian Polybius¹⁰ remarks, that the strong religious feeling of the Romans, and the manner in which religion was connected in some way or other with everything they undertook both in public and in private life, greatly contributed to keep the whole political fabric together.

The interreign (*interregnum*) which followed the death of Numa Pompilius was of short duration; the senate and interrex chose for their king Tullus Hostilius, who belonged to the Ramnes; and his election was approved of by the curiae. He is described as unlike his predecessor, and as more warlike and ferocious than even Romulus. The accounts of his reign which have come down to us, partake more of the character of real history than those which relate to his two predecessors; although the fight of the Horatii and Curiatii, and the destruction of Alba, are undoubtedly poetical legends, and were the themes of poems of which an echo is still perceptible in the narrative of Livy.

The city of Alba wholly disappears from the legends as soon as Rome is built, and for a period of upwards of eighty years we hear nothing about it, until, at the beginning of the reign of Tullus Hostilius, a war is said to have been occasioned between Rome and Alba by mutual violence. The inhabitants of the two little kingdoms had ravaged one another's territories, and it so happened that embassies were sent by both parties at the same time to demand reparation. Alba was then governed by C. Cluilius. The Roman king, who wished for war, but was anxious to have the appearance of justice on his side, detained the Alban ambassadors by feasts and banquets; whereas the Roman envoys were ordered to demand satisfaction immediately on their arrival at Alba. The atonement was refused, as Tullus had anticipated, and war was declared against Alba. Both parties made the necessary preparations; and the Albans began to march into the Roman territory. They encamped in a place not far from Rome, and surrounded themselves with a ditch

¹⁰ VI. 56.

called the *fossa Cluilia*, after their king C. Cluilius who died in the camp. The Albans then appointed Mettius Fuffetius dictator in his place. Tullus, encouraged by the king's death, and eager to attack the enemy, marched past the Alban camp, and invaded the enemy's territory. Mettius, following the Romans as quickly as he could, sent a message to Tullus requesting an interview before the battle commenced. The two armies were drawn up over against each other, but when the two chiefs advanced and met in the space between their armies, they came to an agreement to avert the battle by a combat. There happened to be in each army three brothers of the same age and strength, the Horatii on the side of the Romans, and the Curiatii on that of the Albans;¹¹ and these brothers were chosen to decide the issue of the war by a combat. A solemn treaty was concluded on these terms, that the nation, whose champions should win the victory, should be regarded as the conqueror, and should rule over the other in peace. The three champions now came forward on both sides; and the two armies looked on with the most anxious expectation, seeing that their respective sovereignties were at stake. Two of the Horatii were soon slain, but the remaining one was unhurt, while all the three Curiatii were wounded. The surviving Horatius was too prudent to continue the contest against the three Albans together: he therefore took to flight; and the Albans followed him, each as well as the state of his wounds permitted. When the Roman, on looking back, perceived that they were following him at a distance from one another, he suddenly turned round, and conquered them all three one by one. This glorious victory of their champion filled the Romans with delight, and the Albans submitted to their fate.¹²

The Albans were ordered by Tullus to remain in arms, as he

¹¹ The ancient legends were not agreed upon this point, some calling the Romans Horatii, and others the Albans. We have followed the statement adopted by the later historians, though it has, in all probability, no

historical foundation. See Liv. i. 24.

¹² The five tombs, two of the Horatii and three of the Curiatii, were shown in later times on the road between Rome and Alba. Liv. i. 25.

was likely soon to be obliged to make use of them against another enemy: the Romans then returned home. Horatius marched at the head of the army, carrying the spoils of the Curiatii in triumph. When he arrived at the gate of the city, he met his sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii; and as she perceived among the spoils a garment which she had made with her own hands for her beloved, she burst out into loud cries and lamentations, and cursed her brother. Horatius, enraged at her conduct on an occasion so glorious for himself and so fortunate for the state, ran her through with his sword. The king at first hesitated what to do with the man who was at once the murderer of his sister and the saviour of the state; but his sense of justice prevailed, and he appointed *dumviri perduellionis* to try him. Horatius was sentenced to be hanged; but he appealed to the people, who acquitted him, moved as they were by the thought of what he had done for his country, and by the entreaties of his father, who justified his conduct.¹³

The peace between Rome and Alba, however, did not last long; for the Albans, who keenly felt the loss they had sustained, and yet despaired of success in an open revolt, excited other towns to war, with a view of treacherously assisting to defeat Rome, and of thus recovering their independence. An opportunity was soon offered; for Fidenæ, which had been conquered by Romulus, revolted, and with the assistance of the Veientes, expelled the Roman colonists. Tullus Hostilius, joined by Mettius Fuffetius and the Albans, set out against the enemy. The armies were drawn up in such a manner that the Romans faced the Veientes, and the Albans the Fidenates. Mettius, who was as cowardly as he was faithless, gradually led away his men from the conflict towards the hills, and there

¹³ The forms of the proceedings at this trial, as well as the ceremonies observed in the declaration of the war against Alba (Liv. i. 26 and 24),

were, in all probability, taken by Livy from very ancient documents, the books of the pontiffs and augurs, and are genuine ancient formularies.

drew them up in battle array, intending to join the party that should be victorious. Tullus, who saw his conduct, and feared lest it should discourage the Romans, declared that Mettius acted by his command. The Fidenates, alarmed by what they heard, and dreading an attack by the Albans upon their flanks, took to flight. Tullus pursued them, and then turned with all his might against the Veientes, who were likewise put to flight: as they had to cross the Tiber, most of them were cut to pieces on its banks, or perished in the waters.¹⁴ The Albans now descended into the plain, and congratulated Tullus on his victory. He pretended to be unaware of their treacherous design, and invited them to a solemn sacrifice on the next day. At sunrise, the Albans came without their arms: on a given signal the Romans surrounded them; and Tullus announced to them that their dictator, for the faithlessness he had shown in the hour of danger, should be torn in pieces by horses, that their city should be razed to the ground, and that the Albans should be carried to Rome. This sentence was forthwith carried into execution; the Albans being compelled to quit their city, which was completely destroyed, with the exception of the temples of the gods.

The fall of Alba doubled the power of Rome. Tullus assigned to the homeless Albans settlements on the Caelian hill, a part of which was already occupied by Etruscan settlers. Their number is said to have been equal to that of the Romans. The noble Alban gentes, such as the Julii, Servilii, Quintii, Geganii, Curiatii, and Cloelii, were added to the Roman gentes, and retained their original names.¹⁵ The great bulk of the Alban people formed the first element of the Roman *plebs*, of which we shall speak presently. The Roman army, both the infantry and the cavalry,

¹⁴ Livy does not say that Tullus pursued the Veientes any farther, but from a statement of Varro (*ap. Fest. s. v. Septimontio*, p. 348, ed. Müller), it would appear that the king followed them and besieged their town.

¹⁵ Niebuhr thinks that Tullus Hostilius created the tribe of the Luceres out of the Albans, who received settlements on the Caelian. But see above, p. 33.

was increased by this augmentation of the Roman population. The fall of Alba itself must be looked upon as an historical fact; but the whole account of its destruction appears to be no less fabulous than the story about the destruction of Troy. According to the Italian law of nations, the territory of Alba would have belonged to the conquerors, but we find it in the possession of the Latins for a long time afterwards;¹⁶ whence we must infer that Alba was either taken by the united forces of the Romans and Latins, and that they divided the territory of the conquered between themselves;¹⁷ or that the Latins alone destroyed Alba without the assistance of the Romans, and that some of the Albans who took refuge at Rome, received settlements there as refugees.

After the destruction of Alba, a war broke out with the Sabines, who, next to the Etruscans, were the most powerful nation of Italy. The war arose from offences committed by the two nations against each other. The Sabines were joined by some Veientes, though the state of Veii took no part in the war. Tullus was the first to invade the enemy's territory, and a fierce battle was fought, in which the Sabines were worsted.

After this war Dionysius¹⁸ speaks of one with the Latins, which Livy passes over in silence. Fifteen years after the destruction of Alba, Tullus, it is said, claimed that supremacy over the Latin towns which had formerly belonged to Alba. Hereupon the Latins assembled in their usual place of meeting, near the well of Ferentina, and decreed not to yield to the pretensions of the Romans. The war which now ensued, and lasted for five years, consisted chiefly of ravages made in the enemy's country. Medullia was the only town that was taken, and a peace was then concluded with the Latins.

¹⁶ Liv. i. 50, vii. 25.

¹⁷ The existence of an alliance between Rome and the Latins, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, is attested by Livy (i. 52) and Varro (*ap. Fest.* s. v. Septimontio) who states that

generals from the Latin towns of Anagnia and Tusculum protected Rome while Tullus was engaged in the siege of Veii.

¹⁸ III. 34.

In this manner the reign of Tullus Hostilius was an uninterrupted series of successes, until the anger of the gods, whose worship had been neglected at Rome, and destroyed at Alba, was manifested by a shower of stones on the Alban mount, and by other prodigies; and not long afterwards a pestilence broke out. The king's health and spirits began to sink, and in despondence he gave himself up to restless superstition. His example had its effect upon the people, who joined him in his religious observances. As the gods persisted in their silence, and refused to reveal by any sign the means of propitiating their anger, Tullus consulted the books of Numa, and finding in them the description of certain mysterious rites which had been performed by Numa to Jupiter Elicius, he withdrew into solitude, and attempted to compel Jupiter to send him a sign. But, owing to some oversight in the perilous conjuration, or to the wrath of the gods, Jupiter killed him by a flash of lightning, which at the same time destroyed his house and all his family. He is said to have reigned 32 years, that is, from B.C. 672 to 641.

After the death of Tullus Hostilius, the people, assembled in their curiae under the presidency of an interrex, sanctioned the election of Ancus Marcius, a son of Numa's daughter, and consequently belonging to the tribe of the Tities, as their king. Mindful of his grandfather's example, he endeavoured to restore the religious observances which had been instituted by Numa, but which had fallen into neglect under his successor. He accordingly ordered the chief pontiff (*pontifex maximus*) to transcribe the ceremonial law from the books of Numa on whitened tables, which were set up in public, that all might become acquainted with the religious law. But with this pious disposition Ancus combined that degree of warlike spirit which was required for Rome, surrounded as she was by jealous and envious tribes. The Latins, who had concluded a peace with Tullus, began to look for better success against a king of apparently a most peaceful character; they accordingly rose in arms and

invaded his dominions. The Romans demanded reparation, and this being haughtily refused, they declared war against the Latins, and Ancus, leaving the care of religion to the priests, led his army against them. Their towns appear not to have acted in perfect concert at first; for Ancus took Politorium, Tellene, and Ficana, and carried their inhabitants to Rome, where he assigned to them the Aventine hill. At length all the Latins assembled in the neighbourhood of Medullia, and made desperate efforts against their common enemy. For some time the victory seemed doubtful, but finally Ancus gained it in a hard fought battle, and returned to Rome with immense booty. Many thousands of Latins were again carried to Rome, where the king assigned to them the districts between the Aventine and the Palatine. He further incorporated with the city the hill Janiculum, as a bulwark against Etruria, and built the first wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*) across the Tiber. On the Roman side of the river he made the ditch of the Quirites as a protection for those parts of the city which were low and exposed.¹⁹ As with the immense increase of the population crimes became more frequent, he built a fearful prison in the heart of the city, on the side of the hill above the forum.²⁰ Ancus, however, not only extended, improved, and secured the city itself, but enlarged the Roman territory in various directions; thus, he took a district from the Veientes, and extended his kingdom as far as to the sea-coast. At the mouth of the Tiber he built the town of Ostia, the most ancient Roman colony, and the port of Rome; and in its neighbourhood salt works were established, from which the state derived a revenue (*vectigal*). He reigned for a period of twenty-four years (from B.C. 640 to 617), and was not inferior to any of his predecessors in the arts either of peace or of war.

¹⁹ This ditch was probably a continuation of the fossa Cluilia and the same as the modern Marrana. It is mentioned only by Livy, i. 33; comp. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 353, &c.

²⁰ This prison, the most ancient

remaining monument of Rome, is formed of a stone quarry in the Capitoline hill. It served as a prison for the plebeians only, until they raised themselves to an equality with the patricians.



The reigns of Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius are of the greatest importance in Roman history; for the population of the Latin towns conquered by these kings, and said to have been carried to Rome, formed the elements of the plebeian order, to which Rome owes her greatness and power, and to whose struggles for freedom and independence Roman history owes its peculiar charm and interest. When we read in Livy, that the population of Alba and the other Latin towns conquered by Ancus Marcius were transplanted to Rome, we cannot compare such a transplantation with those of which we read in the history of Persia; for the districts assigned to them at Rome would have been far too small to contain the immense number of new settlers. The Italian law with regard to conquered land was this: the territory of a conquered enemy became the property of the Roman state, that is, *ager publicus*. One portion of it was used for the purpose of establishing colonies, another was given back to the original proprietors, and a third was left unoccupied, to be either parcelled out among the Roman citizens, or held by a precarious tenure by those who chose to cultivate it, or keep their cattle upon it, and pay a certain small rent for it to the state. Now if all the Latins and Albans had been transplanted to Rome, most of them would have found it impossible to cultivate, at such a distance, the farms given to them by the state. We therefore conceive, that the transplantation of these large numbers of Latins means only, that the Romans allowed the conquered people to take up their abode, if they chose to do so, on the Caelian hill, the Aventine, and the valley between the Aventine and the Palatine. By far the greater number, unquestionably, did not remove to Rome, but remained on their farms. We have seen above that the noble Alban gentes were placed on an equality with the Roman gentes, and added to them; but the great mass of the Latins, although they were incorporated with the Roman state, and thus became Romans, yet formed a body quite distinct from the *populus*, (the Romans contained in the three tribes and thirty curiae), and were designated by the name

plebs or *plebes*. Our authorities, Livy and Dionysius, who were completely misguided by the meaning attached to the term *plebs* in their own days, conceived the plebeians to have been a low populace, which had been separated even by Romulus from the better part of the community. But this, with many other errors which had been established in Roman history, has been triumphantly and for ever refuted by Niebuhr, whose great and peculiar merit it is, to have explained the true nature of the plebeian estate, and its relation to the patricians. The first plebeians, then, we repeat it, consisted of the conquered Albans and other Latin towns, who after their reduction became incorporated with the Roman state. They became Romans, but not Roman citizens in the proper sense of the word. Being excluded from the tribes and curiae, they did not possess the right of voting in the assembly of the *populus*, could take no part in the management of public affairs, were not eligible to any magistracy, and had not the right of contracting legal marriages (*i. e.*, they had no *connubium*) with the citizens contained in the tribes and curiae. The latter constituted the sovereign people; while the plebeians were free and personally independent, indeed, but politically inferior to the *populus*. The Romans contained in the three tribes thenceforth formed a class of nobles under the name of *patres*, *patricii*, or *populus*, in contradistinction to the *plebs*. The plebeians, who, being very numerous, constituted the principal part of the Roman armies, and had to shed their blood for their new country, were in no way inferior to the Romans; they were Latins like the Ramnes, the oldest and noblest tribe of the Romans; but they had had the misfortune to be conquered. All this the plebeians felt; and as oppression and tyranny on the part of the patricians gradually roused the oppressed to a contest with their oppressors, which lasted for centuries, they present one of the noblest spectacles in the history of mankind, till in the end their perseverance succeeded in placing them on a footing of perfect equality with the patricians.

The Aventine was at all times regarded as the peculiar

habitation of the plebeians, and as such was not included in the pomerium. King Ancus Marcius was revered by the plebeians as the founder of their estate, and was believed to have framed their original laws, just as those of the three patrician tribes were regarded as the work of Romulus. He is even said to have distributed the conquered land, which had become public domain, among the people;²¹ and the plebeians of later times seem to have looked upon him as the first that ever assigned public land to the members of their order. Hence Ancus Marcius was regarded by them as the *good old king*; ²² while Virgil, in his partiality for the patricians, charges him with having courted popular favour.²³

²¹ Cic. *De Re Publ.* ii. 18.

²² Ennius, *Annal.* iii. p. 107, ed. Columna.

²³ Virg. *Æn.* vi. 806, &c.

CHAPTER IV.

L. TARQUINIUS PRISCUS—SERVIUS TULLIUS, AND HIS CONSTITUTION.

THE period of Roman history which begins with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus shows us a state of things very different from that which existed under the preceding kings: the little state, which in the time of Ancus Marcius embraced only a very small tract of country in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, now appears as a powerful monarchy ruling far and wide, and with the means of constructing architectural works which in grandeur and durability rival those of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Now, if the state under Ancus Marcius was really as small and insignificant as it is described by our authorities, a long period of growth and development must have followed, before it could have become what it is said to have been under Tarquinius Priscus. But of such a period there is no trace in the ancient historians: they represent Tarquinius as the immediate successor of Ancus Marcius; and we must, therefore, either suppose that they passed over that period in silence for want of materials to fill it up; or look for the cause of the inconsistency in the nature of the legendary traditions, by means of which the history of those early ages was handed down to posterity. Poetical legends are not bound to strict historical completeness: they may leave unnoticed in their proper place a whole series of events, merely because those events present nothing that is capable of poetical embellishment; and hence, when we are afterwards introduced to a completely altered state of things, without being informed by what means the change was brought about, we are naturally surprised, until we remember the omission or gap that may exist

in the legends. Thus it may have been that the reign of Tullus Hostilius, and still more so that of Ancus Marcius, was much richer in great events than appears from the narratives of Livy and Dionysius. This view of the case derives considerable support from the fact, that the traditions concerning the latter part of Tullus Hostilius's reign, and concerning the whole of that of Ancus, are extremely meagre, and present scarcely any poetical features. We therefore infer, either that the events of that period were not the themes of poems, or that if they were, the substance of those poems as well as their form is lost; and thus it is that when we enter upon the portion of the history of Rome commencing with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, and ending with the battle of Lake Regillus in B.C. 496, the story is full of poetry, and we find ourselves transported, as it were, into a new world.

The lay of Tarquinius Priscus runs as follows:—In the reign of Ancus Marcius, an Etruscan, Lucumo,¹ a wealthy, enterprising and ambitious man, a son of Demaratus of Corinth, emigrated from the Etruscan town of Tarquinii to Rome, hoping there to acquire honours and distinction; for being a foreigner, every avenue to honour was closed against him at Tarquinii. Demaratus his father was a member of the oligarchic family of the Bacchiadae at Corinth; but during the struggles with the democratic party headed by Cypselus, being obliged, like many others, to quit his country, he had taken up his residence at Tarquinii in Etruria, where as a merchant he had previously formed connections of friendship. He is said to have been accompanied by celebrated Greek artists,² and to have taught the Etruscans alphabetical writing.³ He married an Etruscan woman, who bore him two sons, Lucumo and Aruns. Lucumo survived his father, and inherited all his large property. Aruns died

¹ Lucumo is commonly regarded by the ancient historians as a proper name, though it was in reality only a title.

² Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 5, 43.

³ One tradition even represents Demaratus as king of Tarquinii, Strab. viii. p. 378.

before his father, leaving behind him a son called Egerius. Lucumo married Tanaquil, who was skilled in the Etruscan art of revealing the future: she was a woman of high rank and great ambition; and seeing that her husband had no chance of acquiring distinction among her own countrymen, she prevailed upon him to remove to Rome. When they arrived on the top of the Janiculum, an eagle carried away Lucumo's hat; and, having for a while soared high in the air, descended again, and replaced the hat on his head. Tanaquil understood the sign, and rejoiced at it. They took up their abode at Rome, where they were welcomed; and Lucumo, on being admitted to the rights of citizenship, changed his name into Lucius Tarquinius, to which Livy adds the surname Priscus. His wealth, the splendour in which he lived, and his condescension and affability, soon acquired for him the favour of the people. His reputation even reached the ears of the king, who drew him to his court, formed an intimate friendship with him, and not only consulted him upon all matters of importance, but in his will appointed him guardian of his sons. When Ancus Marcius died, his sons were near the age of maturity; but Tarquinius, who coveted the throne for himself, took care that the people should elect a new king as soon as possible; and on the day of election he contrived to keep his wards at a distance, occupied with the chase. Tarquinius himself came forward as a candidate for the crown; and after having harangued the people, he was unanimously elected their king.

Of the changes which Tarquinius Priscus made in the constitution we shall speak presently, first directing our attention to the wars he had to carry on. Dionysius, who evidently follows very late authorities, gives minutely detailed accounts of these wars; but they are of little or no historical value, and are frequently at variance with the brief and more dignified narrative of Livy, in regard both to the order of the wars and to the events of each. According to Livy, it was the Latins who first made an obstinate but unsuccessful attempt to resist the growing

power of Rome. Appiolæ, one of their towns, was taken by storm; and Tarquinius, who carried away great booty, celebrated more splendid games than any of his predecessors had ever done. He marked out the space of the Circus Maximus, and instituted the Great or Roman Games (*Iudi magni* or *Romani*), which were afterwards celebrated every year. He further distributed the places around the forum to those who were inclined to surround it with porticoes, stalls, or booths; and he even formed the plan of inclosing the whole city with a stone wall. But this scheme was prevented by a war with the Sabines, who suddenly crossed the Anio, and invaded his kingdom. After having driven them back to their camp, Tarquinius increased the number of his cavalry, and then began the war afresh. By the bravery of his army, no less than by stratagems, he gained a brilliant victory over the Sabines, great numbers of whom perished in the Anio. He then pursued his enemies into their own country; and having been beaten a second time, they sued for peace. Collatia and all its territory was taken from them; and Tarquinius, returning to Rome in triumph, built the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, in accordance with a vow made by him during the battle.⁴ His victory in this war is ascribed to his having doubled the number of his cavalry, in conformity with which measure, he wished also to double the number of the centuries of equites,⁵ and to name the three new centuries after himself and his friends. But Attus Navius, the most famous augur of the time, opposed the plan, declaring that no change of the kind could be made without the sanction of the gods. Tarquinius, who appears to have had no great regard for the prophetic powers of his opponent, and wanted either to test his powers or to put him to

⁴ Some attribute the building of this temple to Tarquinius Superbus.

⁵ Romulus is said to have established three centuries of equites, the Ramnenses, Titienses, and Luceres, each consisting of 100 men. Tullus Hostilius doubled the number of

equites contained in each centuria, the number of which (three), however, he left unchanged; so that Tarquinius found the three equestrian centuries still existing, but each consisting of 200 equites.

shame, required the augur to discover whether what he was thinking of at the moment was feasible or not. Attus Navius, after consulting the auguries, answered that the king's thoughts were feasible; whereupon Tarquinius held out to him a whetstone and a razor, requesting him to split the stone with the razor, which the augur did, to the amazement of all who witnessed it. This proof of the truth of augury, and of the power of his opponent, had such influence upon the king, that he abandoned his scheme, and thenceforth undertook nothing without consulting the will of the gods by augury. He was thus obliged to content himself with doubling the number of equites contained in the three equestrian centuries, which thenceforth accordingly contained 1200 equites. The 600 new equites were called *posteriores* or *secundi*, and the 600 old ones *prior*es or *prini*.

After the war with the Sabines, Tarquinius was involved in another with the Latins, who, as usual, were not agreed among themselves; and he was thus enabled to conquer their towns one after another. In this manner he subdued all Latium, and destroyed or reduced to submission the towns of Corniculum, Ficulea, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum. Peace was then concluded with the Latins.

This is all that Livy relates of the military exploits of Tarquinius; but Dionysius and Cicero⁶ speak also of a war with the Aequians, who were already a most powerful people, but were subdued by Tarquinius.⁷ Dionysius further relates that after the peace with the Sabines, the twelve Etruscan cities south of the Apennines united their forces against Rome; that after a defeat, which they sustained at Eretum, they submitted, and recognised Tarquinius as their sovereign; and that they did homage to him by presenting him with the ensigns of royalty, which he displayed in his triumph over them. If we put together the results of his wars, Tarquinius, in the evening of his days, would have been the

⁶ *De Re Publ.* li. 20.

i. 55, ascribes the war against the

⁷ Compare Strab. v. p. 231. Livy, Aequians to the second Tarquinius.

acknowledged sovereign of the Sabines, Latins, and Etruscans.⁸ This great extent of the kingdom of Rome is not mentioned by either Livy or Cicero; but whatever we may think of these conquests, this much is certain, that, under Tarquinius Priscus, the power of Rome was far greater than it had ever been before.

What still more than his wars and conquests has made the name of Tarquinius Priscus illustrious, are the great works which he designed and executed to increase the extent and splendour of the city. After the conquest of Latium he is said to have continued the building of the stone walls, which had been interrupted by the Sabine war; and he began to fortify those parts which were not protected by nature.⁹ He drained the lower portions of the city about the forum, and the other valleys, which until then had been swamps, by sewers which led the waters into the Tiber. Some of the works and exploits of this king are ascribed in the traditions to the second Tarquinius; but all agree in stating that the great sewer (*cloaca maxima*), which still excites the admiration and astonishment of the beholder, was his work.¹⁰ As this and similar structures could never have been executed without oppressive taskwork, he provided, in order to cheer his people, that they should be amused with the celebration of splendid games.

On the whole it may be observed, that tradition represents Tarquinius as having been just as ambitious, and as fond of display, after his accession as he had been before: hence the rites of religion, which had been plain and simple, were in his reign clothed with splendour, bloody sacrifices were introduced,

⁸ Dionys. iii. 57; Florus, i. 5.

⁹ Tarquinius does not appear to have done much more than form the plan of surrounding Rome with a stone wall; for the execution of the first wall to protect the city is unanimously ascribed by the ancients to his successor, Servius Tullius.

¹⁰ This astonishing structure, which in magnitude and solidity rivals the greatest works of the Etruscans, may still be seen at Rome: it is of

gigantic dimensions. Its innermost vault, a semicircle of about 18 Roman palms in width and in height, is covered by two other vaults; all are formed of hewn blocks, fixed together with cement: earthquakes, the pressure of buildings, and the neglect of more than 1500 years, have not moved a stone out of its place; and for thousands of years to come the structure may remain as perfect as it is at this day.

and it was then that the Romans first represented their gods in human forms.

With regard to his constitutional changes, Livy simply states that he added one hundred to the number of senators; and that the hundred new ones were called the *patres minorum gentium*,¹¹ to distinguish them from the old senators, who were now called *patres majorum gentium*.¹² Some writers allude to his having intended to make a change even in the constitution of the three ancient tribes.¹³

Although the people must have sighed under the yoke of Tarquinius Priscus, yet in after-times they honoured and celebrated him as one of the greatest and most glorious sovereigns; and it became customary to impute to his detested son, Tarquinius Superbus, the sufferings inflicted upon the people in his reign. Nay, even his wife, Caia Caecilia (for so she is called in some traditions, instead of Tanaquil) was revered as a beneficent enchantress, and a model of ancient domestic virtue. According to tradition, Tarquinius had reigned 38 years (from B.C. 616 to 579), when his glorious career was terminated by assassination. The sons of Ancus Marcius had long wished for an opportunity of taking vengeance on the usurper; and as they had reason to fear lest he should secure the succession to his favourite and son-in-law, Servius Tullius, they contrived to hire two sturdy shepherds, who, pretending to have a quarrel, and thus gaining access to the king that he might decide between them, gave him a deadly wound.

It has been proved by modern critics, that the story of Tarquinius being a son of Demaratus, a contemporary of Cypselus, is irreconcilable with chronology; for Tarquinius ought to have been born about fifty years later than the story implies. The tradition of Demaratus having introduced alphabetical writing among the

¹¹ Cicero, *De Re Publ.* ii. 20, says that he doubled the number of senators.

¹² Dionysius, iii. 67, states that the 100 new senators were chosen from among such plebeians as had been

raised to the rank of patricians; and that they were added to the old senate of 200 members.

¹³ Festus, s. v. *Navia*, p. 169, ed. Müller.

Etruscans is of the same kind as that of Evander, who is said to have taught the Latins the art of writing ; for both mean only to represent the introduction of the alphabet as belonging to a very early period. All traditions about Tarquinius point to Etruria as the country from which he came to Rome ; but they contain in themselves strong reasons which have induced some writers to reject the Etruscan origin of the king. The Tarquinii were not, as the story would lead us to believe, a mere family in our sense of the word, but a whole gens,¹⁴ which was banished together with the last king. There are further several traces which might indicate that this gens was of Latin origin ; for example, the surname *Priæcus*, which also occurs among the Servilii, who were transplanted to Rome from Alba ; but we must at all events take it for granted that Tarquinius belonged to one of the gentes of the Luceres. The legend, which called the wife of Tarquinius, Caia Caecilia, was unquestionably older than that which calls her Tanaquil ; and Caecilia seems to be connected with Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste.¹⁵ But it is impossible to say in what manner the account of the Etruscan origin of the Tarquinii may have arisen. The conquest of Etruria, which Dionysius ascribes to Tarquinius, is more than doubtful, although the fact that at one time there was a king at Rome, who ruled over all Etruria, may not be without some historical foundation ; but whether Rome conquered Etruria, or whether an Etruscan prince fixed his residence at Rome, and thence ruled over Etruria, Latium, and the Sabines, are questions which history does not answer.

The plebeians, who had existed in the Roman state ever since the time of Tullus Hostilius, and had been increased in the reign of Ancus Marcius, had been left by those kings without any internal organisation of their body, and without any exact definition of their relation to the patricians. But Tarquinius seems to have formed a plan for remedying these evils. The three centuries of equites, which he found existing on his acces-

¹⁴ Liv. ii. 2 ; Cic. *De Re Publ.* ii. Reditus.
25, 31 ; Varro, *ap. Nonium*, s. v. ¹⁵ Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* vii. 681.

sion, contained 600 men; and when he made the attempt to double the number of centuries, he undoubtedly contemplated the addition at the same time of three new tribes to the ancient Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, and their formation out of the plebeians; but this plan being thwarted by the opposition of the patricians, who availed themselves of the influence of the augur Attus Navius,¹⁶ the king, as has been already mentioned, was obliged to content himself with raising the number of the equites contained in the three centuries to 1200, so that each century contained two hundred *priores* and two hundred *posteriores* or *secundi*.¹⁷ These 600 new equites were taken from among the plebeians whom the king raised to the rank of patricians. The plebeians thus raised were of course incorporated with the three ancient tribes, without the number of the tribes themselves being altered; and it was out of the same body of new patricians, called *gentes minores*, that the king elected the hundred new senators, whence they were called the *patres minorum gentium*. The increase of the number of senators is interpreted by Niebuhr to mean that Tarquinius raised the Luceres, who had until then been in a state of inferiority, to an equality with the two other tribes; and that accordingly he elected one hundred of them into the senate. But, in the first place, it is scarcely credible that the privilege of becoming members of the senate should have been withheld so long from the third tribe; and in the second, it is attested by the express testimony of Dionysius, that the hundred new senators were taken from among the plebeians who had been raised to the rank of patricians, and consequently could not be Luceres. But, on the other hand, if the three tribes were already represented in the senate, each by one hundred members, Tarquinius could not have added one hundred others without going beyond the number of three hundred, which henceforth always appears as

¹⁶ Dionys. iii. 71, &c.; Festus, s. v. Navia, p. 169, ed. Müller.

¹⁷ The different statements in Livy,

i. 36, and Cicero, *De Re Publ.* ii. 20, probably arise from corrupt readings.

the regular number.¹⁸ This difficulty can be solved only by the supposition, either that so many of the old patrician families had become extinct, that they could no longer furnish three hundred senators; or that the three tribes, up to the time of Tarquinius, had never been represented in the senate by one hundred members each, but by two hundred only for all the three tribes.¹⁹ But in whatever manner we may endeavour to explain these difficulties and contradictory statements, this much is firmly established, that for several centuries after the time of Tarquinius Priscus the regular number of senators was three hundred.

The plan of Tarquinius, to put the plebeians on something like an equality with the patricians, being thwarted by the latter, he was obliged to leave them in the same position as he had found them: all that he was able to accomplish was, to raise the most illustrious among them to the rank of patricians. The carrying out of his grand scheme, at least to some extent, was reserved for his successor.

The traditions of the early life and of the death of Servius Tullius, the sixth king of Rome, are as marvellous as anything in Roman history, and are in reality nothing more than poetical lays; but the political changes, which he is said to have introduced after his accession, are of a genuine historical character, as is proved by their more or less modified continuance through many centuries. The institutions themselves, therefore, are as certain as they well can be: the only point that remains doubtful, is whether they really originated with the one king, Servius Tullius, to whom the gratitude of the later plebeians ascribed the

¹⁸ Liv. ii. 1; Dionys. v. 18; Festus, s. v. qui patres qui conscripti, p. 254, ed. Müller.

¹⁹ They who conceive that, until the time of Tarquinius, the Luceres were not represented in the senate, might, with Livy, say that Tarquinius increased the number of senators by

100; while those who conceive that the new patricians were a large body of men equal in number to the old patricians, might, with Cicero, say that Tarquinius doubled the number of senators, just as he doubled the number of equites contained in the three centuries.

foundation of everything which gave them that position in the state which they desired and deserved.

Ocrisia, the mother of Servius Tullius, is said to have been a handmaid of Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, and to have been one of the captives taken at Oriculum. One day, as she was bringing some offering to the household god, she saw the god himself appear in the fire on the hearth. Tanaquil, on being informed of the vision, ordered her to dress herself as a bride, and to shut herself up in the chapel. There she became the mother of Servius Tullius: his father was, according to some, the household god; according to others, Vulcan.²⁰ That the child was destined to occupy one day a high position was indicated even in his infancy; for once, as he was sleeping in his cradle, his head was seen surrounded with flames. All present were struck with terror at what they witnessed. Some brought water, to extinguish the fire; but Tanaquil forbade it, for she knew that the fire was the spirit of the child's father, and foresaw that he was called to great things. She also ordered the child not to be moved till he woke of his own accord; and when at last he did wake, the flames vanished. The queen henceforth

²⁰ Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 625, &c.; Dionys. iv. 2. Other traditions stated that his mother was a native of Tarquinii, his father one of the clients of king Tarquinius, and he himself in his childhood a slave. (Cic. *De Re Publ.* ii. 21.) A third account, which, however, is only a rationalistic interpretation of the genuine old legend given in the text, and is preferred by Livy (i. 39), states that his father, likewise called Servius Tullius, was an illustrious citizen of Corniculum, who fell in battle, when his native place was taken, leaving his wife in a state of pregnancy. She was carried to Rome like the other captives, but was not allowed to perform any degrading or menial services; and in the house of Tarquinius Priscus she became the mother of Servius Tullius. We can-

not leave unnoticed a tradition which was derived by the emperor Claudius from Etruscan sources (see the fragments of the oration of Claudius in Oberlin's *Tacitus*, vol. iv. p. 806), although it has little historical value. Servius Tullius is there called the most faithful companion of Caelus Vibenna, an Etruscan condottiere, with whom he shared all his fortunes. With the remnants of his friend's troops he went to Rome, took possession of mount Caelius, changed his Etruscan name Mastarna into the Roman Servius Tullius, and was in the end elected king of Rome. All that we can derive from this story is that perhaps at one time an Etruscan chieftain established himself as king at Rome.

educated him as her own child, and great hopes were entertained of him. When he had grown up to manhood, Tarquinius gave him his own daughter in marriage; and Servius remained the favourite of gods and men. Even in more advanced life, he never ceased to hold communion with the higher powers: the goddess Fortune, who carried him through all the various stages of life, from the lowest to the highest, loved and visited him; and he built a temple to her, placing in it his own statue, which remained uninjured when the temple itself was consumed by fire.

Servius Tullius assisted his father-in-law both in council and in war; and none of the young Romans surpassed him in strength and courage. When Tarquinius became old, Servius lightened the yoke which pressed on his subjects; and the great popularity which he thus acquired excited the fears of the sons of Ancus, lest he should be elected to the throne, which they claimed as their lawful inheritance. The result of their fears was the assassination of Tarquinius. Tanaquil, however, kept the king's death secret; and in order to appease the excited multitude, she announced that his wound was not dangerous, but that he had appointed Servius to govern for the present in his stead. Servius accordingly performed the functions of king; and after the lapse of some time, when the death of Tarquinius became known, he was instigated by the queen to come forward openly as king: he was thus the first king that reigned at Rome without having been elected by the senate and sanctioned by the curiae. Afterwards, however, the curiae, at his own request, invested him with the *imperium*.²¹ In order that the sons of his predecessor, Lucius and Aruns Tarquinius, might not turn against him, as those of Ancus Marcius²² had done against Tarquinius, he gave them his two daughters in marriage; but this precaution, far from

²¹ Cicero, *De Re Publ.* ii. 21; the sons of Ancus are said to have
Dionys. iv. 12; Liv. i. 46. quitted Rome, and to have gone to

²² After the death of Tarquinius, Suessa Pometia into exile.

averting the danger he feared, only rendered his fate more tragic and horrible.

The reign of Servius Tullius, like that of Numa, is not celebrated for great military achievements. Livy speaks of a war with Veii and other Etruscan cities, in which the king was as brave as he was successful, and put to flight a large army; but the historian gives us no details. Dionysius, on the other hand, mentions victories over the whole Etruscan nation, which is said to have revolted after the death of Tarquinius Priscus, but was again reduced to submission.²² The reign of Servius, however, is of the highest importance in the history of the Roman constitution; for his great deeds were laws; and as tradition called Numa the author or regulator of religious worship, so Servius was regarded as the founder of all civil rights and institutions. He first of all carried out the plan of Tarquinius, of completing the city of Rome, by incorporating with it the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline hills, on the last of which he himself took up his residence, and by surrounding the whole of the city with a stone wall, called after him the wall of Servius Tullius. We shall defer entering into an examination of the constitutional changes introduced by this king, until we have completed his legendary history. He is said to have paid out of his private purse, the debts of those who were reduced to poverty; to have redeemed those who had pledged their labour for the money they had borrowed; and lastly, to have assigned to the plebeians allotments of land out of the territories that had been conquered in war. The Latins were leagued with the Romans by treaty; and Servius Tullius prevailed upon them to build, in common with the Romans, a temple to Diana on the Aventine, the chief abode of the Latins, who had lately become citizens of Rome. This was a tacit acknowledgment, on the part of the Latins, that Rome was the head of their confederacy. The Sabines too seem to have joined in this common worship, as we must infer from the story

²² Liv. i. 42; Cicero, *De Re Publ.* ii. 21; Dionys. iv. 12, 27.

of the Sabine and his bull. A Sabine yeoman, it is said, had a bull of prodigious size and great beauty born among his cattle. It was announced by the soothsayers, that whoever should sacrifice the animal to Diana on the Aventine, would raise his nation to rule over its confederates. A report of this prophecy reached the ears of the high-priest of the temple; when, then, the Sabine appeared with the victim before the altar of the goddess, the priest rebuked him for attempting to offer it up with unclean hands. While the Sabine went down to the Tiber and washed his hands, the Roman priest accomplished the sacrifice, which caused great joy to the king and all the people.

But the beneficent laws and regulations introduced by the good king were received by the patricians with sullenness and anger; which feelings were further increased by his forbidding the patricians to fix their habitations on the Esquiline, and assigning to them the valley which was called after them the *vicus patricius*.²⁴ To take vengeance on the venerable old king, they conspired with the most heinous rebel.

The popularity, which the king enjoyed among the people, rendered the chance of L. Tarquinius succeeding to the throne of his father, less and less probable.²⁵ L. Tarquinius himself was a person of vehement temperament: he was, besides, stimulated at home by his ambitious wife Tullia, the elder of the two daughters of Servius Tullius. She, who had at first been married to his brother Aruns, himself a person of a mild and honest character, was a woman of a truly fiendish nature; while her younger sister Tullia, who was married to L. Tarquinius, was amiable and virtuous like Aruns. The elder Tullia, enraged at the long life of her father, and the apparent indolence of her husband, who showed no ambition, and seemed ready when the throne became vacant

²⁴ Festus, s. v. p. 221.

²⁵ The traditions were not agreed as to whether L. Tarquinius, who afterwards received the surname of Superbus, was a son or a grandson

of Tarquinius Priscus, though most writers call him a son. The whole chronology of the Tarquinii is in the greatest confusion.

to resign it to his brother, resolved upon destroying both her father and her husband. She addressed herself to L. Tarquinius, and induced him to kill his brother and her own sister. No sooner were the crimes perpetrated than the elder Tullia and L. Tarquinius married. Servius Tullius saw all these things, but was unable to prevent them. His life at length becoming insupportable to the diabolical couple, Tullia incited L. Tarquinius by day and by night to cut short the life of her father, and place himself upon the throne. The crimes already committed made him, as is usually the case, little concerned about committing another. He began to court the favour of the patricians, especially of the *gentes minores*, by reminding them of the benefits which his father had conferred upon them. But suddenly it seemed probable that the criminals would be deprived of the object of their crime; for it was reported that Servius Tullius, to complete his legislation, intended to resign the royal dignity, and to establish the consular form of government.²⁶ The patricians also were alarmed at the prospect of such a change; for they had reason to fear lest the hateful laws of the king should be confirmed for ever, if consuls were appointed; and they therefore unhesitatingly joined in the conspiracy of L. Tarquinius. When the whole plan was ripe, Tarquinius appeared in the senate with the ensigns of royalty, and heaped all possible obloquy and calumnies upon the aged king. The report of the commotion soon reached the king's ears, and he hastened to the senate-house, where, standing in the door-way, he rebuked Tarquinius as a seditious traitor; but the latter treated the king with insults and contempt; and as the friends of each party were preparing for violence, he seized the king, threw him down the steps of the senate-house, and then returned to his associates in the senate. Servius Tullius, who was bleeding profusely, was raised from the ground and led away by some of his faithful servants. But before he reached his dwelling, he was overtaken by the

²⁶ Liv. i. 48; Dionys. iv. 40; Plutarch. *De. Fort. Rom.*, p. 323, d.

emissaries whom Tarquinius had sent after him, and murdered in the street. His body was left weltering in its blood. Tullia, at whose instigation this horrid deed had been committed, was too impatient to wait at home for the tidings of the result of her husband's doings on that day. Through the midst of the crowd she drove to the senate-house, and was the first to salute her husband as king; but he ordered her to get out of the tumult and return home. On her way thither she passed through the street in which the body of her father was lying. The horror-struck driver stopped the carriage; but the inhuman Tullia ordered him to drive on over the corpse; and she and her carriage were covered with the blood of her father.²⁷ Tarquin forbade the burial of the king's body, saying in mockery, "Romulus too went without a funeral;" and this impious mockery is said to have given rise to his surname Superbus.²⁸

Servius Tullius had reigned for a period of forty-four years (from B.C. 578 to 535). His memory continued to be cherished by the plebeians for centuries; and his birthday was celebrated on the nones of every month; for he was known to have been born on the nones of some month, the month itself having become a matter of uncertainty. At the time when the plebeians were most cruelly oppressed by the patricians, their veneration for the good king Servius, who had suffered the death of a martyr in their cause, became so strong, that the senate found it necessary to enact that markets should never be held on the nones; lest the people, irritated by oppression, and animated by the remembrance of better days, should venture to rise, and restore the laws of the king.²⁹ It can hardly be thought necessary to show, that the account of the death of Servius Tullius is not historical: there must indeed have been some historical foundation for it; but the odium attached to the detested name of the last king, and the bitter hatred of the plebeians against

²⁷ In commemoration of this crime the street was in after-times called the *vicus sceleratus*.

²⁸ Compare Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 581, &c.

²⁹ Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 13.

the patricians, probably combined to make up the fearfully tragic story of the king's death. There cannot, however, be any doubt that the truth on which that story is founded, is that Servius fell a victim to a patrician counter-revolution, by which most of his institutions for establishing the freedom and independence of the commonalty were abolished.

The legend of Servius being the offspring of a slave seems to be a mere etymological speculation about the origin of the name Servius, which was connected with *servus* and *servire*; and we must observe in general, that the history of Servius Tullius, the most remarkable among the Roman kings whose personal existence is sufficiently established, is quite as mythical as that of Romulus or Numa. The genuine Roman tradition about his descent leads us to the belief that he was a Latin, and probably belonged to a family which had been incorporated with the Roman curiae in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. His Etruscan origin would be irreconcilable with the whole character of the political institutions ascribed to him.

The statement that Servius Tullius completed the building of the city, and for the sake of safety surrounded it with a wall embracing seven distinct districts, commonly called hills, is established beyond a doubt: and that fact is a proof that he had formed a correct notion of the destiny of the city.

But what more than anything else makes the reign of Servius Tullius memorable, and therefore deserves our special attention, is the new constitution which he gave to his kingdom; and especially the arrangements he made for improving the condition of the plebeians. His great object was to unite, on principles of justice and equity, the two bodies of the patricians and plebeians into one great and powerful nation. We remarked above that Tarquinius Priscus attempted to remedy the evils arising out of the separation of the Romans into two classes of citizens, one of which had to bear its share in all the public burdens and duties, while it was excluded not only from all honours and advantages, but from exercising any influence whatever upon the government.

These latter citizens were in fact treated as aliens, and were without any internal organisation of their body; no laws, in fine, existed to regulate their relation to the ruling class or patricians. Tarquinius had raised some of them to an equality with the patricians; but the great mass of the plebeians still continued in their undefined and precarious position, until Servius Tullius, with as much wisdom as boldness, set about the task. It is a remarkable circumstance, that we do not hear of any opposition having been made by the patricians to his legislation until the whole was completed.

The first thing he did was to give the plebeians an independent political organisation: for this purpose, he divided the city of Rome, with the exception of the Capitol and the Aventine, into four regions or districts, which, according to the analogy of the three patrician tribes, he called *tribus* (*tribus urbanae*); and the territory of Rome (*ager Romanus*) into twenty-six other tribes (*tribus rusticae*). These thirty tribes, being distinct localities, were of course inhabited by patricians, no less than by plebeians; but they were instituted for the plebeians exclusively; and, politically, the patricians were not considered in this division.³⁰ The affairs of each tribe were managed by an officer called *tribunus*, whose office must, however, be distinguished from that of the later tribunes of the people; and each tribe was again divided into a number of *pagi*, each of which was headed by an officer called *magister pagi*. The tribunes, who were also called *curatores tribuum*,³¹ had to keep the lists of the members of their respective tribes, and to collect the *tributum*. In the constitution of Servius Tullius, the assemblies of the tribes (*comitia tributa*) had no other power than that of discussing the

³⁰ It might seem surprising to find that in the year a. c. 495, when one new tribe had already been added, the total number did not amount to more than twenty-one (Liv. ii. 21); but Niebuhr has shown that in the war with Porcenna the Romans must have

lost a considerable part, perhaps one-third, of their territory, which would naturally have reduced the number of tribes from thirty to twenty.

³¹ Varro, *De Ling. Lat.* vi. 3, p. 263.

affairs of the tribes as such; and any resolutions passed in them were binding only on those contained in the tribes, that is, on the plebeians. It is further stated, that the king assigned allotments of public land to the poorer plebeians, probably to those who belonged to the country tribes, and were not yet possessed of landed property. The twenty-six country tribes contained the wealthier portion of the plebeians, who lived on their farms, and carried on agricultural pursuits, the most honourable occupation among the early Romans; whereas the members of the four city tribes were probably engaged in trade and manufactures, and were at all times thought less honourable than the country tribes. The civil relations between the two estates also occupied the king's attention; and he regulated them by a number of laws, which he caused to be carried in the assembly of the *curiæ*.

Hitherto birth and descent alone had constituted any legal distinction between Roman citizens; and there was accordingly no other division except that into patricians or nobles, and plebeians. But Servius, like Solon, established a timocracy; that is, he made property the standard to determine the rights and duties of every citizen. He accordingly instituted a census, for the purpose of ascertaining the property of every citizen, both patrician and plebeian; and as property is a fluctuating thing, he ordained that a census should be held every five years, which period was called a *lustrum*.²² In this census the whole people was conceived of as an army (*exercitus* or *classis*), and as consisting of two parts, the infantry and cavalry. The part which formed the infantry (*pedites*) was divided, according to the amount of property, into six classes; an institution which, with some modifications, continued down to the end of the republic. The class to which a citizen belonged determined the amount of tribute he had to pay for purposes of war, his position in the army, and the kind of armour with which he had to equip

²² This word is connected with end of each census a *lustratio* or purification of the whole people took place.

himself. For the purpose of voting in the great assembly, each class was divided into a number of *centuriae* or *suffragia*, each of which had one vote; one-half of the *centuriae* of each class consisted of the elder persons (*seniores*), while the other half contained the younger (*juniores*.) The first class comprised all persons whose property amounted to at least 100,000 *ases* (100 *attic minae* or about 320% of our money): the second, those who had not less than 75,000 *ases* (75 *attic minae*, or about 240%); the third, those who possessed at least 50,000 *ases* (50 *attic minae*, or about 160%); the fourth, those who had at least 25,000 *ases* (25 *attic minae*, or about 80%); the fifth, those who, according to Livy, had 11,000 *ases*, or, according to Dionysius, $12\frac{1}{2}$ *minae*, (that is, 12,500 *ases*, or about 40%.) Those whose property did not amount to the last-mentioned sum formed the sixth class: being exempt from the tribute, and having to pay only a poll-tax, they were called *proletarii* or *capite censi*; whereas those contained in the five other classes were called *assidui* or *locupletes*.²³ It is not stated whether the sums here mentioned, as qualifications for each class, refer to a man's annual income, or to the whole stock of his property; but all circumstances compel us to believe that the latter was meant. The smallness of these amounts cannot surprise us, if we recollect that the law specifies only the minimum; and that a person might have possessed twice or three times the amount prescribed to the first class, and yet have belonged to it. We must also bear in mind the extraordinary cheapness of everything in ancient Italy; so that the possessor of 320% was really a man of considerable property. In addition to all this, it seems to have been the intention of the king, that the first class should not contain only the very wealthy, but all those whom we should term "rich persons of the middle class."

²³ The accounts of the minimum of property in each of the five classes are not the same in all writers, but the differences may easily be accounted for. (Göttling, *Geschichte der Röm.*

Staatsverfassung, p. 246, &c.) It should also be stated that some writers mention only five classes, the *proletarians* not being taken into account.

Each class was divided into two equal halves, the seniors and the juniors: the latter were men from their seventeenth to their forty-fifth year; and the former, those from the age of forty-five to that of sixty: the seniors were not obliged to march out into the field, but in case of need they might be called to arms to defend the city. After the completion of his sixtieth year, each person was exempt from military service.²¹ We have hitherto made mention of only two kinds of assemblies, the one of the curiae (*comitia curiata*), which of course consisted of patricians alone, the other of the thirty local tribes (*comitia tributa*) in which plebeians only took part; but in addition to these Servius Tullius instituted the great national assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuriata*), which met in the Campus Martius, and in which patricians and plebeians were placed on a footing of equality; for there the importance of every citizen was determined by no other standard than that of property and age. For the purpose of voting in that assembly, each class was divided into a certain number of centuries, each of which counted as one vote. The first class contained eighty centuries or suffragia; that is, forty centuries of the *seniores*, and forty of the *juniore*s: the second, third, and fourth classes were divided each into twenty centuries; ten of the *seniores*, and ten of the *juniore*s: the fifth class had thirty centuries; fifteen of the *seniores*, and fifteen of the *juniore*s. Hence, the total number of the centuries of the five classes was one hundred and seventy, of which the first class alone had eighty, while the four others together had only ninety, so that wealth had a decided advantage in this assembly of the centuries. Besides the one hundred and seventy centuries of the classes, Servius instituted five others, which did not belong to the classes, but voted between them. They were, two centuries of the *fabri* (smiths and carpenters) which, according to Livy, voted

²¹ It is commonly stated that the men above sixty were not allowed to vote in the assembly of the people; but this opinion is in itself absurd, and

is contradicted by numerous historical facts. See Becker, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer*, ii., p. 216.

after the centuries of the first class, or, according to Dionysius, after those of the second class; two centuries of the *cornicines* and *tubicines* (hornists and trumpeters), which, according to Livy, voted after the fifth, or, according to Dionysius, after the fourth class; and, lastly, all those persons whose property did not come up to the minimum of the fifth class: thus, the sixth class formed only one century, and accordingly had only one vote. The five additional centuries were not divided like those of the classes into *seniores* and *juniores*, but the century of the sixth class appears to have consisted of three sub-divisions, viz., the *accensi velati*, the *proletarii*, and the *capite censi*, according to the amount of their property: the *accensi velati* were those whose property was between 1500 ases and the minimum of the fifth class, and they were regularly called upon to serve in the army; the *proletarii* were those whose property was less than 1500 but above 375 ases, and they were rarely required to do military service, until in the year B.C. 290 the custom was established of enlisting them regularly. The *capite censi*, who possessed less than 375 ases, were not obliged to serve in the army until the time of Marius.²⁵

All that has been said hitherto refers to the Roman citizens only in so far as they formed the infantry of the army: in addition to the 175 centuries above enumerated, Servius Tullius formed a certain number of equestrian centuries, which were not subdivided into *seniores* and *juniores*, but contained only men below the age of forty-six. When he began his reforms, he found the three double centuries of equites, as they had been constituted by Tarquinius Priscus. Servius divided these three double centuries into six single ones, each consisting of 200 equites: they were called the *sex suffragia*, and formed the corps of patrician equites. In addition to these six centuries, Servius

²⁵ If we suppose that the first two divisions of this century were subdivided, like the centuries of the classes, into *seniores* and *juniores*, the whole century would have contained five divisions, which would account for its name *quintana classis*, and also for Dionysius calling it the sixth class.

created twelve new ones, which he took from among the wealthiest plebeians, and, which, like the six patrician ones, undoubtedly consisted of 200 men each; so that the eighteen equestrian centuries contained altogether 3600 men. As to the property qualification required of an *eques* in those early times, we have no exact testimony: all we are told is, that the equites were taken from among those who had the highest *census*, which might mean, that all of them belonged to the first class; but as, in the later times of the republic, the equestrian census was four times as high as that of the citizens of the first class, we may reasonably suppose, that the same or a similar arrangement was made by Servius Tullius. Each eques received from the public treasury a certain sum of money (*aes equestre*) for the purpose of purchasing a war-horse (*equus publicus*), and an additional annual sum for its maintenance. This annual sum was levied upon orphans and widows, who were otherwise exempt from the tribute. The sum total of all the centuries in the Servian constitution was thus 193; so that 97 formed a majority of votes in the assembly. Now, considering that the equites gave their votes first, and next the seniores and juniores of the first class, it is evident that a great preponderance of power was placed in the hands of the wealthiest Romans; for if the eighteen equestrian centuries and the eighty centuries of the first class were agreed upon any point under discussion, the question was decided at once, and there was no necessity for putting it to the vote of the other centuries. The following table will show at a glance the census of each class, the order of voting, the number of votes (*centuriae* or *suffragia*) assigned to each, and the slight differences which occur in the accounts of the two principal historians, Livy and Dionysius.

Tabular View of the Centuries of the Classes and of the Equites, according to the SERVIAN constitution.

<i>Livy.</i>		<i>Dionysius.</i>	
EQUITES	Centuriae 18	EQUITES	Centuriae 18
I. CLASS. Census 100,000 ascs.		I. CLASS. Census 100 minae.	
Centuriae seniorum . . .	40	Centuriae seniorum . . .	40
Centuriae juniorum . . .	40	Centuriae juniorum . . .	40
Centuriae fabrum	2	II. CLASS. Census 75 minae.	
II. CLASS. Census 75,000 ascs.		Centuriae seniorum . . .	10
Centuriae seniorum . . .	10	Centuriae juniorum . . .	10
Centuriae juniorum . . .	10	Centuriae fabrum	2
III. CLASS. Census 50,000 ascs.		III. CLASS. Census 50 minae.	
Centuriae seniorum . . .	10	Centuriae seniorum . . .	10
Centuriae juniorum . . .	10	Centuriae juniorum . . .	10
IV. CLASS. Census 25,000 ascs.		IV. CLASS. Census 25 minae.	
Centuriae seniorum . . .	10	Centuriae seniorum . . .	10
Centuriae juniorum . . .	10	Centuriae juniorum . . .	10
V. CLASS. Census 11,000 ascs.		Centuriae tabic. & cornic. 2	
Centuriae seniorum . . .	15	V. CLASS. Census 12½ minae.	
Centuriae juniorum . . .	15	Centuriae seniorum . . .	15
Centuriae accens., cornicinum, tubicinum . .	3	Centuriae juniorum . . .	15
Centuria capite censorum .	1	VI. CLASS.	
		Centuria capite censorum .	1
Sum total of the centuriae .	194	Sum total of the centuriae .	193

There seems to be little doubt that the account given by Dionysius is the correct one; for, according to Livy's calculation, it might have been impossible to obtain an absolute majority, since it might so happen that ninety-seven centuries voted for a proposal, and the other ninety-seven against it. The assembly of the people, in which the votes were given according to centuries, comprising, as it did, both patricians and plebeians, was a true representation of the whole nation, and the only one in which a plebeian felt himself placed on an equality with his patrician neighbour, provided he was possessed of the same amount of property. To these comitia, which, for most purposes, took the place of those of the curiae, although the latter still continued to be held, Servius transferred the election to the highest magistrates,³⁶ the decision upon peace and war, and the confirmation

³⁶ The officers of the curiae and those of the thirty local tribes were of course appointed respectively by the curiae and the tribes: we are here

speaking only of those magistrates whose office concerned the whole people.

of legislative measures proposed by the senate. No mention is made of Servius having established the *connubium* between patricians and plebeians, nor of his having made the latter eligible either to the highest magistracies and priestly offices, or into the senate. All that Servius aimed at, seems to have been to secure to the plebeians an influence upon the legislature, the election of magistrates, and other matters of public importance; and as the degree of influence was dependent upon property, its exercise was within the reach of every industrious plebeian. The king showed his political wisdom by not altogether overturning the ancient order of things; and by placing the plebeians in a position from which they might gradually work their way upwards, or in one which, at least, rendered further development possible. His institutions, therefore, contained the germs of the future equality between the two estates. The statement, that he intended to resign his regal power, and to institute two consuls, one a patrician, the other a plebeian,²⁷ as also to invest the tribunes of the people with the extensive powers of which we find them possessed in after-times, appears to be unfounded, and to have arisen from the grateful disposition of the plebeians towards the king, whom they loved to regard as the founder of all their great institutions.

²⁷ Livy's statement, that the first consuls were elected according to the Commentaries of Servius Tullius, means nothing else than that they were elected in the assembly of the

centuries; and Niebuhr's attempt to show that L. Junius Brutus, one of the first consuls, actually was a plebeian, is not very successful.

CHAPTER V.

L. TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS—BANISHMENT OF THE KING AND HIS FAMILY—
RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION UNDER THE
KINGS, AND OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

THERE can be no doubt that the hatred of the kingly form of government, which was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the republican Romans, though it may have arisen from the arbitrary and tyrannical rule of Tarquinius Superbus, yet contributed, in its turn, not a little to blacken his character in history; and that no small part of the odium attaching to his name must be set down to the love of exaggeration. Tarquinius Superbus was unquestionably a general of great talent; and the splendour and magnificence of Rome were advanced by him more than by any of his predecessors.

After the murder of Servius Tullius, L. Tarquinius Superbus ascended the throne, without being either elected by the senate and people or sanctioned by the curiæ. In the revolution to which he owed his elevation, the rights and privileges conferred upon the plebeians by Servius were abolished. The people were so severely oppressed, kept so closely to hard work in erecting the king's magnificent buildings, and subjected so much to the caprices of the tyrant and the patricians, that numbers of them made away with themselves; to check which, the king is said to have ordered their dead bodies to be nailed to crosses.¹ It was not the plebeians alone, however, that had to suffer: many of the old patricians were put to death or sent into exile, probably because they had not been as zealous in support of his usurpation, as

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 24, barbarity to Tarquinius Priscus. Serv. § 3, who erroneously attributes this *ad Virg. Æn.* xii. 603.

those patricians who had recently been raised to their rank by his father. He surrounded himself with a body-guard for the purpose of securing his usurped power; and after being thus strengthened, he took the whole administration of justice into his own hands: many senators were put to death; others were sent into exile, and their property was confiscated by the king. The number of senators was thus greatly reduced; and no new ones were elected to fill the vacant places: nay, the king never condescended even to assemble the senate, or to consult it respecting any matter, taking upon himself the decision of all questions respecting which it had formerly been customary to ask the opinion of the senate.

Tarquinius Superbus, like many other tyrants who about the same time ruled in the cities of Greece, was no less bold and warlike than fond of splendour and magnificence. All Latium was obliged to bow before the majesty of Rome, and to recognise her as the head of the Latin confederacy. According to Livy and Dionysius,² Latium was reduced to submission by persuasion, by the personal influence of the tyrant upon the leading men among the Latins, and by the family connections he formed with them;³ while men, like Turnus Herdonius of Aricia, who ventured to oppose the king's schemes, were treated as malefactors and sentenced to death. Cicero,⁴ on the other hand, speaks of all Latium having been conquered by force of arms. But however this may have been, the Roman king thenceforth sacrificed the bull, at the annual festival of all the Latins (*feriae Latinae*), on the Alban mount, in front of the temple of Jupiter Latiaris, on behalf of all the Latin towns, each of which received a portion of the victim's flesh.⁵ In order that in war the Latins should not have any separate commanders and standards, the king composed the maniples in the Roman army of both Romans

² Liv. i. 49; Dionys. iv. 45, &c.

³ Thus he is said to have given his daughter in marriage to Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum.

⁴ *De Re Publ.* ii. 24.

⁵ Some ruins of this common sanctuary of the Latins are still visible on the hill, which now bears the name of *Monte Cavo*.

and Latins. The league, of which Tarquinius thus became the chief, was also joined by the Hernicans, and by the Volscian towns of Ecetra and Antium, but their cohorts were kept apart from the Roman legions.

The next thing which engaged his attention was the war against the Volscians. Suessa Pometia, a wealthy Volscian town, with a most fertile and luxurious domain, was besieged and taken. The king obtained immense booty; and the vast sum of money produced by its sale enabled him to complete the building of the magnificent temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, which his father had vowed in the Sabine war.⁶ But the money thus raised was not sufficient to cover the expenses, and the people were burthened with heavy taxes and compelled to perform hard task-work. All the gods, to whom places had before been dedicated on the Capitol, now gave way to the great gods whose worship was to be established there, with the exception of Juventas and Terminus, indications that the youth of the Roman empire would never fade, nor its boundaries be reduced. In digging the foundations of the temple, the workmen found a human head,⁷ undecayed and trickling with blood, which was interpreted to signify that Rome was destined to be the head of the world. In a subterranean cell of this temple were preserved the Sibylline books, in which the fate of Rome was revealed. The king was said to have received them from a sibyl or prophetess. She had offered to sell him nine books for three hundred pieces of gold; but being treated by the king with scorn, she first burnt three, then three more, and threatened to destroy the remaining three also, unless the king would pay her for them the same sum which she had at first asked for all nine. His curiosity was at last excited, and he purchased the three books, whereupon the sibyl disappeared.⁸

⁶ See p. 58.

⁷ The head was supposed to have been that of one Tulus; the hill, which had before been called *Mons Tarpeius*, was thenceforth called *Capitolum*.

Dionys. iv. 59; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxvii. 4; Servius, *ad Virg. Aen.* viii. 345.

⁸ According to some authorities, the sybil had appeared to Tarquinius

The war with Suessa Pometia, in the territory of which Tarquinius afterwards established the colonies of Signia and Circeii, was the first of a series which fills the early annals of the republic, and lasted for upwards of two hundred years.

The Roman arms were next directed against Gabii, one of the Latin towns, situated about twelve miles from Rome. It had proudly rejected the proposal to join the confederacy with Rome. Tarquinius attempted to besiege the place, but being repulsed, he endeavoured to effect by fraud and treachery what could not be accomplished by force. While he was occupied with the continuation of his great buildings at Rome, his eldest son Sextus, according to a preconceived plan, went to Gabii, pretending to have been ill-treated by his father; and showing the wounds which he said his cruel parent had inflicted on him, he implored the protection of the Gabines against the tyrant. He was kindly received by the Gabines, who hoped that, with the assistance of an infuriated son, they might soon compel the father to abstain from hostilities. Sextus stimulated the Gabines to wage war against Rome: they listened to his advice, and even intrusted him with the command of a body of volunteers, who marched out and ravaged the Roman territory. Every enterprise succeeded; for booty and soldiers were thrown in his way by his father at certain places. The deluded Gabines at length made him commander-in-chief of their troops. Several skirmishes took place with the Romans, in which the Gabines were allowed to gain advantages over their enemies; and their confidence in their leader increased from day to day. When Sextus had reached the height of his power, and was doubtful as to the manner in which he should deliver Gabii into the hands of his father, he secretly sent a messenger to him, to request his advice. Tarquinius, who happened to be in his garden when the messenger arrived, was afraid to trust the man with any express and definite

Priscus, and sold the books to him. (Varro, *ap. Lactant. Instit.* i. 6.) The care of these books of fate was intrusted to two officers, *duumviri*, who

had to consult them whenever the state was visited by any extraordinary calamity.

message. He therefore, while walking about in the garden, as if he were meditating upon an answer, struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his stick; and without saying a word dismissed the messenger. The latter, on his arrival at Gabii, related to Sextus what he had seen; and the prince at once understood the meaning of his father's act. He caused the principal men at Gabii to be put to death, by bringing false accusations against them, while others were despatched in secret, or sent into exile. Their property was confiscated and distributed among the common people, who by this means were made to forget the public misfortune. When the city was thus bereaved of its best citizens it was without a struggle delivered up into the hands of Tarquinius, who gave the Roman franchise to its citizens;⁹ he also concluded a peace with the Aequians, and renewed the treaty with the Etruscans.

After these successful military undertakings, Tarquinius again devoted his attention to the completion of the Capitoline temple, the sewers, and other useful or ornamental buildings. But his security of uninterrupted good fortune was disturbed by alarming prodigies. The oracle of Delphi was then in the highest repute; and as the prodigies appeared to announce misfortune to the royal family, the king sent his two younger sons, Titus and Aruns, to consult the oracle about the means of averting the evil. They took with them costly presents for the god, and were accompanied by L. Junius Brutus, a son of the king's sister. His brother had been put to death by Tarquinius, and he himself had saved his life only by assuming the appearance of a dullard or idiot, though in reality he was a young man of strong judgment and intellect, and was only watching for an opportunity of delivering his country from the tyranny of his uncle. When the king's command had been executed at Delphi, the youths could not resist the temptation to ask the Pythia who

⁹ Traces of the ancient greatness of Gabii are still seen in the walls of the cell of a temple of Jupiter. But as early as the time of Dionysius the

town was a heap of ruins; this temple and the walls of the city were all that then remained.

was to become king of Rome after the death of Tarquinius. The Pythia answered, "He who first kisses his mother." The two brothers determined to keep this oracle secret from their brother Sextus, that he might be shut out from the throne, and settled between themselves by lot which of them should first kiss their mother on their return to Rome. But their plan was an idle one, for the Pythia did not mean their human mother, but the earth, the mother of all mortals; and Brutus, who understood the meaning, pretending to fall, kissed the earth, as he touched the ground, without being observed by his cousins.

After the return of the princes to Rome, other prodigies harassed the king's mind: they clearly foreboded his downfall, and warned him; but he was blind to their import, and did nothing to avert his fate. As the great public works had exhausted his treasury, and he was in want of means to soothe the anger of his hard-worked and oppressed people, who began loudly to show their discontent, he undertook a war against Ardea, a wealthy town of the Rutulians, situated on a lofty rock. An attempt was made to take the place by assault; but as this was impracticable, the Romans laid siege to it, hoping to compel the inhabitants to surrender by intercepting their supplies. The Romans therefore lay idle in their tents, waiting till the people of Ardea should have consumed their stores of provisions. One day, as the king's sons and their cousin, L. Tarquinius, surnamed Collatinus (from the town of Collatia) were banqueting in their tent, a discussion arose about the virtues of their wives, and each extolled his own above those of the others. Collatinus however was strongest in the praise of his wife Lucretia, and challenged the princes to convince themselves by going to Rome and Collatia, and paying an unexpected visit to their wives. Heated by wine, they forthwith mounted their horses, and straightway rode to Rome. There they found the princesses revelling in the evening, at a luxurious banquet, with their friends. From Rome they proceeded to Collatia; and though they arrived very late at night, they found Lucretia engaged in spinning amid the circle

of her maids. Collatinus and the princes were kindly received by Lucretia; and her husband enjoyed the triumph he had gained through her domestic virtues.

A few days after their return to the camp, Sextus Tarquinius, inflamed by reckless lust, went secretly with only one trusty companion to Collatia. Being a kinsman, he was hospitably received by Lucretia; but in the dead of night he entered her chamber, sword in hand, threatening that unless she would consent to satisfy his brutal lust, he would kill her, and lay a slave, with his throat cut, beside her body; that he would thus render her memory for ever loathsome, and returning to the camp, tell Collatinus that he had avenged his honour. By this terrific threat he gained his end. Lucretia, overwhelmed with grief, sent a messenger in the morning to her husband at Ardea, and to her father Lucretius at Rome, begging them to come to Collatia, each with his most faithful friend, for that horrible things had taken place. Lucretius came with P. Valerius, who was afterwards surnamed Publicola, and Collatinus with L. Junius Brutus. They found the disconsolate wife sitting in her chamber; and as her friends entered, tears burst from her eyes. She told them the dreadful tale, and called upon them to avenge the crime of which she was the victim. They swore that the fiendish man should be chastised, and endeavoured to comfort her; but in vain: she drew forth a dagger which she had concealed under her garment, and plunged it into her breast. While the others stood by, amazed at what they had heard and saw, Brutus drew the dagger out of the body, and swore by the bloody weapon to destroy Tarquinius Superbus and all his race. His three friends swore to the same effect, and followed Brutus as their leader, as he demanded of them to put an end to the tyranny exercised by Tarquinius and his sons. They carried the corpse of Lucretia into the market-place of Collatia. The people, affected and indignant at the dreadful sight, took up arms, and at once renounced the rule of Tarquinius. A garrison was formed at Collatia, and all the young men followed Brutus to Rome.

The news of these events produced the same indignation at Rome as it had done at Collatia. The gates were closed ; and Brutus, who held the office of tribune of the Celeres, ordered the people to be called together in the forum. When the people were assembled, and Brutus had explained to them the object of their meeting, all were animated by one feeling : with one accord they decreed the deposition of king Tarquinius, and banished him with his wife and family. Brutus then collected a body of volunteers, and set out against the king, who was still in the camp at Ardea ; while Lucretius, who had been invested by Tarquinius with the office of prefect of the city, remained behind with the supreme command at Rome. Tullia, the queen, had taken to flight ; and the people left her punishment to the spirits of her father and her husband whom she had murdered. When the king in his camp was informed of what was going on at Rome, he immediately marched to quell the insurrection. But he found the gates of the city closed against him ; while Brutus, by a different road, had reached the camp at Ardea. The soldiers saluted him as the liberator of their country, expelled the king's sons, and confirmed the deposition of the tyrant. Tarquinius and his two sons, Titus and Aruns, took refuge at Caere in Etruria, where Roman exiles were entitled to settle as citizens. Sextus fled to Gabii, which he regarded as his own principality ; but the friends of those whom he had put to death now made him pay for his crimes with his life.¹⁰

L. Tarquinius Superbus had reigned at Rome for a period of 25 years, from B.C. 534 to 510 ; but no king was elected after him. According to the regulations of Servius Tullius, the comitia of the centuries met in the field of Mars : a truce was concluded with Ardea, and the army called back to Rome. The people abolished the kingly dignity for ever, and outlawed every one who should attempt to rule as king at Rome. The laws of Servius Tullius were restored ; and under the presidency of the

¹⁰ According to Dionysius, Sextus lived several years longer, and fell in the battle of Lake Regillus.

prefect of the city, the people elected two men, L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus, to rule over them with the title of consuls, for the term of one year. The day of the king's flight (*regifugium* or *fugalia*) was celebrated at Rome every year on the 24th of February; but though the Romans detested the kingly form of government, and even the very name of king, they did not abolish any of the civil or religious institutions of their kings, and even their statues on the Capitol were preserved from destruction by a certain feeling of reverence.

The history of the last Tarquinius is so much interwoven with poetical tales, and bears such evident marks of exaggeration, that all we can look upon as really historical are the bare facts that he was a tyrannical ruler, and the last king of Rome. The story of the war with Gabii, and of the treachery of Sextus, is nothing but a repetition of that of Sinon related by Virgil, and of that of Zopyrus told by Herodotus.¹¹ It is inconceivable that any ancient sovereign should have granted the franchise, as Tarquinius is said to have done, to a city like Gabii, especially after such occurrences as tradition has handed down. The treaty with Gabii was engraved upon a wooden shield, which was preserved at Rome in a temple as late as the time of Dionysius; and the very existence of such a treaty shows the absurdity of the story about the surrender of that town. The account of the enormous spoils taken at Suessa Pometia is quite incredible; and though Tarquinius is said to have destroyed the place, it re-appears in history a few years later,¹² when it is besieged and taken. The stories of the particular cruelties of Tarquinius bear the strongest marks of being either inventions or very much exaggerated: one of them tells us that he introduced human sacrifices;¹³ another that he invented instruments of torture.¹⁴ The statement that Brutus acted the part of an idiot, and was treated as such, is at variance with the other that he was invested with the office

¹¹ III. 154, v. 92.

¹² Liv. ii. 17.

¹³ Macrobian. *Saturn.* i. 7.

¹⁴ Euseb. *Chron.* N. 1469; Isidor. *Orig.* v. 27.

of tribune of the Celeres ; the two statements must have arisen from two different traditions, which were afterwards combined into one. It is not impossible that the story of his feigned idiocy had no other ground than the signification of the name Brutus, which means "dull" or "stupid," and in the Oscan language, "a run-away slave." We may also mention that in the year before the deposition of Tarquinius, Brutus is described as a youth, yet scarcely two years later we find him the father of sons who are old enough to take part in a conspiracy. The beautiful and tragic tale of Lucretia, and the account of the subsequent banishment of the Tarquins, have in themselves nothing improbable: the fate of Lucretia in particular is of by no means uncommon occurrence in little states governed by tyrants ; but her story is inseparably connected with that about the Roman camp before Ardea. Now we are told that immediately after the banishment of the king, a truce was concluded with Ardea : and in the treaty with Carthage, which was made in the same year, we find the Romans stipulating that no injury should be done to the Ardeatans, just as if Ardea had been one of the subject Latin towns.¹⁶ This fact renders the truce, and consequently the story of the siege, altogether extremely doubtful.

The period during which Rome was governed by kings is not the same in all authorities : according to some it was 240, according to others 243, and according to others again 244 years ; though the first or round number of 240 seems to have been the one most generally adopted. Even if we overlook the unusual phenomenon of seven elective kings ruling for so long a period as 240 years, there are obvious reasons for treating the chronology of the kingly period, and of the subsequent time down to the taking of Rome by the Gauls, as artificially made up by later annalists ; for there is symmetry throughout, and where such a symmetry exists, we cannot help saying with Archimedes, when he saw mathematical figures in the sand, "Here I perceive the hand of man." Not to mention the impossibilities and

¹⁶ Polyb. iii. 22.

absurdities connected with the history of the Tarquins, the mere fact of the whole period from the foundation of the city to its capture by the Gauls being divided into three almost equal portions, each beginning with some great event in Roman history—the formation of the plebeian order about the middle of the reign of the fourth king, the expulsion of the kings, and the conquest of Rome by the Gauls—is sufficient to show, that little or no reliance can be placed upon such chronological speculations. The result of these considerations, which Niebuhr has pursued with great minuteness, is, that we cannot say whether Rome was really governed by seven kings only, or whether there were actually no more than seven, but that the period assigned to their reigns is too long. In short, we have no hesitation in concluding that the whole chronology of those times is a fabrication, made up long subsequently, when the genuine ancient documents were lost; for it is an acknowledged fact, that when Rome was sacked by the Gauls, nearly all the ancient historical monuments were destroyed; and the history of the times previous to that calamity was afterwards restored from very imperfect data.

Let us now cast a glance at the constitution of Rome and the condition of the people under her kings. Down to the time of Servius Tullius, the whole government was divided between the *king*, the *senate*, and the *assembly of the curiae*. Rome was an elective monarchy, in which the power of the king was limited by the senate and the people. The sons of the later kings are said, in the traditions, to have claimed a certain right to succeed their fathers; but such a right was never recognised. The king was the head of the state, and united in his person the judicial, the executive, and to some extent, also the legislative power: he was, at the same time, at the head of all religious and military affairs. These powers however were delegated to him, at his election, by the whole body of the citizens; and on his death they naturally devolved on the people. An *interrex* was then appointed, for the purpose of conducting the new election of the

king, who was in reality no more than the highest magistrate. When the senate and the interrex had agreed upon a fit candidate, he was proposed to the assembly of the people, who had to decide whether they would accept him or not. But besides this decision of the people, it was necessary that the gods should by augury approve of the election; if the signs were favourable, the new king was inaugurated. When this ceremony was over, the king proposed to the assembled curiae a decree or law, by which they should confer upon him the *imperium*, that is, the highest military and judicial power (*lex curiata de imperio*).¹⁶ In the constitution of Servius Tullius, it was of course intended that the king should be elected in the comitia of the centuries; and that the *imperium* should be conferred upon him by the curiae: this regulation was followed in the time of the republic, in the elections of the magistrates. The king was thus the supreme commander in war, the chief judge, and the high priest of the nation: in his judicial functions however he was probably assisted by a council; and it would also seem that a person condemned by the king might appeal to the assembly of the curiae. The ensigns of the king's power were the *fascēs*, or bundles of axes, which were carried before him by the twelve lictors. These *fascēs*, as well as the other badges of royalty, the curule chair, and the toga praetexta, are said to have been introduced into Rome from Etruria, according to some in the reign of Romulus, according to others in that of the elder Tarquinius or Tullus Hostilius. The king derived his income from a portion of the domain land (*ager publicus*), and from his share of the booty taken in war. Besides the king there was no permanent magistrate, unless we consider the tribune of the Celeres, who was the king's vicegerent in all military undertakings, to have been one. The *custos*, or *praefectus urbis*, that is, the prefect of the city, was

¹⁶ This is expressed in Livy by the phrase *patres auctores sunt* or *facti sunt*: the word *patres* in this phrase is quite equivalent to the patri-

cians assembled in the comitia curiata; and does not by any means signify the senate.

intrusted with the protection and defence of the city whenever the king was absent, and was appointed by the king himself.

The senate was a deliberative assembly, which formed the state council of the king, who had the power of electing into it whomsoever he pleased, without being responsible to any power in the state. Hence it cannot properly be said that the senate *represented* the people, or any portion of it: the only thing that might lead to such an idea is the circumstance, that an equal number of senators was taken from each of the three tribes. The power of the senate, in its relation to the king, appears to have been of a very limited kind; for no meeting of the senators could be held unless it was convened by the king, or his vicegerent, the prefect of the city. The king himself introduced the subjects for discussion, and asked the senators for their opinions; but as the senate was not an invention of the Roman kings, but an institution which we find in all the states of antiquity, as well as in Latium, usage undoubtedly exercised a powerful influence in regard to the king's conduct towards the senate: although the senate could not act without the king's will, which it had no means of opposing, yet the king was obliged to listen to his senate; and it was only the tyranny of Tarquinius Superbus that dispensed with consulting the senate. The chief subjects, which were brought before it for discussion, were those relating to affairs with foreign cities or nations; such as the beginning of war, the conclusion of peace, the formation of treaties and alliances, and the like. Respecting the part which the senate took in legislation, and the administration of public affairs, we have no information; but though it may be presumed that the king consulted the senate upon legislative matters, still the fact of Servius Tullius having been able to carry out his constitutional changes, which were greatly against the wishes of the senate, shows that the senate must have been very powerless, and had no means of thwarting the king's plans. With regard to matters of administration, it may be taken for granted, that the lands conquered in war were not disposed of without the co-operation

of the senate; and also, that the king could not tax his subjects at discretion, or without the consent of the senate.

The assembly of the people, previously to the constitution of Servius Tullius, is naturally no other than the assembly of the patricians, according to their *curiae* (*comitia curiata*). This assembly may, in some respects, be said to have possessed the sovereign power; for it was the source from which the king derived his, and to which it returned on the king's death. In delegating to one person the rights originally belonging to them, the people, in one sense, renounced those rights; but, at the same time, they did not pledge themselves to submit to his will, or to give up their co-operation in, and their right of voting upon, matters of public importance. The rights of the people, therefore, were not, as in many modern states, a concession made to them by their sovereign, but originally belonged to them; and what they retained, or gave up, was based upon a contract between the people and their king. The *comitia* of the *curiae* were convened by the king, or his vicegerent, through a *lictor*, and had the power of accepting or rejecting any proposal that was brought before them.¹⁷ Each citizen had a personal and independent vote in his particular *curia*; but the people did not vote as a mass of individuals: when the opinion of each *curia* was ascertained by the majority of individuals in it, then all the *curiae* voted, each *curia* being reckoned as one vote; just as in the *comitia* of the centuries, the votes were given by centuries, and not by individuals. The *comitia curiata* were held in the *comitium*, under the presidency of the king, or the magistrate who had convoked them. They had not the power to originate any measure whatever, to propose amendments, or to discuss the merits or demerits of a proposal: all they could

¹⁷ With these *comitia curiata* we must not confound mere *conciones*, that is, assemblies in which certain things were only announced to the people; nor the *comitia calata*, which were held under the presidency of

the pontiffs, and in which the people likewise acted a passive part, either receiving information or being called to be witness to certain religious or legal transactions.

do was to accept or reject; but on this point they had perfect freedom to act as they thought fit, and their decision was final. The principal subjects on which the assembly had to decide were, the election of the king, the passing of laws, and a variety of subjects connected with the internal administration of the affairs of the *curiae*, *gentes*, and families.¹⁸ In the reign of Tullus Hostilius, the assembly is said to have become the high court of appeal in criminal cases; but this is very doubtful, as the same is stated to have taken place in the first year of the republic. In the constitution of Servius Tullius, the principal rights of the *comitia curiata* were transferred to the *comitia* of the centuries, of which we have already spoken; and the *comitia* of the *curiae* received, by way of compensation, the right of sanctioning or rejecting the measures which had been passed by the centuries.

Respecting the condition of the people, and their mode of living in those early times, scarcely anything is known beyond what may be gleaned from the legendary traditions. The progress of civilisation must have been greatly impeded by the constant wars which the Romans had to carry on with their neighbours; although the stories about king Numa and his regulations would lead us to infer, that there existed in his reign a certain degree of prosperity and industrial activity, forming a strong contrast with the shepherds' mode of life, in the time of Romulus. The earliest Romans had no coinage; what they had to pay they paid in cattle, or masses of brass; for Servius Tullius is said to have been the first king who coined brass, marking it with the figure of some animal.¹⁹ It was not till the time of Tarquinius that

¹⁸ Dionysius, (ii. 14, iv. 20) who in general describes the distribution of the powers of government as nearly the same as it was in the later times of the republic, is wrong in his definitions. With regard to the *comitia*, e. g. he mentions that they had also to decide upon peace and war; but in the kingly period, and for a long time after, no instance occurs of

the people having had anything to do with the conclusion of a peace, whereas it is well known that war could not be declared without the consent of the people. See Liv. i. 32; Gellius, xvi. 4.

¹⁹ Hence the word for money, *pecunia*, was derived from *pecus*, cattle. See Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 3, 18.

Rome, which until then had been a place of not much note, and more like a cluster of separate villages or little townships, acquired the appearance of a great city, and was filled with magnificent architectural works. The principal and most honourable occupation of a Roman was agriculture; and rustic festivals sanctified and enlivened the toil of the labourer in the field. Commerce and trade, for purposes of gain, being little esteemed, were mostly left to the clients, and afterwards to those plebeians who had no farms of their own to cultivate; but still commerce must have acquired considerable importance, from the time that Ostia became the port of Rome, as we may gather from the treaty which Rome concluded with Carthage in the first year of the republic. The fine arts and literature were yet foreign to the Romans; and the great architectural works, which were executed under the last kings, were designed and superintended by Etruscan artists. The language of the Romans was harsh and inflexible, and little suited to the purposes of literature; the art of writing was unquestionably known, but probably used only for public purposes, such as the census, the keeping of the annals or records of the most remarkable events and prodigies of each year, and other similar objects. The Romans did not possess the artistic genius, which forms so prominent a feature in the character of the Greeks: their character was more severe and warlike; practical and domestic life had more charms for them than for the volatile Greeks. The power of a father over his children was almost unlimited. Their domestic life was of the simplest kind: it seems to have resembled that of our ancestors during the early part of the middle ages; for the virtues of the wife of the first Tarquinius, and of the chaste Lucretia, consisted in their industrious and domestic habits: we find these princesses described as occupied with spinning amid their maid-servants; while tradition mentions with disapprobation the luxurious life of the princesses in the court of the last king.

CHAPTER VI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC—EVENTS DOWN TO THE BATTLE OF
LAKE REGILLUS—DEATH OF TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS.

THE revolution which put an end to the kingly government at Rome, and for it substituted a republic, did not produce any material alteration in the state of affairs, or in the condition of the people: all that was effected was the restoration of the constitution of Servius Tullius; for the two republican magistrates,¹ who had been appointed after the banishment of the king, received the same power, and the same ensigns of their dignity, as had before belonged to the king. The only difference was, that one of the magistrates might be checked by the other; and that their office lasted only one year; after which they retired to a private station, and might be called to account for their conduct during the period of their office. The king had been the high priest, as he had to perform certain public sacrifices on behalf of the whole nation; but this priestly dignity was not transferred to the consuls; and a separate priest (*rex sacrificulus* or *rex sacrorum*) was appointed for the purpose of offering those public sacrifices. The two consuls, moreover, had not the fasces, the ensigns of their power, both at the same time, but alternately every month, beginning with the elder of the two magistrates, or the *consul major*; so that in reality one only was invested with the imperium at a time.

¹ We shall throughout this work call them by the title of *consuls*, although it is a well-known fact that at first and down to the year B.C. 449 they bore the title of *prætores*, and in Greek writers *στρατηγοί* (Zonaras, vii. 19; Liv. iii. 55.) The word

consul is probably composed of *com* and *sul*, which contains the same root as the verb *salio*, so that *consules* signifies "those who go together," just as *præsul* and *exsul* signify "one who goes before," and "one who goes out."

The period which now follows, from the establishment of the commonwealth down to the battle of Lake Regillus, is not more historical than any of the preceding periods: it is full of poetical tales, and forms the conclusion of the mythical age of Rome. But we shall relate the traditions as they have been handed down to us, and make our comments on them as we proceed.

Brutus, who had the fasces first, made the people swear not to allow any one ever to rule at Rome with the title of king: his next step was to fill up the vacancies in the senate, which had been greatly reduced by the late king. He increased the number of senators to 300, which thenceforth remained unchanged for many centuries. The new senators were taken from the equestrian order, that is, from the wealthiest class of Roman citizens; and among them there were probably plebeians as well as patricians. A distinction, however, is said to have been made, inasmuch as the new senators were called *conscripti*, while the old ones were styled *patres*; so that after that time a person, in addressing the senate, had to use the title *patres conscripti*, that is, *patres et conscripti*.

As Tarquinius Collatinus, the second of the first pair of consuls, belonged to the family of the exiled king, Brutus prevailed upon him to resign his office; and Collatinus withdrew to Lanuvium, where he lived in quiet retirement until his death. This simple story contains two points which are inexplicable: first, how was it that Brutus, himself a nephew of the exiled king,² could propose to Collatinus to resign his office, without offering to set the example himself? and, secondly, is it not revolting to every good feeling, that Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, should have been allowed to go into exile? The common excuse, derived from the jealousy of republics, is quite inapplicable here; for Collatinus had done nothing to provoke such jealousy. The story, in its present form, therefore, is either incomplete or incorrect; and it seems probable that the poet, from whom it is derived, overlooked those points on which history has a right to

² Liv. i. 56.

demand an answer. In the place of Collatinus, the people elected P. Valerius, who had been one of the four liberators of his country; and at the same time the centuries exiled the whole gens of the Tarquinii.

There was, however, at Rome, a party of young men, especially nobles, who delighted more in the licentious and voluptuous life which they had been permitted to lead under the rule of the late tyrant, and in their intercourse with the reckless princes of the royal family, than in that freedom of all ranks, which obliged them to keep within the bounds of decency. They, therefore, regretted the abolition of the regal power, and circumstances seemed to render its re-establishment possible: for at that time there arrived at Rome Etruscan ambassadors, to demand of the senate the restoration of the Tarquins, or, at least, that their property should be given back to them. During their stay at Rome, these ambassadors formed a conspiracy, the object of which was to effect the restoration of the exiled king, who had in the meantime repaired from Caere to Tarquinii. The Vitellii, Aquillii, and two sons of Brutus (who was himself married to a sister of the Vitellii), were accomplices in the conspiracy.³ The senate having decreed that the property left behind at Rome should be given up to the exiles, the ambassadors, while making preparations for carrying it away, vigorously prosecuted their treacherous scheme. But a slave, who at a banquet in the house of the Vitellii, had overheard all their plans, and knew that the ambassadors were in possession of letters from their Roman accomplices, denounced the whole affair to the consuls, who forthwith ordered the conspirators to be arrested, and had them brought to trial. Their guilt was established beyond a doubt; and Brutus condemned his own sons to death, by virtue of the power he had over them as their father. The same verdict was pronounced

³ We have already noticed the inconsistency of the story which makes Brutus a *juvenis* a short time before the revolution, and in the very year

of the revolution describes him as the father of two sons old enough to join in a treasonable plot. See p. 89.

against the others; but being patricians, they had a right to appeal to their peers. The example of Brutus, however, left the curiæ no choice, and all the criminals were scourged and beheaded.

The promise of the senate, to restore the property of the exiles, was retracted on the discovery of the conduct of the ambassadors, and all the king's goods were abandoned to the plunder of the populace. The property of the Tarquins was distributed among the plebeians, whereby they acquired a personal interest in assisting to prevent the return of the Tarquins. One of the king's estates was consecrated to Mars, and was afterwards called the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*). The corn which grew there was just ripe; but as the people were scrupulous about the propriety of consuming it, they took up the sheaves in baskets, and threw them all into the river, which happened to be very shallow. The sheaves and baskets floated together until their course was checked by running aground; as they accumulated, they formed the island in the Tiber known by the name of *insula Tiberina*,⁴ which afterwards became sacred to the god Aesculapius.

When the news of these occurrences were brought to Tarquinius, for the ambassadors had been allowed to depart unmolested, he at once resolved on waging war against Rome; and as he promised the Tarquinians and Veientines that the districts which Rome had taken from them, should be restored, they joined him with large armies. The Roman consuls marched out to meet their enemies; Valerius commanded the infantry, and Brutus the cavalry. The Etruscan cavalry was under the command of the king's son Aruns, who, on recognising Brutus, galloped against him with all his might. Brutus, no less gallant, did the same; and the shock with which the two rushed against each other was so vehement, that both fell dead from their horses. The infantry then took up the fight, which lasted all day. In the evening, both

⁴ It scarcely requires to be observed that this story about the origin of the island in the Tiber is a mere fiction.

See Gellius, vi. 7; Plut. *Public.* 8; Dionys. v. 3; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 4.

armies, being equally worn out, withdrew to their camps; though neither party would admit that they were vanquished. But in the night the voice of the god Silvanus was heard saying, that the Etruscans had lost one man more than the Romans, and that victory belonged to the latter. This voice filled the Etruscans with terror, and they immediately took to flight. On the following morning Valerius, seeing that the enemy was gone, collected the spoils, and returned to Rome in triumph. This battle was fought near the forest of Arsia. Valerius solemnised the burial of Brutus with great splendour; but his loss was felt so deeply by the people, that the Roman matrons mourned for him a whole year as for a father. His statue was placed in the Capitol, amid those of the Roman kings.

As P. Valerius did not cause a successor to Brutus to be elected, and was building for himself a stone house on the top of the Velia, in a lofty and strong position, the people suspected him of aiming at kingly power. He himself was not conscious of any such purpose; but when he was told of the rumours that were afloat, he stopped the building; and having convoked the assembly of the curiae, he appeared before them with his fasces lowered, a sign that he respected the majesty of the people, and regarded them as the source of his power. This display of deference to them delighted the people greatly; they granted Valerius a piece of land on the ascent of the Velia, and conferred upon him the privilege of having the doors of his house opening into the street.

In order to prove still more to the people how little he was inclined to revive the kingly dignity, and how seriously he thought of restraining even the consular power within certain limits, he enacted several laws, which were so agreeable to the people that they honoured him with the surname of *Publicola*, that is, the man who honours the *populus*. One of these laws allowed a citizen, who had been condemned by a magistrate to be fined, scourged, or put to death, to appeal to the assembly of the people. This law of course referred only to the plebeians, who thus obtained the right of appeal to the assembly of the plebeian

tribes;⁵ for the patricians had always possessed the privilege of appealing to the curiae. This right, however, did not extend beyond one mile from the city; for there the magistrate might avail himself of his *imperium* against patricians as well as plebeians.⁶ Another law of Valerius enacted that any one who should be convicted of aiming at regal power, or should exercise any authority with which he was not invested by the people, should be devoted with all his substance to the gods.⁷ These laws having passed, he convened the assembly of the centuries for the election of a successor to Brutus. The new consul was Sp. Lucretius, a man much advanced in years, who died a few days after his election, when the people chose in his place M. Horatius Pulvillus. An event soon occurred which created jealousy between the two consuls and their friends. The temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol, had not yet been dedicated; as each consul was anxious to perform the solemnity, they drew lots; and fortune favoured Horatius. The friends of Valerius tried by all means to throw obstacles in the way of Horatius, but in vain. At the moment when he was grasping the door-post of the temple, some one suddenly called out to him that his son had died (which was a mere fabrication), and that under these circumstances he ought not to perform so solemn an act; but Horatius exclaimed, "It concerns me not," and completed the dedication. The ides of September, on which the ceremony took place, was the beginning of a new era; and an account of it was kept by a nail being driven into the wall of the temple every year on the same day.

One of the most interesting events of the first year of the republic, and one which is established by better authority than any other of the same time, is the first treaty that Rome concluded with Carthage. Polybius,⁸ the only writer who has noticed the treaty and thus rescued it from oblivion, translated

⁵ Liv. iii. 55, x. 9; Dionys. ix. 39.

⁶ Liv. iii. 20; Gaius, iv. 105.

⁷ Liv. ii. 8; Dionys. v. 19; Plut. *Public.* 11, &c.

⁸ iii. 22.



it from brazen tables then existing in the Capitol, in the archives of the aediles. The language of the treaty was so obsolete, that in some parts even the more learned among the Romans could only guess at the meaning. From this treaty we learn that at the time when it was concluded, Rome ruled over the whole coast of Latium, from the mouth of the Tiber to Terracina; that Rome made stipulations in behalf of Ardea, Antium, Aricia, Circeii, and Terracina; that the Romans and their confederates promised not to sail into any of the harbours south of Cape Hermaeum, which formed the eastern boundary of the gulf of Carthage; that in Sicily, the Roman merchants were to have the same privileges as the Carthaginians; that they were allowed to trade at Carthage, on the coast of Libya west of Carthage, and in Sardinia. This treaty with the great commercial republic of Carthage opens at once a wide field of speculation, inasmuch as we here find Rome in a relation of which her legendary history has not preserved a single trace. It is worthy of remark, that the treaty mentions Brutus and Horatius as the two consuls under whom it was concluded, a circumstance which is irreconcilable with the common traditions, according to which Brutus and Horatius were not consuls at the same time, but the latter was the successor of the former.

In this manner the first year of the republic passed away, and P. Valerius was elected consul a second time with T. Lucretius. The exiled king, who, with his family, had in the meantime taken refuge with Porsenna, the lord (Lar) or king of Clusium, in Etruria, prevailed upon him to make war against Rome. Porsenna accordingly marched with a formidable army into the territory of the republic.⁹ The Romans were alarmed in the highest degree, for never had so powerful an enemy appeared in the neighbourhood of the city: everything, that could be devised, was done to please the people (the plebeians); and thus to make them hold

⁹ Dionysius makes Octavius Mamilius and the Latins join the Etruscans; but this is a mere fiction, arising

from the notion that the son-in-law of Tarquinius could not have been idle during the struggle.

out firmly against the mighty invader. The Janiculum was at once taken by the Etruscans, the Roman garrison of that fort retreating within the city, which was now separated from the enemy only by the wooden bridge (*pons sublicius*). As the Etruscans advanced towards it, the Romans fled, with the exception of Horatius Cocles, who had been appointed to guard it, and of his comrades Sp. Larcus and T. Herminius. While the Romans were fleeing across, Horatius kept off the assailing host, and bade the Romans tear down the bridge, as soon as they reached the other side. The three heroes stood like rocks against thousands of enemies; but at length Horatius commanded his comrades to retire into the city; and he alone resisted the foe, until the shouts of the workmen and the crash of the timber announced to him that all were safe, and that the bridge was torn down. He then having prayed to the god of the Tiber, that he would save him and his arms, dashed into the stream. Amid the showers of the enemy's arrows he swam across to the city. His grateful fellow-citizens afterwards erected a statue to him in the *comitium*, and gave him as much land as he could plough round in a day.¹⁰

The Etruscans now besieged Rome, which began to suffer from famine. The citizens testified their gratitude to Horatius, by bringing him all the provisions they could stint themselves of. When the famine was at its height, and there appeared to be no hope of saving Rome, C. Mucius, a noble youth, with the sanction of the senate, went across the Tiber intending to kill king Porsenna with a sword which he had concealed under his garment. He understood the Etruscan language, and made his way up to the king's tent; but mistaking a scribe, who was transacting business with the soldiers, for the king, he ran his sword through him. As Mucius attempted to force his way back through the surrounding crowd, the king's attendants seized him

¹⁰ This is of course a poetical exaggeration, and quite incompatible with the amount of land possessed even by

the very wealthiest Romans of later times.

and brought him before their master. Mucius frankly declared what his intention had been, and told the king that there were many more Romans, who were bold and resolute enough to follow his example. The enraged king forthwith ordered a fire to be kindled in order to force from Mucius by torture an explanation of the vague threat he had held out; but Mucius, to show that such things could not intimidate him, thrust his right hand into the flame which was burning on the altar. The king, amazed at this unequalled courage and defiance, rose from his seat and bade him depart in peace. Mucius then informed him that there were 300 young Romans who had sworn to destroy him, and would without fail accomplish what he himself had not succeeded in. Mucius, who henceforth bore the surname of Scaevola from having only his left (*scævus*) hand, returned to Rome.¹¹ He was immediately followed by ambassadors from Porsenna, who was anxious to escape from the perilous position in which the revelation of Mucius had discovered him to be, and now proposed terms of peace. But he demanded the restoration of Tarquinius in vain: the Romans however consented to restore to the Veientes the seven districts (*pagi*) which had been taken from them; and to give hostages, if the Etruscan garrison were withdrawn from the Janiculum. Peace was thus concluded; and Porsenna with his army withdrew from the Roman territory.

After such heroic deeds of the men, the Roman women also resolved upon winning laurels for themselves. Cloelia, one of the female hostages whom Porsenna had taken with him, contrived with the other maidens to escape from the Etruscan camp, and swam across the Tiber amid the darts of the pursuers. She brought her friends back in safety to their parents at Rome. The king, on hearing of it, sent envoys to demand the surrender of the hostages; and the Romans, faithful to their treaty, sent Cloelia and her companions back: Porsenna, acting in a no less chivalrous spirit, treated her with honour and distinction, and

¹¹ He was rewarded with a piece of land, on the Etruscan side of the river, which was in after-times known by the name of *prata Mucia*.

allowed her to set free any one of the young damsels she pleased. She chose the youngest, as being most in need of protection, because most exposed to danger. Peace was then renewed, and the Romans honoured Cloelia with an equestrian statue, which was set up at the top of the sacred road (*via sacra*).

This is the story about the war with Porsenna, as it was celebrated in poetry and corrupted and disfigured by the vanity of the Romans, who could not prevail upon themselves to own that their city had once been the prey of a foreign conqueror. But that Rome did fall, and fall very low, is implied in several features of the story itself, in spite of all attempts to disguise it; and Tacitus¹² clearly and expressly acknowledges that Rome was forced to surrender to Porsenna. Pliny¹³ informs us, that among the conditions of peace which the conqueror dictated to Rome, there was one forbidding the Romans the use of iron except for agricultural purposes; and a people, who were obliged to submit to such a condition, must surely have been compelled to deliver up all their arms. Now although there is, perhaps, not a single fact related in the tradition of this war, that can stand the test of criticism, there cannot be the slightest doubt that for a time, Porsenna was lord of Rome, which had yielded up its sovereignty to him. This is also implied in the statement that the Roman senate sent him an ivory throne and the other badges of royalty;¹⁴ and we may safely believe that even when Rome recovered its independence, it was obliged to give up to the conqueror a large portion of its territory; for on this supposition alone is it intelligible, how in the year B.C. 495, the Roman territory had only 21 tribes or regions out of the 30 instituted by Servius Tullius.¹⁵ Livy compresses the whole war with Porsenna into the space of one year, whereas others state that it was carried on for three successive years. The evacuation of the Janiculum did not, in all probability, take place until Rome had regained its independence. The Romans, in forging their account of the war with

¹² *Histor.* iii. 72.

¹³ *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 39.

¹⁴ *Dionys.* v. 35.

¹⁵ *Liv.* ii. 21; comp. above, p. 72.

Porsenna, seem to have forgotten that it is a more glorious thing to liberate oneself from the yoke of a foreign conqueror, than to make the vain boast of having never been conquered.

From Rome, either during its reduction or after its restoration to freedom, Porsenna sent his son Aruns with a detachment of his troops to lay siege to Aricia, probably with the view of making himself master of all Latium ; but Aruns fell in battle, and only a small body of his men escaped to Rome in a most wretched condition. The Romans received them with great kindness, nursed the wounded, and provided them with every necessary. Some of these Etruscans afterwards returned to their own country, but others remained at Rome, where a place was assigned to them which was subsequently named after them the *Tuacus vicus*.

Porsenna had in the meantime returned to Clusium, and again sent envoys to Rome respecting the restoration of Tarquinius, of whom the tradition loses sight throughout the war. But the Romans remaining firm in their determination, Porsenna at length declared, that he would no further interfere on behalf of the exiles ; and in order not to be outdone by the Romans in generosity, he not only sent back the hostages who were still in his hands, but also restored to Rome the Veientine districts of which it had before been deprived. Porsenna is thus made to display his liberality towards Rome at the cost of his own allies. But how little confidence can be placed in these accounts is evident from the fact, that more than fifty years later Rome had no possessions on the Etruscan side of the Tiber, with the exception of the Janiculum and the district of the Vatican. The defeat of the Etruscans at Aricia may be regarded as historical, and it was probably this defeat which afforded Rome an opportunity of shaking off their yoke. The property which Porsenna, on quitting Rome, left at the disposal of the Romans, was sold by public auction, which gave rise to the symbolical custom at auctions of selling the goods of king Porsenna. This custom lasted down to the end of the republic. Livy himself

found it difficult to explain how such a practice could have arisen, if Porsenna had parted from Rome in friendship.

Henceforth the Etruscan king disappears from history. The mythical character of the stories about him is further evident from the description of the sepulchral monument which the Etruscans are said to have erected to him, and which is as purely imaginary as anything described in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments.¹⁶ All that can be said with certainty is, that at one time Rome was subject to an Etruscan conqueror; but whether the conquest belongs to the time to which tradition assigns it, or to an earlier period, must be left uncertain.

After the peace with Porsenna, Tarquinius withdrew to his son-in-law, Mamilius Octavius, at Tusculum. The Romans, after having recovered their independence, carried on wars with some of the Sabine towns, in which they were victorious. Disputes among the Sabines themselves, as to whether peace should be concluded with the Romans, or the war be continued, induced the proud Sabine, Atta Clausus, afterwards called Appius Claudius, to migrate with his family and a host of clients to Rome. The Claudii received the Roman franchise, and were raised to the rank of patricians: they formed the Claudian tribe, lands being assigned to them beyond the river Anio. The consuls then marched into the country of the Sabines, and a victory which they gained over them removed all fear of further aggression from that quarter. In the same year, B.C. 503, died Valerius Publicola, the greatest hero of the time: he was honoured with a burial at the public expense, and the Roman matrons mourned for him as they had for Brutus.

About the same time a war was carried on with the Auruncans, the towns of Cora and Pometia having revolted against Rome and joined the Auruncans. In the first encounter the Auruncans were put to flight, and the war became concentrated about Pometia, which was besieged; but the Romans were worsted and returned home. Soon afterwards, the Romans made another

¹⁶ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 19, § 3, &c.

attempt upon Pometia, and with more success, for the town was obliged to surrender; most of its inhabitants were put to the sword or sold as slaves, and the town itself was razed to the ground.¹⁷

In B.C. 501, a more serious war broke out with the Latins. It is described in detail by Dionysius, although it is anything but historical. Livy passes it over very lightly, and only relates the great and decisive battle of Lake Regillus, which he places in B.C. 499, while others, and among them Dionysius, place it in B.C. 496. The whole affair, however, is only an heroic lay; for though the Romans are said to have won a complete victory, yet after several years of inactivity, they in B.C. 493 conclude a treaty with Latium, in which the Latins are placed on a footing of equality with the Romans—the very object for which the Latins are said to have fought the battle of Lake Regillus. Thirty Latin townships, it is stated, had conspired against Rome, at the instigation of Mamilius Octavius. Under these alarming circumstances, the Romans appointed a dictator to conduct the war against the Latins. His name, according to the earliest writers, was T. Larcus. The office of dictator, which had existed at Alba and in other Latin towns long before this time, conferred upon the person invested with it more unlimited power than had been possessed by the kings, for he had the imperium within the city, and from his sentence there was no appeal. By this means the patricians, from among whom alone the dictator could be chosen, were enabled to coerce the plebeians who had refused to take up arms against the Latins.¹⁸ Whether anything was undertaken by the dictator against the Latins, is

¹⁷ The accounts of this war, and of that against the Volscians (Liv. ii. 22) which is placed ten years later, are very nearly the same. Perhaps the one is only a repetition of the other.

¹⁸ A dictator was appointed for six months only, on the proposal of the senate; he was always taken from among the consuls, or the men who

had been consuls. His original title was *magister populi*. Another officer who was always appointed along with him, and acted as his deputy, bore the title of *magister equitum*, or commander of the horse. In the earlier times he was chosen by the senate, but afterwards by the dictator himself.

uncertain, but his appointment kept the enemy in awe, and the plebeians in quiet submission. However, in the following year, Fidenæ was besieged, Crustumeria taken, and Praeneste, deserting the cause of the Latins, joined the Romans. As the contest between the two nations began to take a serious turn, both engaged to abstain from hostilities for a time,¹⁹ that the various ties among their citizens might be peaceably dissolved. All the women of each nation who were married in the other obtained leave to return to their relatives, taking their daughters with them; accordingly the Roman women left their Latin husbands, but all the Latin women, with the exception of two, remained at Rome.

When these things were settled, A. Postumius was appointed dictator, and T. Aebutius his master of the horse. The Romans marched out towards Lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum. A report that the exiled king Tarquinius was in the army of the Latins, enraged the Romans so much, that they attacked the enemy at once. According to the description in Livy,²⁰ the battle which now ensued, is, as Niebuhr remarks, "a conflict between heroes like those in the *Iliad*. All the heroes encounter, hand to hand, and by them the victory is thrown now into the one scale, now into the other, while the troops fight without any effect." It would be idle here to give an account of the battle; suffice it to say, that most of the heroes fell, and that the Roman equites at length decided the victory, by dismounting and routing the enemy. A temple had been vowed by the dictator to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), and two gigantic youths on white horses were seen fighting in the Roman ranks: before the pursuit of the Latins was over, the two divine heroes appeared at Rome, and announced to the people assembled in the comitium the happy event of the day.

This glorious battle concludes the mythical period of Roman history; and though the history of the subsequent period is still

¹⁹ What here follows is a genuine fragment of the ancient lay, and is preserved in Dionysius, vi. 1.

²⁰ II. 19, &c.

much mixed up with fables and lays, we feel that we have reached historical ground. Sextus Tarquinius, according to Livy,²¹ had fallen in the battle ; but his father had only been wounded, and escaped to Cuma, where he died in B.C. 496, leaving his property to Aristodemus, the tyrant of that city. The traditions of this Latin war lead us to believe that as long as Tarquinius was alive, and Rome was threatened by dangers from without, the patricians did all they could to keep the plebeians, who formed the main strength of the Roman armies, in good humour ; and when they did not succeed by such means, the appointment of a dictator was an efficacious way of compelling them to obedience. It is expressly stated that in the year of Tarquinius' death the patricians began to trample upon the plebeians.

²¹ Comp. p. 87.

CHAPTER VII.

INSURRECTION AND SECESSION OF THE PLEBS.—THE TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBS.
LEAGUE WITH THE LATINS.—CORIOLANUS.—LEAGUE WITH THE HER-
NICANS.—SP. CASSIUS.—WARS AGAINST VEII, THE VOLSCIANS AND AEQUI-
ANS.—PUBLILIUS VOLERO, TERENTILLUS ARSA, AND THE INTERNAL
STRUGGLES BETWEEN THE TWO ESTATES.

THE plebeians, who ever since the establishment of the republic had been obliged to shed their blood in its wars, and were subject to the most rigorous laws at home, had been kept quiet, partly by mildness and moderation in times of danger, partly by the terror of a dictator; but no sooner had the danger from abroad disappeared and Tarquinius died, than the patricians at once threw off the mask, and indulged in every kind of oppression that aristocratic pride and insatiable avarice could devise. General poverty and insolvency were frequently the causes of great civil commotions in the states of antiquity; and such was the case at Rome also. But the disturbances which occurred there, far from leading to the dissolution or overthrow of the constitution, as they would probably have done in other states, were only the means of its natural development and improvement.

The distress and poverty of the plebeians must have been gradually increasing, ever since their incorporation with the Roman state; for, not to mention the hardships and oppression to which they were subjected by the last king, they had been obliged during the continual wars to serve in the armies and to pay the tribute; and thus were unable to attend to their farms and fields, which were neglected, and ravaged by foreign enemies. The consequence was, that the impoverished plebeians were

obliged to borrow money of the wealthy patricians at an exorbitant rate of interest. Now a creditor at Rome, as at Athens previously to the legislation of Solon, might by law deprive an insolvent debtor of his freedom and life; ¹ nay, even the children and grandchildren of such unfortunate persons might be thrown into the private dungeons of the nobles, in which, down to a very late period, they were kept as slaves: ² for the law was that, if a debtor, within a certain period after the debt had been proved before the magistrate, was unable to satisfy his creditor, he was given over to him as his bondsman; that is, he became what was called his creditor's *addictus*. If, on the other hand, a person in borrowing money of another disposed of himself and all that belonged to him, he became a *nexus* or *nexu vinctus*; that is, he, by his own act and deed, formally sold himself and all he possessed. ³ A person in this situation remained in possession of his pledge, that is, of his own person, for the time agreed on; after the lapse of which he had to redeem himself by repaying the borrowed money. If it was not repaid, the creditor laid claim to the debtor's property. Persons who had no property must always have contracted their loans under the form of a sale, and any one who dreaded becoming an *addictus* might pledge his person, that is become a *nexus*, in order to escape the greater misfortune; for as a *nexus* he might pay off his debt by labour, whereas as an *addictus* he was at once thrown into prison and became the slave of his creditor. If, however, a *nexus* was unable to pay his debt in any way, the magistrate declared him an *addictus*, whose lot was chains, corporal punishment, and all the hardships of slavery. The number of *addicti* and *nexi* must have been very great at the time when Tarquinius Superbus died; and as the plebeians were excluded from all share in the

¹ It is said, that a law prohibiting a debtor from pledging his person had been promulgated by king Servius Tullius, that it was abolished by the last Tarquinius and again enacted by Valerius Publicola; Dionys. v. 2;

but if so, it must by this time have been again abolished.

² Liv. vi. 36, viii. 28.

³ The word *nexus* has nothing to do with fetters or chains, as some modern writers think.

administration of the republic, and had only the sad privilege of fighting hard battles in its service, they might well say that they felt happier in war than in peace, and more free on the field of battle than at home.

Such a state of things could not last long, and, as usually happens, one spark only was needed to bring about a conflagration. In the consulship of Appius Claudius and P. Servilius, B.C. 495, an old man, in a most miserable and emaciated condition, rushed into the forum, showing the bloody stripes on his back, and telling the people his history, which undoubtedly was the same as that of many hundred others: he had served in several wars, his farm had been ravaged and burnt, and his cattle driven away; in order to pay his taxes he had been obliged to run into debt; the usurious interest had at length deprived him of his estate, and he had been compelled by his creditor to work as a slave. The excitement created by this occurrence soon spread through the whole city. Numbers of persons who had reason to fear a similar fate, as well as many who were actuated by a feeling of humanity, were seized with indignation; and large crowds assembled in the forum. The senate and consuls were undecided as to what should be done; but Appius Claudius, rich and greedy, as well as haughty and insolent like all the members of his family, was bent upon quieting the rioters by force, while his colleague tried to appease the excited multitude by gentle means. While these things were going on, messengers from the country announced that a Volscian army was on its road to Rome, intending to lay siege to the city. The plebeians were forthwith called upon to enlist in the legions; but they spurned the summons, declaring that they would rather see the whole republic perish than sacrifice themselves for the benefit of their tyrants and oppressors. At this critical moment, when compulsion was impossible, P. Servilius issued a proclamation, that the complaints of the commonalty should be looked into after the war; that no person imprisoned for debt should be hindered from serving if he were willing; that no creditor should take possession of or sell the property of any

one serving in the army; and that the children and grandchildren of the soldiers should remain at liberty during the war. Upon this announcement, all the *sevi* gave in their names and took the military oath, and the consul was soon enabled to lead a spirited army into the field. The Volscians were defeated and put to flight; their camp and the town of Suessa fell into the hands of the Romans, and were given to the soldiers to plunder. The consul then returned with his victorious army to Rome. Ecetra obtained peace, but lost a part of its territory. A. Postumius, who had before been dictator, defeated the Sabines, who had made a predatory excursion on the banks of the Anio; and the Auruncans, who had likewise tried to derive advantages from the perilous situation of Rome, were beaten.

After such brilliant achievements, the armies returned full of hope that justice would be done to them; but they were bitterly disappointed. Appius Claudius opposed every measure of humane and wise forbearance: those who had been slaves for debt were sent back to their prisons, and those who before had been only *sevi* were given up to their creditors as *addicti*; in short, all the old horrible practices were renewed. But it was impossible to execute the tyrant's commands. Those who had served under P. Servilius applied to him for redress, reminding him of his solemn promise; but as his plans were opposed both by his colleague and by the whole body of the patricians, he could do nothing, and was despised and hated by both parties. The people were in open insurrection, and protected those whom Appius Claudius condemned. The Sabines again threatened Rome with a war, but the plebeians stedfastly refused to enlist in the legions. In this manner the year came to its close.

The new consuls were commanded by the senate to raise an army, but they were unable to carry the command into effect, for the plebeians continued in a state of insurrection; they held public and secret meetings on the Esquiline and Aventine, and demanded of the patricians the fulfilment of their promises before calling upon them to fight fresh battles. Whenever attempts were made

to compel the people, scenes of violence occurred which threatened to end in general civil bloodshed. Some patricians advised that peace should be purchased by granting what the insurgents demanded; some would insist upon treating with those only who had served in the late campaign; while a third party, headed by Appius Claudius, obstinately declared that the insurrection ought to be quelled by the appointment of a dictator. Claudius would have been invested with that office, had it not been for the fear lest matters should come to extremities at a moment when Rome was threatened by the Sabines, Volscians, and Aequians. The more moderate party therefore prevailed, and M. Valerius was created dictator. The plebeians had confidence in the family of the Valerii; they allowed themselves to be enlisted, and an army consisting, it is said, of ten legions, was soon ready to take the field. The consuls marched against the Volscians and Aequians, and gained brilliant victories. Valerius then led the troops against the Sabines, who were put to flight after a fierce battle, and their camp was taken; Velitrae also fell into the hands of the victors; and the dictator returned to Rome in triumph, where he was rewarded with distinguished honours. Faithful to his promise, he demanded that the condition of the plebeians should be investigated; and as the infatuated senate refused, he resigned his dictatorship. The plebeians, seeing it was not his fault that they were again deceived, conducted him to his house; but the senators fearing lest the consular armies, when disbanded, should again hold their secret and nocturnal meetings, ordered the legions to remain in arms, under the pretext that the Aequians were renewing hostilities. This order drove the army into open rebellion. The soldiers appointed L. Sicinius their leader, crossed the river Anio, and took up a strong position on the Sacred Mount, in the neighbourhood of Crustumerium.⁴ The consuls and patricians returned to Rome,

⁴ Hence Varro, *L. L.* v. 81, calls the secession *Secessio Crustumerina*. The mount was called the Sacred, be- cause on leaving it the plebeians consecrated it to Jupiter. Some writers say that the plebeians seceded only to

and the plebeians for some days remained quiet in their camp, merely waiting to see what the patricians were going to do.

This secession of the plebs caused the greatest alarm and consternation at Rome; and as it was manifest that force would be of no avail, the senate despatched an embassy of ten men, headed by Menenius Agrippa, to treat with the insurgents.⁵ When they were admitted into the camp, Agrippa is said to have addressed the people, and to have related to them the well-known fable of the Belly and the Members, in which the latter are represented as refusing to render their ordinary service to the belly, in consequence of which, not only that part, but all the members of the whole body had to suffer. The plebeians understood the moral of the fable, and consented to treat with the deputies. A solemn compact was concluded, which was to bind all Roman citizens, both patricians and plebeians. In order to form a correct estimate of the terms of this treaty, it must be observed, that in the meantime the patricians had contrived to gain the interest of the Latins, through a treaty which was made with them by Sp. Cassius during the secession of the plebs, and of which we shall say more presently. The terms of the compact between the two orders were, that all the contracts of insolvent debtors were to be cancelled, and that all those who had been made slaves, on account of debts, should be restored to freedom.⁶ The effect of these concessions was of course only momentary; for the law or debt itself was not touched, but remained the same as it had been before. One important and permanent advantage however was gained at that time in the institution of the tribunes of the plebs. The sole object of their office then was to afford the plebeians protection against any abuse of a consul's authority. The person of a tribune was sacred: any one who violated it was declared

the Aventine: but the contradiction may be removed by the supposition, that the soldiers assembled on the Sacred Mount, while the other plebeians, who were not under arms at the time, occupied the Aventine.

⁵ Liv. ii. 32; Dionys. vi. 69. Cicero (*Brut.* 14) describes the reconciliation between the two orders as the work of the dictator Valerius.

⁶ Dionys. vi. 83; Cic. *De Re Publ.* ii. 34.

an outlaw, so that any man might kill him ; and his house was forfeited to the temple of Ceres. As a tribune was a public guardian, his house was kept open day and night for all who were in want of his succour, against either a magistrate or a private individual. The tribunes presided also in the assemblies of the plebeian tribes, before which they might bring any proposal they thought fit ; and if any person impeded them in so doing, they had the power of arraigning him before the commonalty, and proposing a fine to be inflicted on him : if the offender refused to pay the fine, his property was forfeited. Another great power of the tribunes consisted in their *veto*, or right of intercession, by which they could forbid any act of a magistrate or decree of the senate ; for they were allowed to sit at the entrance of the senate-hall, and thus to hear all that was going on within. The senate henceforth appears as the guardian of the patrician order, while the tribunes watch the interests of the commonalty ; the two therefore were natural antagonists. The merely preventive character, however, which the tribunes originally possessed, gradually rose to a preponderating, and, in the end, to an overwhelming power, before which, consuls and dictators were made to tremble. By the appointment of the tribunes, the people acquired an organ through which they could give utterance to their wishes and wants, and this is the first element in the development of a free constitution. The struggle between the two orders must be dated from this time, the plebeians being resolved to acquire an equality of rights with the patricians, and the latter being just as firmly bent on preserving their exclusive privileges. For a long period the plebeians indeed continued to recognise certain privileges of the nobles ; but they carried on the contest with a perseverance, forbearance, and moderation, of which there is scarcely a parallel in the history of the world. The main causes of this gradual advancement of the plebeians were, on the one hand, the reverence with which the Romans at all times treated the ancient and time-hallowed institutions of their country, their respect for established laws, and their love

of civil order; and, on the other, the intrigues of the patricians, who frequently either disturbed the meetings of the plebeians, or contrived to set the tribunes against one another. At first two tribunes were appointed, but they immediately chose three more as their colleagues.⁷ The number five had reference to the five classes; one tribune being chosen from each. The tribunes were elected in the assembly of the centuries, subject to the sanction of the *curiae*.⁸ Another class of plebeian officers, whose institution is connected with the secession to the Sacred Mount, were the *aediles* (*aediles plebis*), who formed a sort of plebeian police, and acted as judges in cases referred to them by the tribunes. At a later period they also had the superintendence of markets, and of the archives kept in the temple of Ceres. In this manner the internal peace of the republic was restored, and the plebeians returned to their usual occupations.

During the secession of the plebeians, the consul Sp. Cassius concluded a treaty with the Latin confederacy, the terms of which were ratified by a solemn sacrifice: it was agreed that peace should be for ever established between the two commonwealths; neither should make war against the other, or instigate or assist a foreign nation to do so; when one suffered damage or vexation from an enemy, the other was to afford protection, help, and succour; booty, and everything gained in war, were to be equally divided; the command of the united armies was to belong to a Roman and a Latin alternately; and, lastly, no alteration was to be made in this compact without the consent of both parties. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the right of contracting legal marriages between persons of the two states continued to exist.⁹ Rome was thus strengthened against

⁷ Some writers state that the addition of three tribunes to the original number of two belongs to a later date, *Liv.* ii. 58; and Cicero further states that in the year after the secession the number of tribunes was raised from two to ten; but this is an evident mistake, for we know on good authority

that it was not till the year a.c. 456 that this took place.

⁸ Some writers absurdly attribute the election of the tribunes to the *curiae*.

⁹ *Dionys.* vi. 95; *Festus*, s. v. *praetor ad portam*.

foreign enemies; and in the struggles of the patricians against the plebeians, the former could always rely on the support of the allies. But the equality established between the two nations could not be of very long duration, for Rome could not endure to share her power with another state: her ambition was too boundless, and she gradually assumed a superiority at the common diet, where the affairs of the allied states were discussed; until, after the lapse of somewhat more than a century, Rome's arrogance brought about the final dissolution of the Latin confederacy.

The secession of the plebs had taken place during the autumn of the year B.C. 493, and the fields and the harvest had been completely neglected; the consequence was that in the next year Rome was visited by dearth and famine. Envoys were sent to Campania, Etruria and Sicily, to obtain the necessary provisions; and in B.C. 491, Gelo of Syracuse is said to have been generous enough to refuse the money for a large supply of corn, which had been purchased in the port of his capital.¹⁰ While Rome was struggling with these difficulties, a war was carried on against the Volscians, which is said to have commenced in the year of the secession, and to have been conducted by Postumus Cominius, the colleague of Sp. Cassius. After the conquest of a few towns, the Romans besieged Corioli, which was taken through the gallantry of a young patrician, C. Marcius, who from this event received the surname of Coriolanus. Had not the Volscians at this time been visited by a plague, they would again have fallen upon the starving Romans; who, in order to secure themselves against foreign enemies, founded several colonies, which served as strongholds and garrisons against hostile attacks. The plebeians naturally suffered most under these circumstances; and when the supply of corn arrived from Sicily, the selfish and hard-hearted patricians bethought themselves whether it would not be possible to make the

¹⁰ This statement however is irreconcilable with chronology, for Gelo was not then tyrant of Syracuse.

plebeians sell for bread the rights which they had gained by their secession. Marcius Coriolanus was the most avowed enemy of the plebeians and their tribunes; and it was he who suggested the treacherous thought to his fellow-patricians. The senate itself thought the scheme too inhuman; and the plebeians would have torn Coriolanus to pieces as he came out of the senate, had not the tribunes interfered. They impeached him before the commonalty, charging him with attempting to destroy the compact entered into by the two estates on the Sacred Mount.¹¹ The exasperation of the plebeians was as great as the exertions and intrigues of the patricians to prevent the trial of their champion, or to obtain his acquittal. As he did not appear on the day fixed for the trial, he was condemned in his absence, and escaped to the Volscians, threatening to invade his country at the head of a foreign army.

The Volscians were glad of the arrival of a powerful Roman who was ready to assist them in their wars against Rome; and Attius Tullius, the most distinguished among them, and the most inveterate enemy of the Romans, received him hospitably into his house. There was at the time no war with the Volscians; but as the Romans commanded all the Volscians who happened to be staying among them forthwith to quit the city, the indignation of the Volscians was roused, and war was decreed at once. Attius Tullius and Coriolanus were entrusted with the joint command of the Volscian army. The latter marched against Circeii; he expelled the Roman colonists from the place, and delivered up the town into the hands of the Volscians. In like manner he took a great number of other towns, steadily advancing towards Rome. At length he pitched his camp near the

¹¹ Niebuhr justly remarks, that the powers said to have been exercised by the tribunes, in the proceedings against Coriolanus, cannot have been possessed by them at that early time; considering, moreover, that there was no motive then for a Sicilian tyrant to support Rome, and that Gelo was not yet tyrant

of Syracuse, Niebuhr concludes, that the story of Coriolanus belongs to a much later date, and has been inserted here by mistake. The whole legend of Coriolanus is full of contradictions: e.g. Corioli, at the time when he is said to have taken it, was a Latin town, and in alliance with Rome.

Cluilian ditch, and ravaged the country in the vicinity of Rome, but left the estates of the patricians unhurt. The plebeians were unwilling to fight, and the senate at length resolved to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to prevail upon him to desist from his hostility against his country. But they were haughtily received and sent back with a scornful answer. A second embassy was not admitted into the camp; and it was in vain that even the priests, attired in their sacred robes, went to him as suppliants. At length his mother, Veturia, and his wife, Volumnia, with her two young children, accompanied by many other Roman matrons, proceeded to the camp of Coriolanus. What the ambassadors of the senate, and the priests of the gods had been unable to effect, was accomplished by the tears and entreaties of the women. Coriolanus broke up his camp, and led his legions away from the Roman territory. Some traditions related that he died immediately after, overwhelmed with shame and repentance; whereas, according to others, he continued to live among the Volscians, and died an old man. The temple of *Fortuna Muliebris* was said to have been dedicated in commemoration of the delivery of Rome by the women.

It is a remarkable fact, that the ancient songs, from which the above story of Coriolanus was derived, praised him as a just and pious man.¹² The whole story seems to be based upon the fact, that Rome and Latium were at one time greatly humbled, and reduced to extremities, by the Volscians; and that the latter and the Aequians acquired, at the cost of the Latins, a great increase of power, which they maintained for a long time afterwards. It is true, that the Romans speak only of their own victories over these nations; but we never hear of any permanent conquest, while we know that some of the Latin towns continued to be in the hands of the Volscians. Much that is untrue in the early history of Rome arose from forgeries made to satisfy the national vanity of the Romans, who, great as they were, seldom had the courage to own that they had been vanquished.

¹² *Dionys. viii. 62; Liv. ii. 40.*

After the withdrawal of Coriolanus, the Volscians and Aequians are said to have returned into the Roman dominions; but as the Aequians refused to acknowledge Attius Tullius as their commander, the two nations became involved in a war, which saved Rome at once from two enemies. In the third consulship of Sp. Cassius and Proculus Virginius, B.C. 486, a league was formed with the Hernicans, on the same terms as those of that with the Latins, and by the same Sp. Cassius who had concluded the alliance with Latium. In the year previous to this treaty, the Hernicans are stated to have been at war with Rome, and to have been conquered. Rome now agreed to the treaty, with a view to strengthen herself against the Volscians and Aequians; and thenceforth the armies of the Romans, Latins, and Hernicans took the field together, and a third of the spoils and of the conquered territory fell to the lot of each. This plain fact is strangely misrepresented by Livy,¹³ who says that two-thirds of the territory of the Hernicans was taken from them—a notion arising from his belief that the treaty was one of peace, and was concluded after a war; but that war is a mere fiction. The year of Cassius's third consulship is further remarkable for being the first in which we hear of an agrarian law at Rome. A large portion of the public land, that is, land conquered in war, and therefore the property of the *populus* or patricians, was possessed¹⁴ by private patricians. Sp. Cassius proposed that this land should be taken from the patricians, and distributed among the plebeians, who were yet without landed property, and had a claim to it, since it had been conquered in war with their assistance.¹⁵ His colleague and all the patricians, who were possessors of the public domain, opposed his scheme to the utmost. It is

¹³ Liv. ii. 41; compare Dionys. viii. 77.

¹⁴ *Possidere* and *possessio* are technical terms to express the occupation of public land, for the use of which a certain sum was to be paid to the republic.

¹⁵ This is Livy's account, who adds,

that Cassius also intended to distribute the territory taken from the Hernicans in equal portions between the plebeians and Latins. Others state that he intended to parcel out the whole of the *ager publicus* among the Romans and the citizens of the two allied states. Dionys. viii. 77.

surprising to find that the plebeians, who were to be benefited by his measure, did not support him as much as might have been expected; but this lukewarmness may perhaps have arisen from jealousy, because he intended to confer the same benefit upon the two allied states. However, the law was enacted, though many years elapsed before the patricians could be induced to allow it to be carried into effect. When the year of his consulship was over, Sp. Cassius was impeached by the quaestors before the assembly of the curiae, which, being at once his enemy and his judge, condemned him to death. He was beheaded in B.C. 485, his house was destroyed, and the ground on which it had stood was cursed. Sp. Cassius must have been a great man, for he had been thrice consul, he had celebrated three triumphs, and had concluded the treaties with the Latins and Hernicans: his enemies themselves must have felt that they had outraged the feelings of humanity by his execution; and for the purpose of excusing themselves a report was spread, that he had aimed at making himself king of Rome. The selfishness, crimes, and tyranny of the patricians succeeded for the present, in preventing the agrarian law from being brought into operation; but the tribunes, watchful of the interests of their order, had become aware of the importance of the law, and repeatedly demanded its execution. In B.C. 481, the tribune Icilius made an unsuccessful attempt; in B.C. 478 the tribune Genucius, who arraigned the consuls before the commonalty for refusing to carry the law into effect, was assassinated by the patricians, who thus tried to intimidate other tribunes, and deter them from further efforts; but all was of no avail; the greediness of the nobles was thwarted by the persevering energy of the plebeians.

It is a singular phenomenon, that for a period of seven years, from B.C. 485, to B.C. 479, one of the consuls was always a member of the Fabian gens. It seems scarcely possible that this should have been a mere accident, and it was perhaps an attempt of the old patrician gentes to establish an oligarchy; but the attempt failed, for the minor patricians felt themselves

disregarded and neglected, and for a time appear to have made common cause with the plebeians. The oppression practised upon the latter by the patricians of the major gentes, and the remembrance of the ignominious death of Sp. Cassius, raised up bold men among the plebeians, who demanded the execution of the Cassian agrarian law. In order to avert the threatening danger, the patricians stirred up wars. The Fabii were at first at the head of the high aristocracy; and Q. Fabius, after having defeated the Aequians and Volscians, in B.C. 485, refused to allow the soldiers any share in the booty, which was sold, and the proceeds put into the public treasury. In the following year, an attempt was made to restore to the curiae the right of electing magistrates, and to leave to the comitia of the centuries nothing but the pleasure of doing homage to the persons elected, whereby the plebeians would have been excluded from exercising any influence upon the elections. The attempt succeeded for two years, and the men thus raised to the consulship were such as were most odious to the plebeians. The latter at last displayed the utmost determination, and refused to serve in the wars that had been kindled by the patricians. The men were indeed compelled to march into the field, but they were determined not to gain laurels for their commanders; and the consuls, derided by their soldiers, returned home without victory. The hatred of the plebeians was redoubled; and it would seem that the patricians of the major gentes effected a reconciliation with those of the minor gentes, for henceforth both again appear equally hostile to the plebeians. When the senate tried to raise the blood-thirsty App. Claudius to the consulship, the tribunes and the whole commonalty, as one man, opposed the illegal proceeding, and enforced the election by the centuries. Accordingly C. Julius and Q. Fabius were elected for the year B.C. 482; but after that time, and down to the decemvirate, the curiae, on the proposal of the senate, elected sometimes both consuls, and one, invariably: the centuries elected the other, who was treated as an inferior officer, being given to the first merely as his

assistant. After the ridiculous campaign of Q. Fabius, the Fabii seem to have felt that it was a wretched honour to command men who would not gain victories; and they resolved to make friends of the commonalty.¹⁶ M. Fabius, in B.C. 480, gained the good-will of the plebeians. The soldiers followed his summons to a war against the Etruscans, and promised obedience. His brother Quintus fell in battle: Marcus won the favour of the plebeians still more, by the great care he took of the wounded men; and thenceforth the Fabii were the favourites of the plebeians. Kaeso Fabius, who was consul a third time in B.C. 479, immediately on entering office, proposed that the lands taken in war should be distributed in equal portions among the plebeians; "for it is but just," said he, "that those should have them by whose sweat and blood they have been gained:" but this same man was one of those who had condemned Sp. Cassius to death for having proposed the same thing. The patricians naturally treated him as an apostate, and reviled him as infinitely more deserving of punishment than a plebeian tribune; but the plebeians were all the more anxious to show their attachment to him: with their assistance he drove the Aequians back into their country; and speedily returning, he saved his colleague, who was engaged in a war against the Veientes, and was on the point of being defeated by them.

After this victory, a fresh effort was made to bring about a reconciliation between the two estates; but it failed, and the Fabian gens now offered to the senate to carry on the long protracted war against Veii at their own expense. This strange proposal can be accounted for only on the supposition, that the Fabii, owing to their conduct towards the plebeians, had quarrelled with their brother patricians; and that they now proposed to emigrate, in order to avoid an open rupture. The senate gladly accepted the offer; and the Fabii, 306 in number, with a host of 4000 clients, emigrated, and took up a strong position on the banks of the river Cremera. One member alone

¹⁶ Liv. ii. 47.

of the family remained at Rome, and there continued the race of the Fabii. This emigration was the theme of ancient songs among the Romans; and the details of its history must be viewed accordingly. The war against Veii had been kindled by the patricians in B.C. 483, and as the Fabii were then at the head of the aristocracy, they had undoubtedly been the foremost to stir it up; but they had to pay dearly for their sin. We have already mentioned that in B.C. 484, the troops under K. Fabius would not fight, and abandoned their camp to the enemy; an act which was followed by all the consequences of a defeat. The Etruscans, at the height of their power, aimed at nothing short of the entire subjugation of Rome; but during the campaign of M. Fabius, the honour of the Roman name was restored, though not without great losses, for his colleague, Cn. Manlius, and his brother Q. Fabius, were among the slain. The Aequians and Volscians were at the same time harassing and annoying the Latins; and the troops, which Rome was obliged to send to the relief of the latter, diminished the army engaged against the Veientes so much, that it would have been completely overpowered, had not K. Fabius, in B.C. 479, quickly come to its assistance.

The Fabian emigrants gained repeated victories over the enemy, but their success rendered them less cautious than they ought to have been; on one occasion the Etruscans, who lay in ambush, fell upon them, and massacred them all, although the consul, T. Menenius, was not far off, and might have saved them. This happened in B.C. 477; but the particular circumstances of the catastrophe were described in different ways in the poetical traditions;¹⁷ this much, however, seems clear, that the Fabii were sacrificed through the neglect of the consul Menenius, whom the Etruscans immediately afterwards attacked and defeated. They then ravaged the country, and advanced as far as the Janiculum, from which fortress the Romans were obliged to withdraw their garrison. Rome itself was besieged, but was saved by the arrival

¹⁷ Liv. ii. 50; Dionys. ix. 19; Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 195. &c.

of C. Horatius from his Volscian campaign. For a while the Etruscans were satisfied with laying waste the country about Rome, which was suffering from want of provisions, for the city was crowded with fugitives from all parts of the country, and no supplies could be carried into it. The consuls, A. Virginus and Sp. Servilius (B.C. 476), at length ventured to cross the Tiber, and attempted to recover the Janiculum by storm; but they were repulsed, and would have been driven into the river, had not the brave Virginus attacked the enemy in the rear. The Etruscans fled during the night, and a truce was made with them for a short period; and when, in the year following, the consul Valerius had defeated the Veientes close by the gates of Veii, peace was concluded for a period of forty years.

During the truce with the Etruscans, two of the tribunes impeached T. Menenius for having neglected to save the Fabii on the Cremera. He was fined, and although the punishment was anything but severe, he is said to have shut himself up in his house, and to have died of grief. Henceforth tribunician impeachments occur almost every year. Thus in B.C. 475, Sp. Servilius was charged with having recklessly sacrificed the lives of citizens in the attack on the Janiculum, but was acquitted; and in B.C. 473, the tribune Genucius summoned the consuls of the preceding year, because they had refused to carry into effect the agrarian law of Sp. Cassius; but in order to get rid of this determined friend of the plebs, the patricians caused him to be assassinated in his own house.¹⁸ The plebeians fled in dismay, and prepared to defend themselves by force; but as the other tribunes remained in cowardly silence at the outrage, the consuls immediately began a general levy, and might perhaps have accomplished it, had it not been for the insult they offered to Publilius Volero. He had before served in the army as a centurio; and being now called upon to serve as a common soldier, he refused. The consuls resolved to make an example of him, and sent the lictors with

¹⁸ Comp., p. 123.

orders to seize and scourge him in the presence of the tribunes; but Volero, who was a strong and robust man, dashed the lictors away, and escaped into a crowd of plebeians, who overpowered and maltreated the lictors when they attempted to disperse the people. The levy was abandoned, and the tumult subsided; but Publius Volero had become the darling of the plebeians, and was elected one of the tribunes for the year following, B.C. 472. He scorned to impeach the consuls for the personal wrong he had suffered, but exerted his power in such a manner as to confer substantial advantages upon the whole plebeian order. He brought a proposal before the commonalty, that thenceforth the tribunes should be elected in the comitia of the tribes, instead of in those of the centuries. We must observe that by this time the curiae appear to have lost the right of sanctioning a tribune elect, for they would hardly have confirmed the election of a man like Volero. This proposal was opposed by the patricians in all possible ways, and even two of the colleagues of the tribune were prevailed upon to side with the nobles. Volero's two other colleagues, however, stood by him, so that he could bring his measure to the vote. The utmost efforts were made to prevent the commonalty from arriving at a decision upon the question; and the delay thus caused rendered it impossible to come to a resolution during that year. But Publius Volero was again elected tribune for the year following, and in conjunction with his colleague, C. Laetorius, brought forward fresh proposals. The first was, that the plebeian aediles also should be elected in the assembly of the tribes; the second, that on the proposal of a tribune, the assembly of the tribes should be entitled to deliberate and pass resolutions (*plebiscita*) on all matters affecting the welfare of the whole nation; for hitherto their deliberations had been confined to questions relating to their own order. By this measure it was intended that the tribes should occupy the place of the centuries, which had lost the power granted to them by king Servius Tullius, and were convened only to adopt or reject measures which had been passed by the curiae. A resolution of

the plebs on these subjects was indeed no more than a resolution passed at any public meeting in England, and was not binding as law, but might easily become so, expressing as it did the opinion of the whole body of plebeians, who were certainly not inferior in number to the patricians.

Amid the excitement caused by these proposals, the senate had appointed App. Claudius Regillensis to the consulship, expecting that, with the haughty stubbornness of his family, he would be able to prevent the plebs passing the resolutions; but the centuries gave him a colleague of a gentler disposition, in the person of T. Quinctius. At length, when C. Laetorius, a bolder and more vehement person than Volero, tried to put the matter to the vote, a fearful scene took place. The patricians assembled in great numbers, and with hosts of their clients about the forum endeavoured to disturb the proceedings of the plebeians. The messengers of the tribunes called upon them to withdraw, and tried to compel the refractory, but they were hooted and scorned; and App. Claudius sent his lictors to seize Laetorius, who at the same time despatched some of his men to arrest the consul. The plebeians, rushing on to defend their tribune, put the patricians to flight. The plebeians, exhorted to moderation by T. Quinctius, followed the fugitives, and occupied the Capitol with armed men. The senate, becoming convinced that force could do nothing, praised Quinctius for his conduct; and the proposals of Publius Volero and C. Laetorius were carried and sanctioned as law by the senate, which saw no other way of getting out of its difficulties.

The carrying of these resolutions (*lex Publilia*) was of incalculable advantage to the plebeians; for, in the first place, there was now a law which had been originated by a tribune and the assembly of the plebs, a thing which had never been heard of before, but might serve as a precedent; and, in the second, it secured to the plebeians the right of electing their own magistrates, and of passing *plebiscita* upon all questions of public interest: such resolutions, being the declared will of the plebs,

necessarily exercised great influence, until after a time they acquired the force of laws binding upon the whole nation. Life and motion were thus awakened in the constitution, and the whole republic was benefited. But App. Claudius, who had been chosen by his own order to defy the plebeians, and had then been deserted by it, burnt with indignation. He was required to levy an army against the Aequians and Volscians, who must have been a real scourge to the Roman allies. The soldiers were enlisted, but resolved that he should not gain victories through them; while his mind was wholly set upon devising means of driving the soldiers to despair. When the troops met the Volscians, they heard a report that the consul intended to betray them to the enemy; and as this was readily believed, they fled back to their camp, whither they were followed by the Volscians. Appius summoned the soldiers of the infantry to assemble without their arms; but suspecting that, with the assistance of the equites and the allies, he intended to massacre them, they refused to lay aside their arms. This compelled Appius to desist from his scheme. The suspicion of another plot to betray the troops to the Volscians induced them to desert their standards: they fled in a tumultuous manner till they reached the Roman territory. Thus they had been driven to an act of high treason against the republic. Appius followed the soldiers, and tried them by a court-martial: the centurions who had deserted their standards, and every tenth soldier, were beheaded.

When the year of his office had come to its close, the tribunes impeached him capitally before the commonalty. He assailed the tribunes with scorn and abuse: his accusers postponed the trial, that he might have an opportunity of withdrawing into exile; but in the night before the day on which the trial was to come on, App. Claudius died. It is said that he made away with himself; but if so, his family kept it secret, that his body might not be deprived of an honourable burial. Repeated attempts were made about the same time to carry into effect the

agrarian law of Cassius, but in vain : it is said that the indignation of the plebeians rose at last to such a pitch, that they refused to take part in the election of the one consul ; and that, consequently, the consuls of the year B.C. 468 were elected by the patricians and their clients. This account probably means that the plebeians refused to sanction the consul who had been elected by the curiae, and that the patricians were satisfied with seeing him confirmed by the comitia centuriata at which only they and their clients voted ; for the refusal to assist in the election of the other consul would have been childish, and could not have been otherwise than most agreeable to the patricians.

A successful campaign against the Volscians, and the taking of Antium, soothed for a time the animosity of the two parties. The consul, Tib. Aemilius, repeatedly recommended the execution of the Cassian law ; and it would seem that at length it was, at least to some extent, carried into effect, or that a compromise was made with the plebeians, for henceforth we hear no more complaints about it for some years.

During the period of these internal commotions, wars had been carried on against the Volscians and Aequians. Antium had been taken, but did not remain long in the possession of the Romans, for it was lost again in B.C. 459. In the third campaign, B.C. 465, two consular armies marched out against the Aequians, who had pitched their camp on Mount Algidus. While the Romans and Aequians were encamped on those woody hills, in face of each other, separate bodies of the latter made predatory excursions into the plain, and even penetrated to the vicinity of Rome. In the year following, the town of Ecetra also declared war against Rome, where all the preparations required for the emergency had been made : its walls were strongly garrisoned, and the gates well guarded ; but the consuls in the field could do nothing, and were in the greatest danger. Thousands of country people had taken refuge with their cattle within the walls of the city ; it was in the heat of summer ; the scantiness of food, together with the crowded state of the population,

produced epidemic diseases, which attacked both men and beasts ; and in B.C. 463 a real pestilence began its ravages. Thousands were carried off by it, and every house in the city suffered more or less. During this distress, the allies called for protection ; and the Volscians, uniting with the Aequians, pitched their camp at the distance of not more than three miles from the Esquiline gate. But the enemy made no attempt to take the city, perhaps only from fear of the contagion. They soon broke up their camp, and ransacked every corner of Latium, where they could find or expect booty. A weak army of the Latins and Hernicans at length risked a battle, but they were defeated with great slaughter. The consequence of this, as of other military reverses, are not mentioned by the Roman historians, who, in the very next year, represent Rome as again victorious ; but it is evident that the spreading of the plague rendered it desirable for all parties to abstain from war, the cessation of which was in all probability owing more to the ravages of the pestilence than to any victory of the Romans. For two years no mention of a war with the Volscians is made.

The Aequians had concluded peace with Rome ; but their commander, Gracchus Cloelius, nevertheless led his troops again to Mount Algidus. In B.C. 458, the consul, L. Minucius, was defeated in those mountains by the Aequians, who then besieged him in his camp. His colleague was engaged against the Sabines, who were continually making inroads into the Roman territory ; but Minucius was rescued by succour from Rome. This plain fact seems to be the substance of the legend of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, for it is impossible to consider the accounts about Cincinnatus in any other light than that of a poetical tale. The senate resolved, so runs the story, to appoint a dictator to extricate the republic from the threatening danger ; and no man was thought more capable of rendering this service, and of rescuing Minucius from his unfortunate position, than L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. The messengers of the senate, who brought him the dictatorship, found him and his wife Racilia engaged in

rustic pursuits on his little estate beyond the Tiber. When he had put on his toga to receive the message of the senate, they saluted him as dictator and conducted him to Rome. He immediately ordered that every one capable of bearing arms should be enlisted. All obeyed, and in three days he marched with a numerous army to Mount Algidus, which he reached at midnight. The Roman camp was still surrounded by the enemy. Cincinnatus made his soldiers form a circle round the Aequians; and having given a signal to Minucius that succour had come, the Romans burst forth from their camp. The fight lasted till daybreak, when the Aequians, to their utter dismay, perceived that they were surrounded. They implored the Roman dictator that he would not destroy them. Cincinnatus ordered Gracchus Cloelius and his lieutenants to be put in chains: the rest were obliged to lay down their arms before the conqueror, and were disgraced by being compelled to pass under the yoke. The town of Corbio and the enemies' camp, with all that it contained, fell into the hands of the victors. Cincinnatus returned to Rome in triumph, and was rewarded with a golden crown. Minucius had no share in either the booty or the triumph. Cincinnatus laid down his dictatorship, with which he had been invested only sixteen days, and returned to his farm. The danger of Minucius, and his delivery by Cincinnatus, were the subject of a beautiful poem, the substance of which is contained in the ordinary accounts, of which the above is only an outline.¹⁹ The Aequians were thus defeated: but the war was not yet at an end: it continued with varying success, until the battle near Corbio, in B.C. 446, weakened the Aequians so much, that they were for a time unable to take up arms against Rome.

The plague by which Rome was visited during this period must have made fearful havoc among the people, and have completely swept away many of the patrician families. This

¹⁹ Dionysius has reduced the story to something which looks like real history, but is still very far from it.

epidemic was followed as usual by a considerable degree of demoralisation. The calamity itself was increased by great reverses in war, and by numerous acts of oppression and injustice which the magistrates committed against the plebeians, and which led to new agitations on the part of the tribunes. In B.C. 462, while the legions were in the field, the tribune C. Terentillus Arsa brought before the commonalty a proposal, the object of which was to place the two estates as nearly as possible on a footing of equality. Hitherto the consuls had exercised their authority not according to any written rule, but according to hereditary usage and their own discretion, and they had frequently been guilty of acts of flagrant injustice. With the view of restraining their power, Terentillus proposed that five men should be appointed to frame a code of laws for all classes of Roman citizens.²⁰ This plan shocked many prejudices, and called forth the most passionate resistance of the ruling party. The bill was passed by the tribes, but rejected by the senate and the curiae. Next year the bill, perhaps with more extensive demands than at first, was again brought forward by the tribune A. Virginius. The patricians had recourse to their usual tricks, by which they disturbed and annoyed the proceedings of the commonalty. Their leader was Kaeso Quinctius, the son of L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a proud young man, and full of contempt for the plebeians, whom he more than any other of his brother patricians maltreated and insulted. The tribunes, however, held together as one man; and the plebeians were ready to support them at all hazards. They brought a capital charge against K. Quinctius, for having violated the sacred person of a tribune. The patricians implored forgiveness for their champion; and it would perhaps have been granted, had not an outrage come to light which he had committed some

²⁰ Zonaras, vii. 28; Liv. iii. 9; Dionys. x. 50. The laws ascribed to the kings had been collected by Papirius (*jus Papirianum*) in the reign

of Tarquinius Superbus, or even in that of Tarquinius Priscus: what was now wanted, was equal laws for both estates.

time before upon an aged and sick man, who died in consequence of the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of the haughty young aristocrat. The friends of the deceased man had never been able to get the case investigated by the consuls. This unexpected piece of news enraged the assembly to such a degree, that the people would at once have cut down the offender if the tribunes had not interfered. K. Quinctius escaped into Etruria; and his friends had to pay the amount of the securities which they had given for him.

Some of the patricians were intimidated by these occurrences, and were inclined to give way; but others continued their vehement opposition, while in secret they endeavoured to win the favour of the plebs by acts of kindness and flattery: such unusual conduct, however, created suspicion; and a report was spread that K. Quinctius was at the head of a conspiracy to murder all the leading plebeians. This threw the people into a state of alarm and uneasiness. One night they were awakened from their sleep by a war-shout from the Capitol. A band of 4000 exiles and run-away slaves, under the guidance of the Sabine Appius Herdonius, had, in the night, taken possession of the Capitol; and there was sufficient reason for believing that this was part of the plot said to have been formed by K. Quinctius. The consuls manned the walls and gates of the city, in case of any attack from without; and all persons bound to serve in the army were called upon to take up arms: but the plebeians refused to take the military oath, which would have compelled them to yield blind obedience to the commands of the consuls, until P. Valerius, one of the consuls, interfered, solemnly promising that the voting of the tribes should be no further disturbed, and pledging himself that the bill of Terentillus, if it were passed by the commonalty, should be sanctioned and made law. Thereupon the soldiers took the oath, and the Capitol was stormed. P. Valerius himself, and a great many others, fell during the assault; but the exiles were overpowered, and those who were captured were put to the sword. K. Quinctius was believed to have been among them,

and to have been killed : this opinion is supported by an expression of Livy,²¹ who says, that he was irrecoverably lost to his friends and the republic.

After this danger was removed, the tribunes called upon App. Claudius to redeem the pledge of his late colleague P. Valerius. But he declared that he could not act by himself, and caused the haughty L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, the same who, two years later, delivered Minucius from the Aequians, to be raised to the consulship by the senate and curiae. The most outrageous plans were now formed, not only to prevent the commonalty from passing the bill of Terentillus, but even to reduce them to that state of dependence in which they had been previously to the secession to the Sacred Mount. But even the very hardest among the patricians now felt that they must abandon such schemes, and they prevailed upon the plebs to let the bill lie dormant for a year. The determination of the plebeians, however, was manifest from the fact of their re-electing the tribunes of B.C. 461 for five successive years. During the sort of truce now established between the two orders many of the leading plebeians were secretly assassinated ;²² but such acts of violence only rendered the plebeians more stout and resolute in their demands. In B.C. 457 the number of tribunes was raised from five to ten, two being taken from each of the classes,²³ probably because the former number was found insufficient to afford the protection which was needed when outrages of every kind were of such frequent occurrence.

The increase of the tribunician power became manifest the very next year ; for the tribune Icilius, and his colleagues, compelled the consuls to bring a resolution of the plebs before the senate,

²¹ III. 25.

²² Dion. Cass. *Excerpt. de Sent.* xxii. p. 151, ed. Reimar.

²³ Liv. iii 30 ; Dionya. x. 25. They who believe that a tribune, as early as this time, had power to stop the proceedings of all his colleagues by

his veto, are forced to say, that the increase in the number of the tribunes was a concession to the patricians only, who must have found it easier to gain over one out of ten, than one out of five.

and to allow the tribunes to defend it. The object of this bill, which was passed, was, that the Aventine should be assigned to the plebeians. A part of that hill had been assigned to them as early as the time of king Ancus Marcius; but from the law of Icilius we must conclude that there still were portions of the Aventine which were public land, and had not yet been assigned. These parts were occupied by patricians, who had built houses there which they let to plebeians. The patricians were indemnified for those houses; and the ground, with the buildings upon it, was distributed for dwelling places among the plebeians. Henceforth the plebeians are in exclusive possession of the strong suburb on the Aventine. In B.C. 454, another great step was gained, by a law carried by the consuls, Sp. Tarpeius and A. Aternius, which limited the fines to be inflicted upon a plebeian; the maximum being two sheep and thirty beees.²¹

The bill of Terentillus Arsa appears to have been forgotten for a number of years; but it was taken up again in B.C. 454; and the patricians now consented that the laws of the republic should be revised, but at the same time reserved to themselves the right of framing the new code of laws. The first step was, to send three senators to Athens, to acquire a knowledge of the constitution of that city, as well as of the laws and institutions of other Greek states. The account of this embassy to Greece has been doubted by modern writers, on account of the wide difference between the legislation which was the result of this embassy, and the institutions of Athens and other Greek states. But we should remember that they did not go with a view to *adopting* the laws of a foreign country: their object unquestionably was simply to acquire a knowledge of the working of the laws, and of the principles on which they were based; and surely any legislator, to whatever country he belonged, might derive wholesome and instructive information from the constitutions of the Greek

²¹ Dionys. x. 50, ludicrously says, two oxen and thirty sheep. Comp. Festus, s. v. peculatus.

states, although it might not be his intention to copy a single law. The remains of ancient theatres, and works of art, which are found in Latium and Etruria, show incontestably, that the Romans of that time were sufficiently acquainted with the arts and literature of Greece to know, that something might be learned there which they could turn to their own advantage.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DECENVIRATE AND ITS LEGISLATION.—THE TRIBUNE C. CANULEIUS.—
MILITARY TRIBUNES WITH CONSULAR POWER—THE CENSORSHIP.—SP.
MÆLIUS.—WARS AGAINST THE ETRUSCANS, AND THE TAKING OF VEII.

AFTER the return of the ambassadors from Greece, some disputes arose about the composition of the board to be entrusted with the new legislation; the plebeians demanding that their order should be represented by five in the board of the ten (*decemviri*). But after some time they gave way on this point, and allowed the decemvirs to be taken exclusively from the patricians. It is a principle which we find adopted in all the states of antiquity, that when a person or a commission was appointed to frame a new code of laws, or to remodel a constitution, he or it was for the time invested with supreme power, and all other authorities were suspended. The same rule was now observed at Rome: the offices of the consuls, of the praefect of the city, and of the aediles and quaestors were suspended until the decemvirs, who entered upon their task on the ides of May, B.C. 451, and from whose sentence no appeal was left,¹ should have completed their work. From the accounts which have come down to us, it would appear that the tribuneship of the plebs was likewise abolished; but as, among the laws which the decemvirs pledged themselves to maintain, special mention is made of the Icilian law respecting the Aventine, we may presume that the tribunes continued to exercise their usual functions, probably with this exception, that during the period of the decemvirate they were not allowed to bring any new bills before the plebeian assembly. It would, in

¹ Liv. iii. 32; *placet creari decemviros sine provocations.*

fact, have been a most inconsiderate and foolish forbearance on the part of the plebeians, to give up the only safeguard they had against patrician aggrandisement, and this at a time when ten patricians were invested with the supreme power.

The object of the new legislation was to unite the two estates, which had hitherto existed independently of each other, and to embody in the new code such of the earlier laws and customs as would not disturb the intended unity. As, however, the decemvirate was composed of patricians exclusively, it may easily be imagined, that but little was done to improve the condition of the plebeians; that, on the contrary, the oligarchy did all it could to establish its power more firmly.

We are told, however, that the decemvirs acted in perfect harmony among themselves, and were just towards the people; nay, that they managed the affairs of the republic so well during the year of their office, that all classes of citizens were satisfied with their administration. They are said to have availed themselves of the assistance of Hermodorus of Ephesus,² in drawing up the new code of laws, which embraced ancient Roman and Italian customs, laws promulgated by the kings, and others, which were either entirely new, or derived from Greece proper and the Greek states in southern Italy. The peace of the republic was not disturbed by any foreign enemy, and when the year came to its close, the decemvirs had completed the code, the laws contained in which, having received the sanction of the senate, the centuries, and the curiae, were engraved upon ten tables of brass, and set up in the comitium, that everybody might be able to read them.

These laws thenceforth continued to be the basis of all civil and criminal legislation among the Romans, down to the time of the emperors. Some persons however were of opinion that the new code, though in itself very excellent, was not complete, and that the addition of two more tables would make it as complete as could be desired. It was accordingly resolved, that for the next year also decemvirs should be appointed. The cunning

² Diogen. Laert. ix. 2; Cic. *Tuscul.* v. 36; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xx. xiv. 5.

Appius Claudius, one of the first decemvirs, who by a feigned moderation and mildness had contrived to insinuate himself into the favour of the plebs, presided at the election of the new decemvirs, and did not blush to accept votes for himself. He, in conjunction with other leading patricians, exerted his utmost influence to promote the election of such men as were the most notorious and avowed enemies of the plebeians. Deception and intrigues marked the beginning of this decemvirate; and when Appius Claudius had gained his end, he threw aside the mask. Two tables were soon added to the ten of the previous year;³ and after this was done, the decemvirs began to act as real despots, turning all their hatred and malice against the plebeians, who, deceived by the affected moderation of the first decemvirs, had allowed the office of their tribunes to be suspended for the period of the second decemvirate.⁴ From the manner in which the decemvirs acted, one might have supposed that they had conspired together never to give up that absolute power with which they had been invested only for a certain object and a limited period; for no assemblies were convened, either to sanction the two tables, or to elect new magistrates for the year following. The year thus came to its close; and as the decemvirs showed not the least inclination to withdraw from office, the patricians themselves began to be as much alarmed as the plebeians. In the meantime the Sabines and Aequians renewed their hostilities, and ravaged Latium and the Roman territory. The senate was obliged to decree a levy of taxes, and the decemvirs carried it into effect. The armies went out under their command; but Appius Claudius, and one of his associates, remained behind at Rome. One army was defeated by the Sabines near Eretum, and the other on Mount Algidus by the Aequians, who seized upon the camp of the Romans, and compelled them to take refuge at Tusculum. The city of Rome, at whose gates the enemy was expected every moment to appear, was put into a state of defence,

³ Diod. xii. 26, states that the two new tables were not added till the year after, and then by the consuls Valerius and Horatius.

⁴ Liv. iii. 57.

while reinforcements were sent out to strengthen the armies of the decemvirs.

During this deplorable state of affairs, things happened in the army and at Rome which brought the tyranny of the decemvirs to a close. In the army engaged against the Sabines there was a distinguished plebeian named L. Sicinnius Dentatus,⁵ who had fought with honour in many wars, and was known to be an undaunted opponent of the decemvirs. He had even ventured to hold out a threat of another secession of the plebs, and of the re-establishment of the tribuneship. In order to get rid of so pertinacious an enemy, his superiors sent him from the camp, accompanied by a number of other soldiers, to view the country, and choose a place for a camp. But his companions had secret orders to assassinate him ; and when they came to a lonely spot they fell upon him. He was murdered amid a number of the hired assassins, whom he slew in defending himself. When his body was found, it was manifest what had occurred ; for no one could believe that he had been killed by the Sabines. This murder raised the indignation of the soldiers against the decemvirs still higher ; but the measure of their crimes was not yet full.

About the same time that this occurred in the camp, App. Claudius at Rome cast his lustful eyes on Virginia, a lovely and modest maiden, the daughter of the centurion Virginius, who was then with the army. App. Claudius had her carried off by one of his servile clients, and publicly declared that she was one of his slaves, refusing to listen to the evidence of her betrothed Icilius, or of any other witness. When, after a mock investigation, the tyrant was on the point of taking possession of her, Virginius, who had in the meantime come to Rome to protect his child, begged permission to take leave of her and speak a few words to her in private. The request was granted, and the exasperated father, preferring to see his child die before his eyes to her living dishonoured, snatched a knife from a butcher's stall and plunged it into her breast. With the bloody knife in

⁵ Gellius, ii. 11; Liv. iii. 43.

his hand, and protected by a large crowd of people, he hastened from the forum to the gate, and thence to the army, to rouse the soldiers against the tyrants. The friends of Virginius assembled again in the forum, and over the body of the innocent victim raised the cry for freedom. The lictors whom App. Claudius sent among them were overpowered and their fasces broken; and the decemvir, seeing himself deserted and despised by all, took to flight. His colleague, Sp. Appius, convened the senate; but no resolution was come to, the only object of the patricians being to gain time.

As soon as the soldiers in the camp were informed by Virginius of what had occurred at Rome, they quitted the camp, marched towards the city, and took possession of the Aventine, where they renounced the government of the decemvirs. The senate sent envoys to the insurgents, but no answer was given, except that the soldiers would not treat with any other deputies than L. Valerius and M. Horatius, two patricians who, throughout the tyranny of the decemvirs, had acted in a kindly spirit towards the people. In the meantime the army which had been sent against the Aequians also arrived on the Aventine, and when all the men were thus assembled, preparations were made for quitting Rome; but at length Valerius and Horatius were deputed to the Aventine. The people, however, refused to treat with them, unless the decemvirs were compelled by the senate to resign their power. It being evident that the patricians were unwilling to sacrifice the decemvirs, M. Duilius, who had been tribune, told the people that the disputes would never come to an end by negotiation; that, in order to gain their object, they must show a firm resolution to quit Rome, and seek a home elsewhere. Hereupon, the soldiers and all the other plebeians, men, women, and children, who had flocked to them from the city and its neighbourhood, proceeded to the Sacred Mount, where they took up a strong position. A tacit truce, however, prevailed; and it is said that no act of hostility was committed on either side. Valerius and Horatius were again despatched as ambassadors to

the seceders, but with full power to treat with them on any terms they might think proper. They were received in the camp with the greatest joy. Icilius spoke for the plebeians, and demanded the restoration of the tribuneship, the right of appeal against any magistrate, and an amnesty for those who had urged the people and the army to the insurrection : his last demand was that the decemvirs should be delivered up and suffer death at the stake. The ambassadors willingly granted the first three points, but they thought the proposed punishment of the decemvirs too severe ; and as they promised the people that they should have the right to impeach every one of them separately, the plebeians gave way and trusted to the honesty of the envoys.

When the report of these transactions was brought to Rome, all further opposition on the part of the patricians ceased, and the senate issued an ordinance requiring the decemvirs to lay down their power, in order that consuls might again be elected. The new tribunes were to be chosen under the presidency of the chief pontiff. The command being obeyed by the decemvirs, the seceders returned to Rome, and elected their new tribunes. The men appointed to the consulship were L. Valerius and M. Horatius, the stout champions of the people's liberty.⁶

Let us now examine the result of the decemviral legislation in regard to the constitution. There can be no doubt that the laws of the twelve tables⁷ contained an arrangement by which the whole body of Roman citizens, the patricians and their clients, as well as the plebeians, thenceforth became members of the local tribes, which had previously consisted of the plebeians alone. As proofs of this fact, we may mention that App. Claudius, in the very year of the abolition of the decemvirate, is represented

⁶ The account we have here given is the one adopted by most writers ; but Cicero (*De Re Publ.* ii. 37, and in the fragments of the *Cornelianas*), gives a different account of this revolution ; for according to him the seceders first established themselves on the Sacred Mount, and thence proceeded

to the Aventine.

⁷ Some fragments of the laws of the twelve tables have come down to us, and are collected in Dirksen, *Uebersicht der bisherigen Versuche zur Kritik und Herstellung der Fragmente der zwölf Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1824, 8vo.

as appealing to the assembly of the tribes;⁸ in B.C. 433, the censors punished Mam. Aemilius by striking his name off the list of his tribe;⁹ and in B.C. 392, the patricians are described as imploring their fellow-tribesmen to vote against the projected settlement at Veii.¹⁰ Many more instances belonging to a later time might be mentioned, in which the patricians are described as members of the local tribes.¹¹ The assembly of the tribes, therefore, now became a great national assembly for legislative purposes, but the measures passed by it still required the sanction of the *curiae*: it had also the election of all minor magistrates, as the *aediles*, *quaestors*, and *tribunes*, and was at the same time the high court of appeal. The assembly of the *centuries*, on the other hand, retained the election of the high magistrates, the decision upon peace and war, and the privilege of acting as a court of justice in certain cases. The advantages which the plebeians derived from this arrangement were, however, very insignificant; and in the civil part of the new legislation many of the severe and exclusive laws and customs of former times were sanctioned, as, for example, the law of debt, and that which declared marriages between a patrician and a plebeian illegal.¹² The highest magistracy remained, as before, inaccessible to the plebeians; nor was there any law to entitle them to a share in the conquered lands, which became the property of the state. The study of the laws of the twelve tables, so far as they have come down to us, is extremely instructive in regard to the manners and feelings of the Romans of those times. A father, for instance, was permitted to sell his son thrice: other laws, however, show great wisdom and sound political principles. Their interfering so much with the affairs of private life, is a

⁸ Liv. iii. 56.

⁹ Liv. iv. 24.

¹⁰ Liv. v. 30.

¹¹ The three ancient Romulan tribes, the *Ramnes*, *Tities*, and *Luceres*, had now become practically useless, and fell into oblivion. The distinction between the *gentes maiores*

and *minores* likewise begins to disappear after this time.

¹² These, and many other laws of a similar kind, were probably contained in the last two tables, which Cicero (*De Re Publ.* ii. 37) calls *unjust*, while he praises the other ten tables for their justice and fairness.

feature which the Roman laws have in common with those of all other ancient states ; for the ancients thought it the duty of a state to take care that all the members of the community should become good citizens in every respect.

The men who had deserved the greatest honour for their conduct during the late troubles, and who had been rewarded with the consulship, did not disappoint the hopes of the plebeians. For the purpose of securing the rights of the people, they revived the old laws respecting the inviolability of the tribunes—that an appeal should be allowed from the sentence of every magistrate who should ever be appointed ; and that any person acting contrary to this should be outlawed. As the assembly of the tribes now contained both the patricians and the plebeians, the consuls procured a new law to be passed by the centuries, ordaining that any measure carried in the assembly of the tribes should have the same force as one passed by the centuries ;¹³ so that, if such a measure received the sanction of the curiæ, it became law for the whole nation, just as one proposed by the consuls and carried in the comitia centuriata. The consuls, L. Valerius and M. Horatius, further enacted that the ordinances of the senate should thenceforth be deposited in the archives of the temple of Ceres, and be kept there by the plebeian ædiles. The tribune, M. Duilius, also carried a plebiscitum, that any one who should cause the plebeians to be without their tribunes, or should appoint a magistrate without securing the right of appeal from his sentence, should be scourged and put to death, or, according to others, be burnt at the stake.¹⁴

The freedom of the plebeians appearing now to be firmly established, the tribunes summoned the late decemvirs one by one before the court of the plebeians. App. Claudius was thrown into prison, and died, probably by his own hand, before the day

¹³ Dionys. xi. 45. Livy's statement, *ut quod tributum plebs jussisset populum teneret*, seems to be incomplete and to require the addition, "if

sanctioned by the curiæ," for this sanction was also required for all measures passed by the centuries.

¹⁴ Liv. iii. 55 ; Diod. xii. 26.

of trial ; his colleague, Sp. Appius, perished in the same manner ; the remaining eight were found guilty, but were allowed to go into exile, and their property was confiscated. All who had been accomplices of the decemvirs dreaded a similar fate, but the tribune Duilius would not allow any further impeachments for crimes committed during the rule of the decemvirs. This moderation allayed the fears of the patricians ; but as their alarm subsided, they began to feel exasperated at having been frightened, and took the first opportunity of showing a mean spirit of revenge.

When the internal affairs of the republic were settled, Valerius led an army against the Aequians and Volscians, who were encamped on Mount Algidus, and after a glorious fight the enemy's camp fell into his hands. The report of this victory filled the Romans with joy, and gave confidence and courage to the army engaged under Horatius against the Sabines, who were routed, and abandoned their camp to the Romans. That day put an end to the wars of the Sabines, of which henceforth we hear no more for a period of 150 years. Both consuls had deserved a triumph, but the senate refused to grant it, and treated the victorious consuls as men who had betrayed the interests of their own order to the plebeians. But the tribune Icilius brought the matter before the assembly of the tribes, and the consuls celebrated their triumph without an ordinance of the senate, in accordance with a mere resolution of the people,¹⁵ a thing which had never been done before.

The confidence which the people had in their tribunes and consuls made them desire to have the same persons re-elected for the next year ; but the wisdom and moderation of the tribunes as well as the consuls opposed this scheme : new officers were elected ; and among the tribunes of B.C. 448 there were even two patricians ; to the cause of whose order some of the others also were

¹⁵ After the decemviral legislation, the Romans, as contained in the tribes, we may apply the term *people* to all and as distinguished from the senate.

devoted. From this we see that the patricians, who were now members of the tribes, naturally wanted to be represented in the tribuneship.

For some time the more haughty and vehement among the patricians annoyed the plebeians in a variety of ways, but a perfect equality of the two orders became more and more distinctly the goal towards which all the efforts of the tribunes were directed. In B.C. 445, the tribune C. Canuleius brought forward a bill demanding the establishment of the *connubium* between the two estates; and his nine colleagues proposed another, enacting that thenceforth one of the consuls should always be a plebeian. The discussion of these bills called forth the bitterest exasperation on both sides: the patricians attempted to prevent their being passed, by causing a levy to be made against the Veientes, Aequians, and Volscians; but C. Canuleius, with the utmost determination, refused to allow the levy to take place before the plebs had voted on the bills which had been brought before it: the patricians at length gave way, and allowed the bill respecting the *connubium* to be passed, hoping that the plebeians would thus be satisfied, and give up the one respecting the division of the consulship, or at least defer the debates upon it till after the war. In order to understand why the patricians gave way, with comparatively little resistance, to the bill of Canuleius, we must remember, that although the *connubium* did not exist between the two orders, mixed marriages were nevertheless frequently contracted; and as the children sprung from such marriages always followed the baser side, we may presume that they were the bitterest enemies of the patricians: the latter must also have been aware that through their exclusive spirit their families became daily more reduced in numbers, while those of the plebeians were ever on the increase, and threatened to overwhelm them in the end by their numerical superiority. The bill respecting the division of the consulship was modified so as to provide that, in future, military tribunes, with consular power (*tribuni militares consulari potestate*), should be elected indiscriminately from both

orders. It was, however, left to the senate to determine whether, in any given year, consuls or consular tribunes should be appointed. The dignity of a consular tribune being inferior to that of a consul, as he was not elected under the same solemn auspices, the patricians in this manner contrived still to retain the exclusive possession of the consulship. Consular tribunes accordingly were elected for the year B.C. 444, but as might have been expected, they were all patricians; the plebeians being satisfied with having acquired the right to a share in the new office, without insisting upon exercising it. After the lapse of three months, however, the consular tribunes were obliged to lay down their office, on account of some flaw in the election, and consuls were appointed in their stead.¹⁶

As the consular tribuneship was thus thrown open to the plebeians, and as it became evident that the consulship could not be withheld from them much longer, the patricians, in B.C. 443, deprived the consulship of a branch of its power, which they expressly reserved for themselves, under the title of the censorship. The duties of the two censors, who were at first taken only from among those who had been consuls, were to conduct the census, to register the citizens according to their classes and tribes, and to administer the property and revenue of the republic. Their office was apparently of not much consequence; but as they had it in their power to determine the rank of every citizen, to fix his status in society, and to value his taxable property at their own discretion, the office could not fail to become a very powerful one in the hands of energetic persons: in the end it became almost despotic, and was looked upon with hatred, though everybody saw its necessity. As the census was held every five years, the first censors were invested with their office for that period; but

¹⁶ It is a curious fact, that the number of the consular tribunes does not appear to have been fixed: at first we find three, afterwards four; and at last, from a.c. 405 down to the time of the Licinian law, there never

were less than six, and in a few cases eight; the two censors being included among them. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of these changing numbers.

in B.C. 434, the dictator, Mam. Aemilius, reduced the duration of the office to eighteen months, so that in every lustrum there were three years and a half during which there were no censors. Having thus secured to themselves one important branch of the consular power, the patricians were probably less concerned about the plebeians sharing in the consulship; besides, they knew that in most cases they could manage the elections in such a manner as to exclude the plebeian candidates.

But to whatever schemes the patricians might resort, to maintain their exclusive rights, the distinction between the two orders was beginning gradually to vanish: the personal or family relations between the members of the two estates also tended to soften down their disputes; and for a time peace prevailed at Rome. New commotions arose in B.C. 440 in consequence of a famine, which was raging at Rome so furiously, that many poor citizens sought relief in self-destruction. The government appointed L. Minucius praefect of the corn-market (*praefectus annonae*), but his endeavours to buy corn abroad were unsuccessful; amid the general distress the government was put to shame by the generous exertions of a private citizen, the wealthy plebeian Sp. Maelius, who purchased corn at his own expense, and supplied it at a moderate price to the sufferers, while those who had no means at all received their supplies gratis. His kindness and generosity so won the hearts of the people, both rich and poor, that the patricians felt alarmed at his popularity; and fearing lest he should harbour ambitious and dangerous schemes, as there were numerous reports of secret meetings and treasonable plots, they appointed, in B.C. 439, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, now at the age of eighty, dictator: his *magister equitum* was C. Servilius Ahala. The dictator set up his tribunal in the forum, and all the people flocked thither, curious to know the cause of such unusual proceedings. Sp. Maelius came among the rest, and Servilius Ahala forthwith summoned him before the dictator. Seeing what he had to expect, Maelius snatched up a butcher's knife to defend himself, and ran into

the crowd, which received and protected him. Servilius Ahala, accompanied by a band of patrician youths, pursued and slew him; the people being intimidated, and afraid to resist the command of the dictator. The charges, which were brought against Sp. Maelius only by vague report, were never proved: he fell a victim to party animosity, in broad daylight, and in the midst of the forum. His house was pulled down; and the supplies of corn, which are said to have been found in it, were sold by L. Minucius at one *as* per modius. Cicero, and other writers of a later age, hold up Ahala as a model of heroic virtue; but his contemporaries judged otherwise: he was accused of murder before the people, and escaped condemnation only by voluntary exile.¹⁷ Had the plebeians still been what they were some years before, a revolution would inevitably have broken out; but all that the commonalty now did was to insist upon the election of consular tribunes, instead of consuls, for the year following; to which the patricians agreed the more readily, as they were able to insure the election of patricians only. The plebeians, notwithstanding, proceeded steadily towards the goal they had in view, and in the period which now followed they acquired several minor advantages, one after another.

The Aequians and Volscians had been defeated a second time since the decemvirate in B.C. 446; and now, after the internal commotions we have just mentioned, the second war against Veii broke out. It was occasioned, like the first, by the revolt of Fidenae, in B.C. 438. This town had been subdued by the Romans in early times, and had received Roman colonists to keep it in submission. Frequent but useless attempts had been repeatedly made by the Fidenatans to get rid of the Roman settlers; at length, being strengthened by an alliance with Veii and the Faliscans, they revolted, and expelled the colonists. Three Roman ambassadors were sent to Fidenae, but they were put to death by command of Lar Tolumnius of Veii. The Fidenates immediately made war upon the Romans, and advanced

¹⁷ Valer. Maxim. v. 3. 2.

as far as the Colline Gate; but in B.C. 435, the dictator, A. Servilius Priscus, reconquered Fidenae. The leaders of the revolt were put to the sword, and new colonists were sent to Fidenae, who, however, after the defeat of the Romans before Veii, in B.C. 426, were all massacred. Diodorus,¹⁸ with great probability, assigns the murder of the Roman ambassadors to this year; for had it taken place as early as B.C. 438, the Romans would surely not have treated the place as leniently as they are said to have done.

Veii had concluded a truce after the reconquest of Fidenae, but the fresh outrage committed in the latter place, in B.C. 426, was the cause of war being declared against Veii. The command was intrusted to the dictator Mam. Aemilius, whose master of the horse slew Lar Tolumnius with his own hand, and dedicated his spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Fidenae was probably retaken in the same year and destroyed: its surviving inhabitants were sold as slaves; and the place itself became a deserted village.

The victory of Mam. Aemilius over Veii could not yet be followed up to a decisive issue; for the Romans were, at the moment, glad to conclude a truce in order to be able to direct their forces against the Aequians, with whom and the Volscians war had again broken out in B.C. 431. It was conducted by the dictator A. Postumius Tubertus, of whom a fearful story is related. According to some accounts, he ordered his own son to be put to death, because he had ventured, contrary to his father's command to quit his post, and fight a glorious battle. As the Romans defeated their enemies in two great battles, near Lanuvium and Tusculum, it is not improbable that they may have compelled them to recognise the sovereignty of Rome. For some years these Auruncan tribes kept the peace, until in B.C. 423, the Volscians again rose and were soon joined by the Aequians. The consul, C. Sempronius Atratinus, conducted the war so languidly and carelessly, that his army was very nearly

¹⁸ xii. 80.

annihilated : at length, in B.C. 418, the enemy was defeated on Mount Algidus by the dictator A. Servilius Priscus. Lavici was taken, and received a Roman colony. In B.C. 407, an unsuccessful war was carried on against the Volscians ; but Anxur was captured.¹⁹

In the same year the truce with Veii came to its close ; and as it was more than ever necessary that the soldiers should be willing to fight the battles of the republic, the senate, without any demand on the part of the plebs or its tribunes, issued a decree, that thenceforth the soldiers should receive pay from the public treasury ;²⁰ for till then they had been obliged to provide themselves with all necessaries at their own expense. Never had an offer been so joyfully accepted by the people, notwithstanding the suspicions of the tribunes, who in vain cautioned them against the deceitful present. But the measure was one commanded by necessity, in order to put an end to the repeated refusals of the plebeians to enlist in the armies ; for without a willing army it was impossible for Rome to establish her permanent supremacy over her neighbours, or to make conquests at a distance. War was now declared against Veii, that powerful and wealthy city which had always been to Rome a cause of fear. A Roman army began to lay siege to it in B.C. 405. At first the besiegers always returned home during the winter ; but when the war had already lasted for several years without any result, the Romans resolved to build huts for the winter (*hibernacula*), which should enable them to continue the siege uninterruptedly both winter and summer. The war was nevertheless protracted for nine years, until in the tenth, B.C. 396, Veii was taken by the dictator M. Furius Camillus, the greatest general of his age. Veii, throughout this war, received very little support from the other Etruscan towns ; the cause of which may have been either their

¹⁹ The confusion in Livy's accounts of these wars is very great ; legendary features are mixed up with history, and events are frequently misplaced. See Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, ii. p. 458, &c.

²⁰ The daily pay of a common soldier, according to Polybius, vi. 39, was three ases, that of a centurion, six, and that of a horseman, nine ases.

jealousy or their fear of the Gauls, who had already crossed the Alps and taken the Etruscan town of Melpum to the north of the Po. Camillus, on being raised to the dictatorship, collected all the forces that he could muster, and first led them against the allies of the Veientes: he defeated the Capenatans and Faliscans in the neighbourhood of Nepete, and then besieged Veii more closely than ever.

So far the account of the war seems credible enough; but the history of the fall of Veii, in the tenth year, is nothing but a beautiful poetical lay, in which Veii fills the same part as Troy does in the legends of the Trojan war. This lay is connected with several others, which may be called the lays of Camillus: they extend from the first appearance of Camillus before Veii to his last victory over the Gauls. Their substance is preserved most completely in Plutarch's life of Camillus. The fall of Veii, so the story runs, had been announced by various prodigies the most remarkable among which was the rising of the water of the Alban lake without any visible cause, and that to such a height, that it deluged all the neighbouring country. An embassy was sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle about this extraordinary phenomenon. In the meantime an Etruscan soothsayer had been ensnared by a Roman centurion, and carried to Rome, where he confessed that the Veientine books of fate announced, that Veii could not be taken so long as the Alban lake overflowed the country, and that Rome would perish if its waters reached the sea. Soon after this the ambassadors returned from Delphi, and the answer they brought was to the same effect. Thereupon the Romans began making a tunnel to prevent the overflowing of the water, and to conduct it through the fields in ditches. The work was carried on with great vigour; and when its completion was near at hand, the Veientes were informed of it. Ambassadors now came from Veii, imploring the Romans to forbear, but in vain; on leaving the senate-house they declared, that the same oracles which predicted the fall of Veii also foretold, that Rome herself should soon afterwards be taken by the Gauls.

A portion of the Roman army, engaged in the siege of Veii, was meantime actively employed in digging a subterraneous passage leading to the citadel of Veii, and intended to terminate in the temple of Juno.²¹ As the day approached on which Veii was to fall, the senate decreed that the booty taken should be distributed among all those Romans who wished to partake of it and would proceed to the camp. Hosts of people, old and young, now flocked from Rome to the devoted city. When the water of the Alban lake had been conducted into the fields, and all the preparations for the assault had been made, Camillus, having vowed rich offerings to the gods, entered the subterraneous passage at the head of several cohorts: at the same time an assault was made upon the city. The king of Veii happened to be offering a sacrifice in the temple of Juno; and the priest declared, that whoever should bring the goddess her share of the victim would conquer. These words were heard by the Romans under ground; on the instant they burst forth and offered sacrifice: this being done, they rushed through the city to open the gates to their comrades.

Thus Veii fell into the hands of the Romans. The amount of spoil surpassed even the expectation of the conquerors. The whole was given up to the army, except the captives, who were sold on account of the republic. The statue of Juno is said to have followed the conquerors to Rome of its own accord; and a temple was erected to the goddess on the Aventine. Elated by his victory, Camillus celebrated a most splendid triumph; but his unexampled and pompous display excited the anger of the gods, and the time was not far distant, when he had to atone for it by exile, and Rome by her destruction by the Gauls. He had vowed the tenth of the spoil to the Delphic god, and it was sent in the shape of a golden bowl eight talents in weight.

²¹ The story about this passage is wholly incredible. It may have arisen out of the account of the tunnel of the Alban lake, which the legend connects with the taking of Veii, and of which

remnants are to be seen at this day, although it is doubtful whether its construction actually belongs to the time to which the legend assigns it.

After the fall of Veii, the Capenatans obtained a peace; but the war against the Faliscans still continuing, Camillus compelled them to quit a strong position which they had occupied in order to protect their country, and drove them back into their city of Falerii. A school-master is said to have led the sons of the most distinguished citizens of Falerii into the Roman camp, to deliver them up to the enemy; but Camillus was noble-minded enough to send them back, and to order the traitor to be flogged. A peace was then concluded with the Faliscans, on condition of their giving to the Roman soldiers a whole year's pay. It was probably the reduction of Falerii that occasioned a war with Vulturni, another Etruscan town; which contest was decided in B.C. 391, by a great battle; after which a peace was agreed on for twenty years.

When Veii and its territory fell into the hands of the Romans, the patricians, as usual, endeavoured to keep the newly conquered lands for themselves; but the tribunes demanded that the land, together with the buildings on it, should be distributed among all the Roman citizens indiscriminately. The senate, and even some of the tribunes, opposed the plan; but at length, in B.C. 393, the senate, apparently of its own accord, ordained the distribution of the Veientine territory, in lots of seven jugera, among all the plebeians.²² Some lands taken from the Aequians had been assigned the year before, the patricians hoping thereby to satisfy the wishes of the plebeians, and thus to keep the territory of Veii for themselves; but they had miscalculated, and in the end found it more prudent to give up what they could not retain, than to allow it to be wrenched from them.

Camillus, the conqueror of Veii, had never since his triumph enjoyed any favour with the people: his triumph had displayed his unmeasured pride; and as he had not mentioned his vow, to dedicate the tenth of the spoil to the Delphic God, when he did at length make it known, many persons had already spent their share

²² Liv. v. 30, compare Diod. xiv. 102.

of the plunder, and had therefore to deprive themselves of necessities, so that his vow might be performed. He was, moreover, foremost among those patricians who opposed the proposal that the plebeians should have a share in the distribution of the Veientine territory. The consequence of all this was, that in B.C. 391, the tribune L. Appuleius charged him with having secreted some costly articles from the spoils taken at Veii. The accusation appears to have been well founded; in order to escape condemnation, he went into exile to Ardea, praying, as he quitted the city, that Rome might soon have bitter cause to regret him.

CHAPTER IX.

TAKING OF ROME BY THE GAULS, AND THE SUBSEQUENT EVENTS, DOWN TO
THE LEGISLATION OF C. LICINIUS STOLO AND L. SEXTIUS.

THE time was now approaching when the prophecy of the Etruscan soothsayer was to be fulfilled. There can be little doubt that Rome owed her victories over the Etruscan towns to the immigration of the Gauls or Celts, who were pressing hard upon the Etruscans, and had already made themselves masters of the country to the north of the river Po. Tradition represents the Gauls as having been tempted, by the wine and fruit growing on the southern side of the Alps, to cross those mountains; and that an Etruscan, Aruns of Clusium, had invited them, with the view of taking vengeance on a young Lucumo who had dishonoured his wife; an outrage for which he could get no redress. This story is obviously a mere fable: the cause of the Gallic migration to the south must have lain much deeper: either national distress compelled them to seek food, and a new home, in a foreign land; or they were pushed forward by other nations.¹ Their huge bodies, wild figures, and long shaggy hair, gave a ghastliness to their appearance; their undaunted courage, and love of destruction, spread fear and terror all around; and the Etruscan armies had already been frequently beaten by them. One branch of the Gauls, the Senones, probably assisted by other tribes, marched under their chief Brennus, towards Clusium, in B.C. 391. The Clusines, though they had no claims to the friendship of the Romans, and knew them only as a powerful

¹ A tradition, mentioned by Livy, states that the Gauls had crossed the Alps as early as the time of Tarquinius Priscus.

nation which had recently conquered Veii, sent envoys to call upon them for aid. The senate did not comply with their request, but despatched the three sons of M. Fabius Ambustus as ambassadors to the Gauls, to demand of them, in the name of the Roman people, to withdraw, or else to prepare for war with Rome also; for Rome felt herself invincible, and imagined that the terror of her name alone would be sufficient to send the barbarians back to their homes. The Gauls answered, that their own country was too small to maintain them; and that they would do no harm to Clusium, if its inhabitants would share their territory with them. As this was refused, a battle ensued between the Gauls and Clusines; and the Roman ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations, fought foremost in the ranks of the latter. One of the Fabii slew a Gallic chief, and was recognised by the Gauls as he was collecting the spoils. Thereupon the Gauls at once stopped the fight, and, indignant at the conduct of the Roman ambassadors, would have forthwith marched against Rome, had not the more moderate among them prevailed upon the rest to send envoys to Rome to demand the surrender of the Fabii. The Roman senate saw the justice of the demand, but was too proud to yield to it. The matter was referred to the assembly of the people, who not only did not punish the offenders, but appointed them consular tribunes for the next year.

When the envoys brought back their report, the Gauls with an army of 70,000 men straightway set out for Rome. Blinded by overweening reliance on their own strength, the Romans made no great preparations to meet the emergency. The consular tribunes marched out with a badly organised army, and, to their surprise, met the enemy at the distance of eleven miles from the city, on the banks of the little stream Allia, which flows from the Crustumine hills towards the Tiber. The Romans, on seeing the immense host of barbarians, cast away their arms and took to flight. On the banks of the Tiber they were overtaken, and perished either by the sword or in the river: a few only

escaped to Rome and Veii. This unfortunate day on the Allia (*dies Alliensis*), which was the forerunner of a far greater calamity, was never forgotten: it was the eighteenth of July, B.C. 390.²

On the evening of the same day,³ the Gauls appeared before the Colline gate, in the field of Mars; but they soon spread over the country, abandoning themselves to plunder, drunkenness, and all the atrocities of an unruly horde of barbarians; thus the attack upon Rome itself was delayed for some time, during which the Capitol was garrisoned with the men best able to bear arms, and was supplied with provisions. As it was impossible to defend the city, most of the citizens, who could escape, took refuge in neighbouring towns. The objects of religious worship were partly buried, partly carried to Caere; and the city was left to the barbarians. Eighty priests and aged patricians of high rank sat down in the forum on their curule chairs, in their festal robes, and, devoting themselves to the infernal gods, awaited death. As the Gauls saw that the walls were deserted, they burst into the city: they found it all desolate and death-like, and marched towards the forum. There they saw the venerable aged men, whose aspect terrified the savages; for they doubted whether those whom they beheld were mortals, or gods assembled to defend the city. One of the barbarians went up to the priest, M. Papirius, and stroked his beard, in order to ascertain whether he actually was a human being. The priest indignantly struck him on the head with his ivory sceptre, and this was a signal for the Gauls to massacre all the eighty. The plundering and conflagration lasted for several days, until the whole city was reduced to a heap of ruins, with the exception of a few houses on the Palatine, which the Gallic chiefs used as their own habitations.

The Capitol alone continued to hold out, being perseveringly

² See, however, Liv. vi. 1; Gellius, v. 17; Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 16.

³ Polybius (ii. 18) and Plutarch

(*Camil.* 19) state that the Gauls did not arrive at Rome till three days after the battle on the Allia.

defended by a band of about one thousand men. Several attempts were made to take it by storm, but the desperate energy of the Romans repulsed the assailants. The Gauls then resolved to wait till the provisions of the garrison should be exhausted, and thus by hunger to compel the besieged to surrender. The latter obtained water for drinking from a well in the Tarpeian rock, which remains to this day a memorial of the siege of the Capitol by the Gauls. The ferocious devastations of the barbarians, however, became their own punishment; for they began to suffer from famine, and contagious diseases. They were obliged to spread over Latium, for the purpose of collecting provisions; and a band of them appears to have gone as far south as Apulia: some even entered the service of Dionysius of Syracuse.⁴ Camillus, who lived in exile at Ardea, collected the Ardeatans and fugitive Romans, and with them repulsed the plundering Gauls. The Etruscans at this time took advantage of the miserable condition of Rome, and began to plunder the Veientine territory; but M. Caedicius led the Romans assembled at Veii into the field, routed the enemy, and recovered the captives and plunder. The tidings of these successful enterprises were conveyed to Rome by a daring youth named Pontius Cominius, who swam across the Tiber and climbed up the Capitol. Soon afterwards, the Gauls discovered the way by which he had got up; and in the dead of the night they attempted to imitate his example. One barbarian, unobserved by the sentinels and dogs, had already reached the top, when the alarm was given by the cries of the geese which were kept in the Capitol in honour of Juno. M. Manlius, whose house stood on the Capitol,⁵ was awakened by the noise: he rushed out of his house, and thrust down the Gaul, who, in his fall, overturned the others who were clambering after him. Manlius was rewarded by the garrison with gifts suitable to the state of famine from which they were suffering so severely: they then resolved to offer to the besiegers a sum of money if they would

⁴ Diod. xiv. 117: Justin, xx. 5.

⁵ Hence he is called Capitolinus, and not from his defence of the Capitol.

withdraw. As Brennus saw his own ranks greatly reduced by distress and diseases, he agreed to accept one thousand pounds weight of gold, and to quit Rome and its territory.

But the gods, it seems, could not allow Rome to fall so low as to purchase her freedom with gold. The Romans assembled at Veii having, in the meantime, recalled Camillus from exile, appointed him dictator. He forthwith proceeded with his army to Veii, where he found twenty thousand Romans. Being thus reinforced he marched towards Rome, where he arrived just at the moment when the gold was being weighed out to the Gallic king. Camillus having reached the forum before the gold was paid over, cancelled the treaty, which had been concluded without his consent. While Brennus was remonstrating with him on this breach of faith, the Roman legions arrived, and a battle ensued in which the barbarians were driven out of the city. A second battle on the road to Gabii, whither the Romans pursued the enemy, completed the delivery of Rome; for all the Gauls fell, not a single man escaping to carry away the tidings of the defeat. Brennus himself was taken prisoner and put to death, and Camillus returned to Rome in triumph. The time during which the barbarians were in possession of the city, is variously stated at six, seven, or eight months.

This is the story of the sacking of Rome by the Gauls, and of her final delivery. It is impossible to say how much of it is true, or what additions and embellishments were made in it by poetical tradition, and by the family pride of the Camilli and Manlii. The true account of Rome's delivery is probably contained in the plain statement of Polybius,⁶ that the Gauls gave up Rome as an act of grace, because in their absence the Venetians had invaded their country; and that they returned home with their booty without any harm or loss. Diodorus does not say a word about the appointment of Camillus to the dictatorship, much less about his having liberated Rome by arms. The differences, contradictions and impossibilities, in the accounts of the departure of the

⁶ II. 18, 22.

Gauls, are such as may easily be pardoned in poetry, but are insupportable in an account claiming to be history. The greatest discrepancies also prevail in regard to the year in which Rome was taken by the Gauls: some say, in round numbers, it was three hundred and sixty or three hundred and sixty-five years after the building of the city, that is, B.C. 394, or 398; while others place the event in B.C. 390, or 388.

After the departure of the Gauls, Rome and the surrounding country must have been a real wilderness, and many of the small towns in the vicinity must have been utterly swept away. Thousands of persons, no doubt, fell by the sword; and many others were carried off as slaves by the barbarians. When the fugitive Romans, returned to the city, they found only heaps of rubbish: even the walls which king Servius built had been pulled down. While things were in this state, several of the neighbouring towns were ready to seize the opportunity to cast off the yoke of Rome. All this filled the people with dismay, when they were called upon to rebuild the city: they vehemently desired to quit the place altogether, and to remove to Veii, which was uninjured, and contained much better dwelling-houses than Rome had ever possessed, and in the neighbourhood of which a number of plebeians were already settled. But a nobler spirit prevailed: the better part of the Romans felt that it would be a cowardly and pusillanimous act to abandon their ancient home, with which the dearest associations and recollections were connected, where the ancient gods and protectors of the Romans dwelt, and where all the power which Rome possessed over the neighbouring countries and tribes had been acquired. The selfishness of the patricians, whose possessions lay on the left bank of the Tiber, may likewise have exercised some influence in deciding the course to be adopted; but, however this may be, a lucky omen is said to have silenced all doubts: for while, after an energetic speech by Camillus, the senate was engaged in discussing the matter, a centurion passing with his men before the senate-house, was heard to say, "Let us plant the banner here, for here it is best

to stay." Upon hearing these words, the senators rushed out of the house, and declared that they accepted the omen. The people who crowded around them agreed with them, and it was resolved to rebuild the city. As speed was necessary, the state gave bricks⁷ gratis, and allowed the citizens to take stones from any quarries they pleased, on condition that the rebuilding of their houses should be completed in one year. Everybody was allowed to build how and where he pleased; in the hurry, the people forgot the directions of the ancient streets, whence it happened that the great sewers, which had before run under the public roads, afterwards ran across the streets and under private houses. It may be easily conceived that the beauty and comfort of the new houses were matters of secondary consideration. The irregularity of the streets once produced, could not afterwards be remedied; and until the great fire in the reign of Nero, the streets remained narrow and crooked. Many Romans, who had taken to flight during the Gallic invasion, wanted to remain where they had found a new home, in order to escape the labour and expense of building a house in the destroyed city; but the senate commanded them to return before a stated day, under pain of the severest penalties.

Rome was thus rebuilt within the space of one year. All who had afforded her succours, during the time of misfortune, were rewarded with honours. The inhabitants of Caere and Massilia received the Roman franchise; and the Roman matrons, the privilege of having orations in their praise spoken at their funerals. During the period of recovery, Camillus was the soul of the republic, and her bravest commander in the wars which broke out on every side; for with the exception of the faithful Sabines, all the neighbouring towns and tribes endeavoured to recover

⁷ It is by no means improbable that these bricks were taken from houses at Veii, and that in a.c. 388 the walls of Rome were rebuilt with stones from the walls of Veii, for after this time Veii no longer appears as a

splendid city, but only as an insignificant place. By reducing the town to this state, the Romans at once put an end to all future schemes of settling there.

their independence. The Latins and Hernicans renounced the yoke of their alliance with Rome, though several Latin towns preferred remaining faithful. The Volscians, joined by some of the Latin towns, were the first to come forward as open enemies of fallen Rome, and the Etruscans soon followed their example. Camillus was appointed dictator a third time, and enlisted all the Romans capable of bearing arms, both old and young: he formed them into three armies, with one of which he set out against the Volscians, whom he routed with great slaughter. From the Volscians he proceeded against the Aequians who were besieging Bolaë: they too were defeated, and their camp was taken. The Roman army which was stationed near Veii, and intended to operate against the Etruscans, was not strong enough to relieve Sutrium; but the speedy arrival of the dictator saved the place; and the Etruscans, who already looked upon themselves as conquerors, were cut to pieces. He then marched to Nepete, which had already been surrendered to the Etruscans; but their garrison was unable to maintain itself, and was driven out of the town. The place was taken by storm, and those, by whose advice it had been given up to the enemy, were put to death. Both Sutrium and Nepete received Roman colonists, as a protection against further attacks by the Etruscans. Camillus on his return to Rome celebrated a triple triumph.

In B.C. 388, some Etruscan towns belonging to Tarquinii were taken; two years later, the Antiatans, being reinforced by a number of volunteers from Latin towns, fought an obstinate battle against Camillus near Satricum, which then belonged to the Volscians, but which was reduced by force, and received a colony of 2000 citizens: Antium, however, held out until B.C. 385, when the dictator, A. Cornelius Cossus, gained a complete victory over the Volscians in the Pomptine district.

Out of this war arose another against Velitrae, which had thrown off the Roman yoke; and as the Romans engaged against it found that it was supported by the Praenestines, who had before ravaged the territory of some Latin towns which had

remained faithful to Rome, war was declared in B.C. 382 against Praeneste also. The Praenestines in their turn, assisted by Velitrae, conquered Satricum, and treated the Roman colonists with great cruelty. Thereupon Camillus, though he was suffering from ill health, accepted a place among the consular tribunes, (B.C. 381,) and marched out with an army against the allied enemies. One part of the Roman forces was put to flight; but Camillus checked the fugitives, and led them again against the enemy, who was compelled to retreat. Whether he gained a real victory, and took the enemy's camp,⁸ is extremely uncertain; at any rate the Praenestines were not much weakened, for in the very next year they ravaged the Roman territory, and advanced as far as the Colline gate. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus was then appointed dictator, and immediately raised an army, before which the enemy retreated until they reached the Allia, where they offered battle. The Romans, however, gained the day, and put the Praenestines to flight. Quinctius pursued them, and in nine days took nine towns, eight of which belonged to Praeneste: on the tenth day, Praeneste itself fell into the hands of the Romans. On the twentieth day after his appointment to the dictatorship, Quinctius celebrated his triumph.⁹ The war against Antium was brought to a close in B.C. 376: Satricum was recovered; and the Antiatans were cut to pieces at Tusculum.

After this, Rome was for a time prevented from further foreign enterprises by the disputes occasioned by the Licinian rogations. The period from the decemvirate down to the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, had been one of increasing prosperity for the plebeians: many families had received assignments of land in the Veientine territory and elsewhere; the booty taken in the wars, if carefully husbanded, must have yielded considerable advantages; and the pay which the soldiers received relieved them from a

⁸ Liv. vi. 24.

⁹ An inscription on a golden wreath, which Quinctius dedicated in the Capitoline temple, recording his bril-

liant victory, was the oldest among the inscriptions at Rome of which the precise age was known. See Liv. vi. 29.

heavy burden. During the whole of that period of about half a century, we hear no complaints of any harsh application of the law of debt. But the invasion of the Gauls, accompanied as it was with the destruction of Rome and the devastation of the country all around, put an end to the thriving prosperity of the Romans. The losses sustained through the barbarians, the rebuilding of the city, the purchase of new cattle and agricultural implements, and in addition to all this, the necessity of a high rate of taxation, led to a general state of debt among those whose means were not above mediocrity. In order to increase the reduced population, the inhabitants of four neighbouring districts received the full Roman franchise, and were formed into four new tribes, so that henceforth the number of tribes was 25.¹⁰ The wealthy Romans, chiefly patricians, again began to act the revolting part of usurers, and endeavoured to deprive the plebeians of the rights which had been secured to them by solemn treaties. Many a poor plebeian now again dragged out his wretched existence in the dungeon of his cruel creditor, and hundreds of others had nothing but the prospect of a similar fate before them.

M. Manlius, the deliverer of the Capitol, whose ambition was wounded by the neglect of his fellow-patricians, and by the repeated appointment of Camillus to the highest dignities, opened for himself a new road to distinction. He took pity upon the poor and helpless debtors; and one day as he saw an old and brave fellow-soldier carried away in fetters by an usurer, he generously paid the debt on the spot, and restored the man to his family. The people who saw the man and heard his sad tale, felt that his case was only one out of a hundred similar ones, and were roused to indignation at the hard-heartedness of the rich. Manlius at the same time declared in public, that so long as he possessed a single pound of brass, he would not allow a Roman citizen to be carried into slavery for debt; he kept his word faithfully; for upwards of 400

¹⁰ Liv. vi. 5.

citizens were rescued by him from imprisonment, by lending them money without interest. He thus gained the honourable appellation of the "father of the people;" and plebeians of all classes were frequently observed to visit his house on the Capitoline. The irritation, which his popularity produced, was increased by a charge which he had made against the patricians of having embezzled some of the gold levied for the ransom of the city from the Gauls, and which he demanded should be refunded for the purpose of a general liquidation of debts. In B.C. 385, A. Cornelius Cossus, who was raised to the dictatorship to conduct the war against the Volscians, ordered Manlius to be thrown into prison, for attempting to create sedition among the people, and for slandering the patricians. Many of the plebeians put on mourning, as for their most faithful friend and patron; they thronged around his prison; and some even muttered threats that they would release him by force. The senate then restored him to liberty, either because it began to be alarmed, or because no evidence could be brought against him. When he was again among his friends, their language naturally became fiercer and more menacing than before; and though it may have been an unfounded charge that he aimed at kingly power, yet Manlius had now become an extremely dangerous citizen. Two tribunes, probably with no other object than to induce him to quit Rome, impeached him before the centuries, charging him with high treason. His own friends forsook him: but when he reminded the people of the battles he had fought, and of what the republic owed to him, they felt that they could not condemn him. As this, however, was not the way to remove the danger and restore peace, the same charge was then brought against him before the curiae. The patrician court condemned him to death. Whether he had acted as an open rebel before, or whether the sentence of condemnation drove him into rebellion, is uncertain, but he was now at war with the republic, and with an armed band took possession of the Capitol. A traitor, who pretended to communicate to him some secret information, led him to a lonely spot on the edge of the Tarpeian

rock, and pushed him down (B.C. 384).¹¹ An ordinance was forthwith passed, that in future no patrician should be allowed to reside on the Capitoline; the house of Manlius was razed to the ground; and the gens of the Manlii resolved that none of its members should ever again bear the praenomen Marcus. But the people mourned for him; and a pestilence and famine, which occurred a short time afterwards, were regarded as a punishment sent by the gods to avenge the deliverer of their temples.

In order to appease the people, the senate, in B.C. 383, determined to assign to the plebeians the Pomptine district which the tribunes had demanded four years before; but all the new settlers, with the exception of a few, were soon afterwards cut to pieces by the enemies of Rome: the distress among the poor increased also from day to day. The number of free citizens was rapidly diminishing, and Rome would have become a miserable oligarchy, had not her decline been arrested by two bold tribunes, who changed the fate of their country, and with it that of the world.

¹¹ This is evidently the true account. (Dion Cass. *Fragm.* xxxi. ed. Reimar; Zonar. vii. 24). Livy's story, which is incorrect and inconsistent, seems

to have been made up to excuse the Romans, who were ashamed of this dastardly piece of treachery committed against the greatest man of the age.

CHAPTER X.

LICINIUS STOLO AND L. SEXTIUS, WITH THEIR LEGISLATION—NEW CURULE OFFICES, AND PARTICIPATION OF THE PLEBEIANS IN THE HIGHEST MAGISTRACIES—WARS WITH THE HERNICANS, ETRUSCANS, AND GAULS.

A GENERAL condition of poverty and insolvency, such as existed at Rome after its capture by the Gauls, usually leads to revolutions, in which the state and its constitution perish; but at Rome things turned out differently: the moderation and perseverance of the men who undertook to remedy the evil, as well as of those who were suffering under it, not only prevented such a calamity, but enabled the two reformers, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, to lay the foundation of Rome's regeneration and real greatness. They were elected tribunes for the year B.C. 376, and set about their task with a view to improve the physical condition of the plebeians, and to give them that political influence which might in future secure them against the arbitrary and domineering spirit of the patricians, and thus prevent their falling back into the miserable condition in which the patrician avarice and love of dominion had placed them.

There always has been and always will be a class of persons who, being themselves incapable of a generous and disinterested action, are ever ready to trace the measures of great men to some vulgar or base motive: and the love of scandal is never at a loss to invent such motives. This has been the case with the legislation of C. Licinius; but here, unfortunately, the slanderous tale which professes to narrate the circumstances that urged him on to his legislation has become firmly rooted in history. C. Licinius was married to Fabia, the younger daughter of the

patrician M. Fabius Ambustus: her elder sister was married to Ser. Sulpicius, who was consular tribune in the same year in which Licinius was tribune of the plebs. The younger Fabia, it is said, was one day on a visit at her sister's, and was frightened by the noise of the lictors who accompanied Sulpicius as he returned home from the forum. The elder Fabia, accustomed to such things, laughed at her sister's fear, and remarked, that such occurrences would not startle her, if she were not married to a plebeian. Stimulated by vanity, the younger Fabia now entreated her father and husband not to rest until the latter should enjoy the same honours as Sulpicius. And this wretched piece of female vanity is said to have driven Licinius to undertake his legislation.¹ But the absurdity of the tale is too obvious to entitle the story to the least confidence; for the younger Fabia was assuredly acquainted with such scenes, as her own father had been consular tribune in B.C. 381, and her husband, though a plebeian, was not excluded from that office: but a still more decisive objection is, that the things which Fabia coveted were not by any means those which Licinius aimed at in his legislation; for his object was to abolish the consular tribuneship, and to throw the consulship open to the plebeians. C. Licinius found a faithful and sympathising friend in his colleague, L. Sextius.

Hitherto the tribunes had endeavoured to protect their order by stopping the levies of troops, and by other means which their office suggested; but they had seldom been able to gain any great and permanent advantages, or effectually and thoroughly to remove the causes of the distress of the plebeians: Licinius and Sextius saw the evil, and resolved to apply a radical cure. They proposed three laws: first, that the amount of interest which debtors had paid up to that time should be deducted from the principal, and that the remainder should be paid off by three yearly instalments; secondly, that no one should be allowed to possess more than five hundred jugera of the public land, or to keep upon it more than one hundred large and five hundred small

¹ Liv. vi. 34; Zonar. vii. 24.

cattle, and that any one acting contrary to this law should be compelled to pay a heavy fine; thirdly, that thenceforth consuls should be elected instead of consular tribunes, and that one of the consuls should always be a plebeian. The first of these laws was in reality a violation of justice, but one which in extreme cases has frequently been committed, not only in ancient but also in modern times. The second was an agrarian law, that is, a law which concerned the public land, without in the least interfering with private property;² its intention was, that the land above five hundred jugera which a person possessed should be taken from him and distributed among the poor plebeians. The third law had become necessary, because it was evident that the plebeians could never reckon upon being represented in the highest magistracy, unless the patricians were compelled to yield by a positive law; for although the plebeians were eligible to the consular tribuneship, yet the patricians in most cases had contrived to exclude them; and where this could not be done, the senate had frequently ordained the appointment of consuls, instead of consular tribunes, whereby the plebeians were effectually excluded and silenced.

The alarm which these bills created among the patricians may easily be imagined: the only means of averting the danger with which they were acquainted was one which they had often tried before: they gained over all the eight other tribunes, who were induced to oppose the rogations of their two colleagues, and to prevent the bills being put to the vote in the assembly of the tribes. Licinius and Sextius, however, also made use of their right of intercession, and, preventing the election of consular tribunes for the year following, allowed the tribes to elect only their aediles and tribunes. In this manner the struggle was carried on for five years, from B.C. 376 to 371, while Licinius

² Some German scholars deny this: they believe that the law was not an agrarian, but a sumptuary law, and that 't was intended to set a limit to pri-

vate property; but this opinion has been completely refuted by G. Long in the *Classical Museum*, vol. ii. p. 307, &c., and vol. iii. p. 78, &c.

and Sextius were re-elected to the tribuneship year after year.³ Rome was in a state of perfect anarchy, and it was a great piece of good fortune that no foreign foe took the field against it during that period. In B.C. 371 the tribunes at length allowed the election of consular tribunes, because the Veliternians were laying waste the Roman territory, and had attacked Tusculum, which called upon Rome for aid. The levy of an army, however, was a matter of some difficulty; but Tusculum was delivered, and the Romans besieged Velitrae itself, though with little success. Licinius and Sextius still continued to be re-elected year after year; and the opposition of their colleagues gradually ceased, so that in B.C. 369 only five of them opposed the rogations. Finding that his cause was now gaining ground, Licinius brought forward a fourth bill, enacting that instead of the two men, who had till then been intrusted with the keeping of the Sibylline books, ten should be appointed; and that half of them should be plebeians. This measure was probably devised to meet the objections which the patricians were in the habit of making against plebeians being raised to the consulship, viz., that the plebeians had not the same auguries as the patricians, and had not the knowledge necessary to enable them to interpret the will of the gods. The new law of Licinius was intended to procure that very knowledge for the plebeians, the exclusive possession of which had before enabled the patricians to prevent or stop the proceedings of the popular assemblies. The five tribunes who still opposed the rogations insisted on deferring all discussions upon them, until the soldiers engaged in the siege of Velitrae should have returned home. When the army returned, the tribunes, who were then all animated by the same spirit, resolved to bring the passing of the bills to a decision. The patricians had recourse to their last means of resistance: they appointed M. Furius Camillus, the aged conqueror of the Gauls, to the dictatorship, B.C. 368. When the tribes were already engaged in voting, Camillus

³ Liv. vi. 35; Lydus, *de Magistrat.* anarchy lasted only four years. En-
i. 36. Others, however, state that the trop. ii. 1; Vopiscus, *Tacit.* i.

ordered them to quit the forum, and even threatened to use force; but the tribunes opposed him with quiet determination. As Camillus saw that his threats only exasperated the plebeians, and the tribunes threatened to have him fined in the sum of 500,000 ascs, if he continued to act as dictator and disturb the proceedings of the plebeians, he abdicated; and P. Manlius was appointed in his stead to appease the ferment. In order to show his fairness towards the commonalty, he chose the plebeian, C. Licinius Calvus, a relation of the lawgiver, for his master of the horse. In the meantime the people had grown lukewarm in the support of their noble champions, and were not unwilling, as it appears, to sacrifice all permanent advantages, if they could but obtain momentary relief; but at the close of his ninth tribuneship, C. Licinius consented to be re-elected, for the tenth time, only on condition of the people promising to pass *all* his rogations. This determination frightened the patricians in the highest degree: they exerted all their powers to thwart the tribunes; and foremost among them was App. Claudius Crassus. Licinius and Sextius, however, were elected tribunes for the tenth time; the bill respecting the keeping of the Sibylline books was passed, and the plebeians again allowed consular tribunes to be appointed, for the year B.C. 367.

Meantime a report reached Rome that a band of Gauls had returned and invaded the Roman territory. M. Furius Camillus was appointed dictator a fifth time, and defeated the Gauls in the Alban district. Many thousands were slain, the rest dispersed, and Camillus returned to Rome in triumph. After this, the contest about the Licinian rogations became fiercer than ever: the struggle was tremendous, but the patricians were compelled to yield: the bills were passed in due form, and sworn to by both estates.

L. Sextius himself was elected the first plebeian consul, B.C. 366; but as the curiae still refused to sanction the election, the conflagration which had scarcely been extinguished, burst forth again: terrible threats were held out by the plebeians, and

things nearly came to a secession.⁴ The mediation of the dictator at length prevailed upon the patricians to give way. The concession, however, was not made without an endeavour to limit it as much as possible: the principal part of the consular power was taken away from the consuls, and vested in a new magistrate called the *praetor*, who was to be elected from among the patricians exclusively. In this manner the patricians endeavoured to retain for themselves the knowledge of the law, and the right of interpreting it. At the same time two patrician aediles (*aediles curules*) were appointed⁵ along with the plebeian aediles, with whom they were to share the criminal jurisdiction in annual rotation. The aediles had also the superintendence of the police, the temples, and the great festivals, for the celebration of which they received funds from the public treasury, until about the time of the first Punic war, when it became customary for the aediles to defray the expenses out of their own purse. Camillus, who in the end had acted the part of a mediator between the two orders, vowed a temple to Concord, to express his gratitude for the happy issue of the contest.

Peace was now restored, and the plebeians had acquired the right of being elected to the consulship: its power had been greatly curtailed by the institution of the censorship and praetorship, which were reserved for the patricians; but the latter were nevertheless greatly annoyed at being obliged to share the consular dignity with the plebeians. At first, they contrived to keep the plebeian consul in inactivity; and on one occasion openly rejoiced at the misfortune of a plebeian consul in the field. Afterwards, repeated and most desperate efforts were made by means of dictators or interreges to overthrow the Licinian law respecting the division of the consulship; and from the year

⁴ According to Ovid, *Fast.* i. 643, &c., matters really did arrive at this pitch, the plebeians taking up arms and assembling in great numbers. On the whole, our accounts of the proceedings in these years are ex-

tremely meagre.

⁵ The account which Livy, vi. in fin. gives of the institution of the curule aediles, is a mere fable, and apparently an ill-natured invention of the patricians.

B.C. 355, the patricians often succeeded in excluding the plebeians from that office. In B.C. 358 the tribune C. Poetelius, at the instigation of the patricians, proposed a law *de ambitu*, that is, a law to prevent persons from employing illegal means for the purpose of being elected to a magistracy, and that law is expressly stated to have been devised to check the ambition of the plebeians. Many years had yet to pass before the patricians saw the necessity of giving up their pretensions, and before hearty concord and good feeling were established between the two orders. The plebeians, however, having once acquired a right to the highest magistracy, the patricians, with all their intrigues and reckless violence, could not prevent their gradually obtaining those dignities, which the patricians still reserved for themselves. As early as B.C. 356 the plebeian C. Marcius Rutilus was raised to the dictatorship; in B.C. 351 we find the same person as the first plebeian censor; and in B.C. 337 Q. Publilius Philo was the first plebeian praetor. Lastly, the Ogulnian law, in B.C. 300, threw the priestly dignity of augur and pontiff open to the plebeians. In this manner the ancient distinction between patricians and plebeians gradually disappeared; and Rome, internally united and strengthened, prepared herself for her great destiny of ruling the world.

The carrying into effect of the agrarian law of Licinius must have met with the same stubborn resistance on the part of those who possessed more land than the law allowed. It is a sad fact that in B.C. 357, C. Licinius, the lawgiver himself, is recorded to have been the first who was sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 ases, for occupying 1000 jugera of the public domain; 500 being in his own name, and 500 in that of his son, whom he had emancipated for the sake of appearances. But what he did was unquestionably not an uncommon thing with others;⁶ and his case is specially mentioned only because it was the most glaring, the framer of the law being the first to violate it.

⁶ Appian. *Bell. Civ.* i. 8, in fin.

It must have been a matter of very great difficulty to carry into effect the law relating to debts, for many a poor debtor was unable, there can be no doubt, to pay off his debt by the three instalments prescribed by law. Such persons were obliged to borrow again; and as at that time money could not be got except at a very high rate of interest, the usurers again began their speculations; whence the misery of the poor soon became as great as it had ever been before; for the severe law of debt still continued in force, and the relief which Licinius had afforded the poor was only momentary. In order to stop the ruinous proceedings of the usurers, the tribunes M. Duilius and L. Maenius, in B.C. 357, carried a law in spite of great opposition from the patricians, which established the uncial rate of interest (*foenus unciarium*), that is, ten per cent. for the civil year of twelve months, and imposed a heavy fine upon any one who should violate the law. In B.C. 352 other measures were adopted for the benefit of poor debtors: five commissioners (*quinqueviri mensarii*) were appointed for a general liquidation of debts; and the commissioners were directed to advance money, from the public treasury, to those who were unable to pay their debts but could give security to the state. Those who could give no security received no assistance, but remained in the same miserable condition as before. In B.C. 347 the rate of interest was reduced one-half, (*semiunciarium foenus*); that is, the rate of interest was thenceforth 5 per cent., and a term of three years was granted for paying off the principal; one-fourth was to be paid immediately, and the remainder by three equal instalments. But all these regulations were of use only to those who had some property, and no remedy could be found for those who were quite impoverished. It is not impossible that the mysterious insurrection of the Roman army at Capua, in B.C. 342, may have arisen from the irremediable distress of a large class of Romans.⁷

In B.C. 365, after the building of the temple of Concord was

⁷ See p. 190.

completed, Camillus, then at the age of eighty, died of the plague, which broke out at Rome and raged for several years. In order to appease the gods, to whose wrath the calamity was ascribed, the Romans had recourse to several superstitious rites and ceremonies: *lectisternia*, or repasts for the gods, were prepared; and scenic plays were performed, such as had been customary in Etruria long before, but had never yet been exhibited at Rome. The disease however did not abate; and in addition to it, the Tiber overflowed its banks, and deluged the lower parts of the city. There was a report, that a pestilence had once been averted in Etruria by a nail being driven into the wall of a temple; L. Manlius was accordingly appointed dictator in B.C. 363, to perform this ceremony in the Capitoline temple. But after the ceremony was over, the dictator, as though he had been appointed for the purpose of carrying on a war, began to levy an army, declaring that war must be made against the Hernicans. All the tribunes resisted this arbitrary mode of acting, and Manlius was obliged to lay down his office. In the following year he was impeached before the people, by the tribune, M. Pomponius, for the severity and cruelty with which he had attempted to carry on the levy. Manlius, in general, was known to be a man of a most haughty and domineering disposition,* which he showed not only towards strangers, but towards his nearest relatives also. When his son, who was at the time in the country, heard of the charges brought against his father, and learned that one of them referred to the cruelty with which he himself had been treated, he hastened to Rome; and, with a dagger concealed under his garment, proceeded early in the morning to the house of the tribune, and demanded a private interview with him. On being admitted, he threatened to murder Pomponius on the spot, unless he promised on his oath to drop the accusation against Manlius. The intimidated and defenceless tribune promised to do as he was bid. The people, instead of being exasperated at the young man's conduct, admired

* Hence his surname of Imperiosus.

his filial affection so much, that they elected him one of the military tribunes or lieutenants.⁹

In the same year, it is related, that an earthquake occurred, which produced a large and deep chasm in the middle of the forum. The people endeavoured to fill it up with earth, but in vain; and the soothsayers declared that it could not be filled up, unless Rome threw into it the most precious thing she possessed. A young warrior of the name of M. Curtius, in full armour, mounted his war-horse, and praying to the infernal gods, leaped into the chasm, declaring that Rome had nothing more precious than warlike virtue. The chasm closed over him; in its place a lake arose, which from that occurrence was believed to have derived its name of the Curtian lake (*lacus Curtius*).¹⁰

For some time after the passing of the Licinian laws, the senate abstained from making war upon any of their neighbours, in order that no plebeian consul might have an opportunity of distinguishing himself. When in B.C. 362 the war against the Hernicans was decreed, and it fell to the lot of the plebeian consul, L. Genucius, to undertake the command of it, every one anxiously looked to see how he would succeed. Unfortunately, he was drawn into a snare by the enemy: his legions were dispersed, and he himself was surrounded and killed. When the tidings of this misfortune were brought to Rome, the patricians, instead of lamenting the public calamity, rejoiced at the failure of the plebeian consul. So much for their patriotism! In order to prevent a plebeian from again having the command in war, App. Claudius was appointed dictator; and the same means were resorted to in each of the three subsequent years. App. Claudius, after having raised reinforcements, took the field against the Hernicans, who had in the meantime made all possible efforts to baffle the Romans. A battle was fought, in which many fell on

⁹ Up to this time the generals themselves had appointed their lieutenants or military tribunes, but in this year they were for the first time elected in

the assembly of the centuries.

¹⁰ For a different legend, see Liv. i. 12, &c.; Plut. *Rom.* 18.

both sides; but the Romans at length succeeded in driving the Hernicans back to their camp; on the next day the enemy were routed, and left their camp and the wounded in the hands of the Romans. But the latter also had lost the fourth part of their army. In the following year, the Hernican town of Ferentinum was taken; and as Tibur had shut its gates against the Romans as they passed by, war was declared against it. About the same time, the Gauls made another inroad, and pitched their camp at a short distance from Rome, on the banks of the Anio. T. Quinctius Pennus was called to the dictatorship, to conduct the war against them. This war is celebrated for the poetical story of the single combat of the brave T. Manlius with a Gallic giant. While the hostile armies were encamped opposite each other, a Gaul of gigantic stature challenged the bravest of the Romans to fight with him; and T. Manlius, the same who had intimidated the tribune Pomponius the year before, came forward to accept the challenge. He nimbly avoided the stroke of his adversary's sword, stepped behind his shield, and pierced him with his sword through the side and belly. The monster fell, and his body covered a large space of ground. Manlius took the gold chain (*torques*) of the Gaul, and put it around his own neck, whence he received the surname of Torquatus. After this glorious victory, the Gauls broke up their camp, and marched first to Tibur, thence to Campania. Tibur assisted the Gauls or did homage to them, and as war had been declared against it, the consul C. Poetelius led an army against the Tiburtines in B.C. 360. The Gauls now returned from Campania to assist their friends, and ravaged the territories of some towns which were allied with Rome. A dictator was again appointed, and a battle was fought near the Colline gate. The Gauls being put to flight, were met by the consul Poetelius, who drove them, together with the Tiburtines, into Tibur, and thus gained a triumph over both. In the meantime the Hernicans had been conquered by the other consul, M. Fabius. In B.C. 359 the Tiburtines made an attempt to take Rome by surprise at night,

but fled as soon as the watchful Romans made their appearance outside the gates.

About this time the Etruscans of Tarquinii commenced ravaging the territory of Rome, and as they refused to make reparation, war was declared against them in B.C. 358: the consul, C. Fabius, received the command of it, while his colleague, C. Plautius, took the field against the Hernicans. In order to increase the number of her citizens, Rome added two new tribes to the twenty-five already existing. She was now engaged against two formidable enemies; and a third, the Gauls, were daily expected to renew their hostilities. Rome, however, was at the same time strengthened by the renewal of the ancient alliance with Latium. The Gauls soon made their appearance in the Praenestine territory and about Pedom. C. Sulpicius was raised to the dictatorship; and having selected the best men from the consular armies, he led his troops against the Gauls. He, being a great general, seeing that the enemy lost daily in strength and numbers, resolved to wear them out, and for that purpose established himself in a fortified camp. The Roman soldiers, on the other hand, burnt with eager desire to be led out to battle; but when at length Sulpicius was forced to give way to their clamour, his prudence became manifest, for the legions were driven back to their camp, and were saved only by despair and a stratagem, which made the Gauls flee into the woods, whither they were eagerly pursued by the Romans. C. Sulpicius was honoured with a triumph; the gold he took as booty was walled up in the Capitoline temple; and for several years after this victory we hear no more of Gallic invasions.

The consul C. Plautius had, in the meantime, conquered the Hernicans; but their final reduction was not effected till B.C. 306. C. Fabius had been less successful against the Tarquinians, for they not only defeated his army, but slaughtered 307 Roman soldiers, who had been taken prisoners. The Faliscans assisted the Tarquinians, and refused to liberate those Romans who, after their defeat, had taken refuge at Falerii. In B.C. 357 the consul

Cn. Manlius undertook the command against the Tarquinians and Faliscans, while his colleague led an army against the Privernatans who had ravaged the Roman territory, by way of retaliation, for which he allowed his men to plunder and lay waste their country. The Privernatans ventured upon a battle, but were driven back into their town, which immediately surrendered. Cn. Manlius accomplished nothing of any consequence: he committed, however, the irregularity of assembling his troops in the camp, near Sutrium, and treating them as an assembly of the tribes, made them pass a law, enacting that any one who manumitted a slave should pay to the treasury the twentieth part of his value. This law was sanctioned by the curiae, without hesitation, because it brought money into the public purse, and also because it was a check upon manumissions, which must have been frequent at the time. But the tribunes, though they did not object to the law, looked upon it as a dangerous precedent, and foresaw that if it were admitted to be valid the consuls would in future be enabled to get any measure passed by the soldiers, who were bound to them by their military oath. They therefore proposed and carried a law, forbidding, under penalty of death, the transacting of business with the people in any but the proper place. M. Fabius Ambustus, the successor of Cn. Manlius, was put to flight on his first encounter with the Etruscans; for they frightened the Romans by assuming the appearance of furies, carrying torches and snakes in their hands; but when the Romans discovered the delusion they attacked the enemy with double vehemence: the Etruscans were compelled to flee; and their camp and immense booty fell into the hands of the Romans. This defeat is said to have roused all the Etruscans, who, under the guidance of the Tarquinians and Faliscans, advanced as far as the salt-works (*Salinae*), near the mouth of the Tiber. C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, was now raised to the dictatorship; and the more obstinately the patricians refused to provide him with the means necessary for carrying on the war, the more readily was he supplied with everything by

the people. As soon as his preparations were completed, he took the field, and by skilful manœuvres succeeded in cutting to pieces several detachments of the Etruscans, whom he found engaged in laying waste the country. At length he took the enemy's camp and 8000 prisoners: the rest were killed, or escaped by flight. In the following year, internal feuds about the consulship rendered foreign enterprises impossible; but in B.C. 354, the Romans took fearful vengeance for the murder of their prisoners by the Tarquinians; out of the immense numbers of Etruscan captives, 358 of the most distinguished were selected and sent to Rome; all the rest were put to the sword. The people of Rome ordered the 358 to be scourged, and beheaded in the forum. In the same year Tibur was forced to surrender to the Romans.

These brilliant achievements of the Roman arms, or, more probably the fear of the Gallic hordes, which were roving through Italy, induced the Samnites to seek an alliance with Rome, which the senate willingly granted.

It was meantime discovered that the inhabitants of Caere had joined the Tarquinians in ravaging the Roman territory, and war was therefore declared against them in B.C. 353. T. Manlius was to conduct the war as dictator; but Caere, feeling that it was unable to cope with Rome, sent ambassadors to sue for pardon. The senate referred the matter to the people; and the latter, it is said, gratefully remembering the services done by Caere during the Gallic calamity, granted peace and pardon to the Caerites, with whom a truce was concluded for 100 years: but we know from another source,¹¹ that Caere purchased these favours at the hard price of half its territory.

The Romans now directed their arms against the Faliscans; as, however, the latter did not make their appearance in the field, the army returned to Rome. Immediately afterwards it was reported that the twelve Etruscan tribes had conspired against Rome, and under the influence of the alarm thus created C. Julius Julus was appointed dictator; but it soon came out that the

¹¹ Dion Cass. *Fragm.* 142.

report was a fabrication, and that the dictator's only object was to try to get two patricians elected to the consulship. When this end was gained, the two consuls of B.C. 351, marched out against the Tarquinians and Faliscans; but as the Etruscans did not advance to meet their enemies, the Romans were satisfied with ravaging their territories. Both parties soon grew tired of this kind of warfare; and when the Tarquinians sued for a truce, it was readily granted by the senate for a period of forty years.

In B.C. 350 an immense host of Gauls again appeared in the neighbourhood of Rome, and pitched their camp in Latium. As L. Cornelius Scipio, one of the consuls of the year, was ill, his colleague, M. Popillius Laenas, undertook the command against them, and encamped on an eminence opposite the camp of the Gauls. The latter attempted to storm the hill, but were repulsed. Popillius Laenas himself was wounded, and for a time the issue of the contest was doubtful; but the consul rallied his troops, and led them on to a fresh attack: he succeeded in scattering the dense masses of the enemy, and compelled them to take refuge in the Alban mountains. There they formed a new encampment, leaving the other as a prey to the Romans, who did not pursue them any further. The Gauls maintained themselves in the mountains during the ensuing winter, making predatory excursions into Latium: thus it was reserved for L. Furius Camillus, in his consulship B.C. 349, to bring the war to a close. He collected all the forces of Rome and her allies, and having put the city itself into a proper state of defence, marched out against the enemy, who seem to have descended from the mountains into the Pomptine district. When the hostile armies met, one of the Gauls, according to the custom of his nation, challenged any Roman to single combat.¹² M. Valerius, a young military tribune, with the permission of the consul, accepted the challenge; when he attacked the barbarian, a raven, which had settled upon the helmet of the Roman, flew at each onset into the face of the Gaul,

¹² The account of this single combat, like that of Manlius with the

Gallie giant, is nothing but a poetical story.

assailing him with its beak and wings. The barbarian, unable to see, was slain by Valerius, who received the surname of Corvus (that is, the Raven). While the conqueror was collecting the spoils of his enemy, the Gauls tried to prevent it, and thence a fight arose which ended in a general battle. The Romans were victorious; and the Gauls, it is said, fled through the country of the Volscians to the Vulturius, and thence into Apulia. The account of their flight is very doubtful; but it is certain, that from that time the Gauls never again entered Latium, and that Camillus, whatever the circumstances of his victory may have been, was the conqueror of the Gauls, and the deliverer of Rome. For a long period afterwards the Romans had rest from the Gallic wars, which had been a real school of training for them, and from which they went forth as perfect warriors prepared to encounter any enemy that might venture to check their progress.

About this time the coast of Latium was infested by a Greek fleet, from which bands of men frequently landed to plunder the country. Who these Greeks were, and whence they came, is a perfect mystery.¹³ It is not improbable, however, that the appearance of these pirates occasioned the renewal of the ancient treaty with Carthage, which took place in B.C. 348.¹⁴ As Carthage was then mistress of the sea, she had it in her power to protect the Romans, who at that time had no ships except for commercial purposes.

Satricum had been occupied by a Volscian colony from Antium, but the Latins destroyed the place; and the Antiatans in B.C. 346 were reported to have excited the Latins to revolt against Rome. M. Valerius Corvus was ordered to raise an army against the Volscians: the latter, although they were not unprepared for the war, were put to flight in the first encounter, and took refuge at

¹³ Livy thinks that they came from the Sicilian tyrants; but at that time those potentates had no fleets, and could not have ventured out on the sea, which was under the dominion of Carthage.

¹⁴ Liv. vii. 27. This appears to be the treaty preserved in Polybius (iii. 24), though he does not mention the time at which it was concluded; for the treaty of B.C. 306, is expressly called by Livy (ix. 43), *the third*.

Satricum, which, however, was stormed by the Romans: 4000 Volscian soldiers surrendered, and Satricum was set on fire. The booty was given to the soldiers; and the prisoners were sold on account of the republic. The alliance with Latium became weaker and weaker, in consequence of the commanding tone which Rome assumed; and several occurrences in the late wars with the Gauls and Volscians betrayed the state of feeling among the Latins. In short, it grew more and more evident that the alliance between Rome and Latium could not last much longer, but that one of them must be compelled to obey the other.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST WAR AGAINST THE SAMNITES—THE SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM
—THE PUBLILIAN LAWS.

THE wars in which Rome was involved, during the period we are now entering upon, were far more important than any of the earlier ones: their enemies themselves were more powerful; and the wars had to be carried on in distant countries. The Samnites, with whom Rome now came in contact, were a great and wealthy nation, inhabiting a large extent of country: Lucania and Campania had been colonised by them, but had by this time become estranged from the mother country. The Samnites, however, were still the most powerful and warlike nation in Italy, and far superior to Rome and her allies, both in the number of their population, and in the extent of territory which they occupied. Their state was a confederation of four cantons, whose union made the nation strong. The history of their wars with Rome, of their unshaken perseverance, of their sufferings and final destruction, has been greatly falsified by the vanity of the Romans, whose anxiety to gloss over any reverse they suffered, often renders it almost impossible to restore the real history, and to exhibit the events in their natural connection.

The peace and alliance which the Samnites had concluded with Rome lasted little more than ten years, after which a war broke out the cause of which is related as follows:—The Samnites had made war upon the Sidicinians; and the latter, despairing of their own power, sought and obtained the assistance of the Campanians. But the Campanians, the most luxurious and effeminate among the people of Italy, were defeated by the Samnites in the first

battle, and retreated to Capua. The Samnites, deferring the war against the Sidicinians, followed the Campanians, and pitched their camp on the heights of Tifata, which overlooked Capua. From these hills they ravaged the plains below, and in a battle, which the Campanians at last ventured upon, drove them back into their city. The Samnites, satisfied with their booty, now seem to have returned home; and the Campanians, who had lost the flower of their youth, applied to Rome for aid. The Romans, it is said, at first scrupled to afford the Campanians any assistance, on account of their own alliance with the Samnites; but when the Campanians threw themselves and their country into the arms of the Romans, and offered as subjects to acknowledge their sovereignty, they then thought it right to support their subjects rather than their allies. This account, which we read in Livy,¹ is evidently a fabrication; for it is obvious, from the subsequent history, that Capua was not in the relation of a subject state to Rome, but was merely allied to it; Livy's account being devised for the purpose of disguising the faithlessness of the Romans towards their Samnite allies. The Samnites, on being informed by Roman ambassadors of the new alliance with Capua, and being requested to abstain from hostilities against the latter, declared the conduct of the Romans a breach of peace, and forthwith ordered their army to invade Campania.

In B.C. 343 two consular armies took the field against the Samnites: the one, under M. Valerius Corvus, went to Campania; the other, under his colleague A. Cornelius Cossus, to Samnium. The former was a man of the most amiable disposition; he enjoyed the admiration and confidence of his soldiers; he surpassed every one by his skill and strength in athletic exercises; and in the camp he amused himself familiarly with the soldiers, without taking offence at their coarse jokes or losing his dignity.² On his arrival in Campania, he pitched his camp on Mount Gaurus, which was then clad with vines, but is at present barren

¹ VII. 30, &c.

in Niebuhr's *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii.

² See the beautiful eulogium on him p. 124, &c.

and naked. The position was unfavourable, but it is not impossible that the consul may have been driven to select it. The battle which was there fought is one of the most important in the history of the world, for it greatly contributed to decide the contest between the Romans and the Samnites for the sovereignty of Italy. The Romans had adopted such parts of the Samnite armour, as they thought superior to their own : in their unfavourable position they had no choice between victory and annihilation, and their despair and perseverance alternately triumphed. They renewed their attacks incessantly, and with the utmost impetuosity : thousands of Samnites had already fallen, but no decisive impression was yet made upon them, and both armies seemed resolved to be conquered by nothing but death. The day was already far advanced, when a desperate attack of the Romans decided the issue of the battle. The Samnites fled in disorder until they reached their camp, which they abandoned in the following night. The Samnite soldiers are reported to have said after the battle, that the eyes of the Romans seemed to them to be on fire, and their features to wear an expression of madness ; so that their terrible aspect had compelled them to take to flight. Valerius was saluted by the Campanians as their deliverer ; but another contest yet awaited him before the land was freed from the enemy.

His colleague, in the meantime, had led his army through the dangerous mountain-passes of the Apennines in the direction of Beneventum. At first no enemy was to be seen ; but suddenly a whole Samnite army appeared on the mountain-heights above the Romans, hastening down to attack them. Escape seemed impossible ; but the intrepid P. Decius Mus, with a band of soldiers, quickly occupied a height which the Samnites had to pass, and by the most determined resistance succeeded in enabling his fellow-soldiers to retrace their steps ; he could not himself join the consul till the following night, when he and his band fought their way through the surrounding Samnites with incredible boldness. Decius and his brave comrades were

received in triumph by the consul, and the army which owed its preservation to them. Next morning the Romans attacked the scattered hosts of the Samnites; 30,000 of whom, who had thrown themselves into their camp, are said to have been cut to pieces. Thereupon the two Roman armies united in the neighbourhood of Suessula, for there the Samnite army which had been defeated at Mount Gaurus had re-assembled, and having received numerous reinforcements had re-commenced ravaging the plains of Campania. The Campanians again entreated Valerius to protect them; and he at once pitched a small camp, containing only the best of his troops, near that of the enemy; but he acted with great caution. The Samnites were anxious to attack him immediately, but their commanders prevented it: they soon began to be in want of provisions, to procure supplies of which they dispersed over the country. This was the moment Valerius had been waiting for; he made himself master of the feebly-defended camp of the Samnites, while a part of his troops prevented the scattered bands of Samnites from uniting. His success was complete: the Samnites fled in consternation, or laid down their arms; and 40,000 shields and 170 standards are said to have been taken by the Romans.³

Both consuls were honoured on their return to Rome with a triumph over the Samnites, the most formidable enemy that Rome had yet come in contact with. The fruits of these victories were soon made manifest: the Faliscans sought an alliance with Rome, and even distant Carthage sent ambassadors to congratulate the Romans, honouring their valour with a golden crown of twenty-five pounds in weight. The Campanians of Suessa also despatched envoys to Rome, requesting her to send a garrison to their city to protect it against the incursions of the Samnites, who, notwithstanding their recent defeats, did not abstain from

³ Exaggerations like this frequently occur in the history of members of the Valerian gens, whence it is not improbable that they may have been the

fabrications of the unscrupulous historian, Valerius of Antium. His faults were well known to Livy, who, however, frequently adopted his statements.

harassing their enemies. In the same year the Latins made war against the Pelignians, who were in alliance with the Samnites.

In the following year, B.C. 342, the supreme command of the army of Rome and of her allies seems to have been in the hands of the Latins, for Rome was paralysed by an insurrection of the army at Capua; but though we do not hear of any military achievement, all the advantages gained in the preceding year remained unimpaired. The revolt of the Roman garrison at Capua seems to be a mysterious occurrence: if, however, we look at the legislative measures which were passed at Rome immediately afterwards, in the same year, we shall see reason to conclude that the cause of the insurrection lay in the deplorable condition of a large number of poor Romans, who were involved in debt without any hope or prospect of being relieved. The affluence and luxury of wealthy Capua, thus the story runs, suggested to those Roman legions which formed the garrison of Campania the horrible scheme of murdering, or subduing the inhabitants, and then founding a new state. When the consul C. Marcius Rutilus, in B.C. 342, undertook the command of the legions in Campania, the scheme had ripened into a complete conspiracy. The consul did all in his power to prevent an outbreak; but when the soldiers became aware of his contrivances, they assembled and set out towards Rome, and having forced the aged T. Quinctius to become their leader, they continued their march, and pitched their camp about eight miles from the city of Rome. In the meantime M. Valerius Corvus had been appointed dictator, and was on his way with an army to meet the insurgents. When the armies were arrayed against each other, the insurgents began to be desirous of peace, and to repent of their crime. Valerius offered them peace; and the rebels, by the advice of their leader, trusted to Valerius, who then returned to Rome, and caused the senate and people to grant a general amnesty to the insurgents. It was further enacted, that no soldier should be struck off from the muster-roll without his own consent, and that no one who

had served as a tribune of the soldiers should afterwards be appointed a captain (*ordinum ductor*). The object of the first law seems to have been to prevent debtors, while serving in the army, from being arrested by their creditors.

The story of this insurrection, as sketched above from Livy, is most singular. The rebels, it is said, intended to make themselves masters of Capua; yet that town is entirely lost sight of in the sequel of the narrative; and the rebels, in the end, are satisfied with some paltry concessions, as if they were ashamed of their own designs. But the fact is, that the whole insurrection, as described by the current historians, has no definite object at all. We know, however, that some very important laws resulted from it; and these laws furnish us with a key to the understanding of the real objects of the rebels. Aurelius Victor⁴ and Appian⁵ say that a large number of people were weighed down by debts; that the soldiers, being afraid of returning to Rome, lest they should be seized there by their creditors, tried to take possession of Capua; and that Valerius appeased the insurgents by a general cancelling of debts. It is further stated, that the tribune Genucius carried a law which forbade the loan of money on interest,⁶ though this does not appear to have long remained in force. Another important law, of the same year, enacted that no one should be allowed to be re-elected to the same magistracy till after an interval of ten years, and that no one should be invested with two curule offices at a time; it had previously often happened, that an influential patrician obtained the consulship in two or more successive years; and a consul had not unfrequently held the office of praetor along with the consulship. Lastly, it was proposed that it should be lawful to elect both consuls from among the plebeians;⁷ but whether this bill was carried or not, is uncertain: many years, at any rate, elapsed, before both the consuls were plebeians, for the first instance belongs to the year B.C. 173. From

⁴ *De Vir. Illustr.* 29.

⁵ Liv. vii 42; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.* 1. 54.

⁶ *Samnit.* 1, &c.

⁷ Liv. vii. 42.

all that has been said, there can be no doubt that the insurrection began at Rome itself; that the poor emigrated, took up arms, and were joined by the soldiers stationed in Campania. When it became evident that force could do nothing, a reconciliation was proposed on the terms embodied in the above-mentioned laws. The alleged design upon Capua seems to be nothing but a false and malicious charge of the patricians, who, in this case, as in that of the Licinian law, traced the salutary regulations of the reformer to the basest motives.

When tranquillity was restored, the Romans, in B.C. 341, concluded a peace and alliance with the Samnites, on condition of the latter contributing the amount of one year's pay for the Roman soldiers, and furnishing them with a supply of corn for three months. The Samnites were also allowed to carry on war against the Sidicinians; for Rome was on the eve of a great struggle with Latium, whose fidelity had been very wavering from the very first year of the war with the Samnites.

The Roman legions being withdrawn from Campania, that country saw no safety for itself except in league with Latium. The relations of the latter country with Rome being now in such a state that their alliance could no longer be maintained, a hard contest ensued, as to whether Rome should be merely one of the Latin towns, or should rule as sovereign over the whole of Latium. P. Decius and T. Manlius were elected consuls for B.C. 340, and had to conduct the war against the Latins, who, however, wished to avoid hostilities by an amicable arrangement on fair terms: they sent ambassadors to Rome, declaring that they were willing to concede that the Roman name should prevail over the Latin; but, with the view of establishing a real union between the two nations, they demanded that half the senate should consist of Latins, and that one of the consuls should always be chosen from among the Latins. This demand was no less offensive to the Roman people than to the senate and the nobles, although no one, looking at the matter with impartiality, can blame the Latins; for, allied as they now were with the

Campanians, Sidicinians, and Volscians, they were scarcely inferior to Rome and her allies, the Hernicans and Samnites. The Romans expressed their indignation at the presumptuous proposal of the Latins in the strongest terms; and the consul, T. Manlius, declared, that if Rome yielded, he would come armed into the senate-house, and cut down the first Latin he saw there. As L. Annius, the spokesman of the Latins, hurried down the steps of the senate-house, he fell from the top to the bottom, and died on the spot; and the other envoys were scarcely safe from the violence of the people as long as they remained within the territory of Rome. War was forthwith declared against the Latins.

Two consular armies were destined for the war; and L. Papirius Crassus, as dictator, received the command of the civic legions, and of a reserve consisting of the aged in the city. The consuls, with their armies, hastened into Samnium; while the Latins, instead of attacking Rome, made Campania the scene of the war. The Romans, united with the Hernicans and Samnites, marched against Capua, and met the army of the Latins encamped near Mount Vesuvius. When the hostile armies were stationed opposite each other, the Roman generals, probably from fear of treachery, since many of the Latin soldiers were well acquainted with the Romans, who had formerly fought side by side with them, issued a proclamation forbidding every one, under penalty of death, from engaging in single combat at the outposts. The son of the consul Manlius, who commanded a detachment of the cavalry, being sent out to reconnoitre, met a Tusculan officer, who insulted and provoked him. Young Manlius, unable to control his anger, fought with his enemy, and the arrogant Tusculan fell by his lance. Manlius, intoxicated with joy at his victory, brought the spoils before his father; but the latter mercilessly punished the violation of military discipline, by ordering his son to be put to death. The comrades of young Manlius burned his corpse with the mournful spoils, and lamented his death, while his father's heart remained unmoved; but as

long as he lived, all avoided his presence, and cursed the unfatherly man.

In the meantime both consuls are said to have had a vision, in which a superhuman being announced to them that the general of one of the belligerent parties, and the army of the other had become forfeited to the infernal gods and mother Earth. The consuls agreed, that he whose army should first begin to waver should devote himself and the hostile army to the gods. When the lines fell back, on the side where Decius commanded, he fulfilled his vow: having repeated a solemn prayer after the pontiff, he rushed among the Latins, raging like the spirit of destruction, until he fell pierced by their lances. The Latins then gave way, though still unconquered. The Romans, on the other hand, were emboldened by the patriotic death of their consul; and Manlius, after having reinforced himself by the reserve, began the decisive battle in which the Latins were overpowered. It is stated that scarcely the fourth part of their army escaped: their camp fell into the hands of the Romans; and the number of prisoners, chiefly Campanians, was very great.

Soon after the battle, the Campanians surrendered their city, upon tolerable terms; and the Latins, being thus deserted by their allies, could not rally till in their flight they reached the town of Vescia. Numisius, the Latin commander, imploring his countrymen not to give up the war, succeeded in raising the nation *en masse*; and with a disorderly army he offered a second battle in the neighbourhood of Minturnae. But the victory of the Romans there was so complete, that the whole Latin confederacy broke up, and the towns surrendered one after another. The Latin domain land was distributed among the Roman people; the plebeians, however, seem to have received but scanty portions.^a The Campanian equites, 1600 in number, who had remained faithful to Rome, received the Roman franchise without the suffrage; and Capua was obliged to pay to each of them an

^a Liv. viii. 12.

annual pension of 450 denarii, a remarkable proof of the wealth of that city. The Campanian nobles were thus bought over by the Romans. It is not known what the Samnites gained by these victories; but it is quite incredible that they should have acted the part of mere spectators during the struggle.⁹

The town of Antium, against which the dictator, L. Papirius, had conducted a defensive war, still held out; and this encouraged the Latin towns which had not yet surrendered, as well as others, to make a last and desperate attempt to maintain or recover their independence. An army of Latins and Volscians assembled near Pedum in B.C. 339. The consul, Publius Philo, beat the insurgents; but Pedum was not taken. The Latins, however, at length gave up the hope of conquering Rome in great battles, and each town confined itself to defending its own walls as well as it could, till in B.C. 338 the subjugation of Latium was completed by the consuls, C. Maenius and L. Furius Camillus. The Latins laid down their arms, and Roman garrisons occupied their towns. The senate, in order not to drive the Latins again into despair and rebellion, adopted a system of moderation and prudence. The Latin nation was divided: some were raised to the rank of Roman citizens, and thus became alienated from their former friends; while the most powerful of the Latin towns were weakened and humbled. Thus Aricia, Lanuvium, Nomentum, and Pedum, received the Roman franchise with the suffrage; and the two new tribes, which were formed soon after, contained probably the most favoured districts of Latium. Capua, Cumae, Suessula, Fundi, and Formiae, received the Roman franchise without the suffrage. The Antiatans were deprived of their ships; and the beaks of those which were destroyed were carried to Rome, where they were walled in as an ornament of the hustings, (*suggestum*.) from which the orators used to address the assembled people.¹⁰ Antium became a Roman port-colony.

⁹ Although Livy, viii. 10, asserts that they did.

¹⁰ The beaks of the ships were

called *rostra*, a name which was afterwards transferred to the hustings themselves.

The walls of Velitrae were pulled down, its noble families were sent into exile, and its territory was distributed among the Romans. Tibur and Praeneste lost parts of their territories. The Latin diets were forbidden; and the right of contracting legal marriages, and of holding landed property, was limited for each Latin to his own particular town; that is, in the language of the Romans, the *connubium* and *commercium* among the Latin towns were abolished.

The two estates of the Roman republic were now fast advancing towards that state of equality which alone could be the basis of Rome's real greatness, and which was opposed only by those factious patricians who lamented over the lost privileges of their order, and were incapable of thinking of anything but themselves. Q. Publilius Philo, who was dictator in B.C. 339, proposed and carried three laws, which would have created the most violent disturbances if they had been proposed by a tribune. The first of these laws enacted, that the curiae should confirm the decision of the centuries upon the legislative measures brought before them previously to the commencement of the voting: in other words, the veto of the curiae on any law passed by the centuries was abolished. The second law is reported in the same terms as the Valerian law of the year B.C. 449, and the Hortensian of B.C. 287, namely, that the decrees of the plebs (*plebiscita*) should be binding as laws upon all Roman citizens. Its object undoubtedly was to abolish the sanction of the senate and curiae, which had hitherto been requisite. The third law ordained that one of the censors should always be a plebeian. All these laws were passed in due form, though probably not without violent opposition: and as, two years later, the praetorship was likewise thrown open to the plebeians, internal discord was banished from the republic, and we may date from this time the golden age of Roman virtue and Roman greatness. The senate henceforth represents the aristocracy as distinguished from the people, who consist of patricians and plebeians indiscriminately. The last vestiges of plebeian inferiority were

removed in B.C. 326, when a law was carried that no plebeian (for plebeians alone were affected by the severe law of debt) should become a nexus, that is, pledge his personal liberty for debt,¹¹ which was further confirmed by the Ogulnian law in B.C. 300.

¹¹ Liv. viii. 23.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SECOND AND THIRD SAMNITE WARS, AND THE WARS AGAINST THE GAULS, ETRUSCANS, AND OTHER ITALIAN NATIONS.—INTERNAL HISTORY OF THIS PERIOD.

NOTWITHSTANDING her peace and alliance with the Samnites, Rome showed her unfair disposition towards them as early as B.C. 340, for in that year she entered into a treaty with Alexander of Epirus, who had come over to Italy to assist the Tarentines, and had made war against the Samnites. In B.C. 336, a Roman embassy was sent to the Gauls, and concluded a peace with them,¹ the object of which again was no other than to be safe on that side in case of a war with Samnium. Two years later, Cales was occupied by a Latin colony of 2500 men, who must be regarded as a garrison on the frontier against Samnium. Fundi and Privernum revolted against Rome in B.C. 330; but both towns were reduced, and a heavy punishment was inflicted on them: the surviving inhabitants of Privernum, however, received the Roman franchise, to prevent their joining the Samnites in a war which Rome knew could not be far distant. In B.C. 329, a Roman colony or garrison was sent to Anxur, and in the following year another to Fregellae, which had formerly been a Volscian town, but had been conquered and destroyed by the Samnites, so that its site and territory had become their property. All these steps of the Roman senate clearly indicated the existence of a hostile feeling against the Samnites; but the establishment of the colony at Fregellae was the sorest point, and the Samnites not only requested the Romans to remove it, but even threatened to destroy it.

¹ Polyb. ii. 19; comp. Liv. viii. 17, 20.

The Samnites had for a long time been in alliance with the Greek towns of Palaepolis and Neapolis, which were only a few miles distant from each other, and formed one state.² In B.C. 327, a Roman embassy demanded of the Neapolitans atonement for some acts of violence which they had committed in the Campanian and Falernian districts, where many Roman plebeians were settled. Being urged by Tarentum and Nola not to yield to Rome, but to trust to the Samnites, the Neapolitans dismissed the Roman envoys and refused to make any reparation whatever. A Roman army under the consul L. Cornelius thereupon marched into Campania, to watch the Samnites and the wavering conduct of Capua, while another army under his colleague, Q. Publilius Philo, appeared before Palaepolis and Neapolis, and blockaded them both. But provisions were brought by sea into the besieged towns, the garrisons of which had been strengthened by a reinforcement of 6000 Samnites and Nolanians. The two armies remained in their positions during the winter; but in the spring of B.C. 326, the Romans required the Samnites to withdraw from the place; as they refused to comply, the Romans declared war against them, and immediately afterwards strengthened themselves by concluding a treaty and alliance with the Apulians and Lucanians.³ The Samnites made no attempt to relieve Palaepolis, no succours came from Tarentum, and the Samnite garrison by their pride offended those whom they had to protect. Some Palaepolitans, being tired of the war, formed a conspiracy, and opened the gates to the Romans, the Samnites having previously, by false pretences, been induced to quit the town. Palaepolis was destroyed; but Neapolis, which likewise threw open its gates, concluded a treaty with Rome on favourable terms.

The Samnites were indemnified for this loss by the Lucanians renouncing their alliance with Rome, and submitting to the

² At a later time the name of Neapolis (Naples) seems to have become common to both towns.

³ Liv. viii. 25.

Samnites.⁴ It cannot be doubted that the Lucanians and Tarentines took part in the war of the Samnites against Rome, although it is not expressly mentioned. Strabo⁵ speaks of the Samnites having ravaged the coast of Latium; and assuming this statement to be true, we must suppose that they used Tarentine vessels for the purpose.

The consul, D. Junius Brutus, marched with his army into Apulia, but met with a desperate resistance on the part of the Vestinians, over whom he gained a dearly-bought victory, and took possession of some towns by storm. As the other consul, L. Furius Camillus, was ill, the command of the army which was to enter Samnium was undertaken by the dictator L. Papirius Cursor, who chose Q. Fabius, afterwards honourably surnamed Maximus, as his master of the horse. Some mistake in the auspices obliging the dictator to return to Rome, Q. Fabius, who supplied his place, received strict orders not to risk an engagement with the enemy during his superior's absence. But the growing boldness of the Samnites induced Fabius to fight a battle near a place called Imbrinium. He gained a brilliant victory, the Samnites having lost, it is said, 20,000 men on that day. The dictator, on hearing of this, immediately hastened back to the army, and would have employed all the severity of the military law against the offender, had he not been protected by the soldiers, who threatened to revolt, if Fabius should be punished. Fabius escaped to Rome, but it was only by the united entreaties of the senate and the people that Papirius could be prevailed on to pardon him. The dictator, who thus unwillingly yielded, was looked upon by all parties as a tyrant, and recovered the goodwill of the soldiers only by promising them all the booty they might make. He then gained a great victory, and his army indulged in plunder far and wide. The Samnites now sued for a truce, which was

⁴ What Livy mentions as the origin of this change of mind among the Lucanians, is a childish story, one of the many imitations of the ancient

story of Zopyrus. It was invented with a view to disgrace the enemies of Rome.

⁵ V. p. 232.



granted for one year, on condition of their clothing the whole of the dictator's army, and giving the soldiers pay for one year.

The Samnites are charged by the Roman historians with having broken this truce; but the accusation is wholly unfounded.⁶ The Roman army in Apulia was in the greatest danger, as a part of the Apulians had joined the Samnites, who, after the expiration of the truce, seem to have made an incursion into the very heart of Latium, which created quite a panic at Rome. Some of the Latin towns joined the enemy, and Rome was on the brink of destruction. But the Tusculan commander abandoned the Samnites, and went over to the Romans, for which act he was forthwith honoured with the consulship for B.C. 322.⁷ His example was followed by several Latin towns, and Rome was thus delivered from the most imminent danger. A great battle is said to have been fought by the dictator, A. Cornelius Cossus, in which the Samnites were defeated, though not without the utmost efforts of the Romans. In the meantime Q. Fabius, one of the consuls of B.C. 322, carried on the war with similar success in Apulia: he conquered Luceria and a large number of Samnite and Apulian villages; and the Samnites, who had occupied Fregellae, were obliged to retreat. After these reverses the Samnites, being seized with a desire for peace, resolved to seek it at any cost. The senate demanded that they should recognise the sovereignty of the Roman people. This they had not anticipated, and unhesitatingly refused to submit on such terms. The Romans, on the other hand, vowed not to lay down their arms until the Samnites should accept any terms that might be dictated to them.

It would seem that these negotiations were carried on during a truce of one year. When their results were reported in Samnium, rage and hatred became predominant over all other feelings; but the cursing of the enemy was mingled with despondency. The Samnites, however, resolved to make every effort to maintain their independence, and forthwith laid siege

⁶ See Niebuhr, vol. iii. p. 196, &c.

⁷ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* viii. 43.

to Luceria: which they were on the point of compelling to surrender, when, in the spring of B.C. 321, the consuls, T. Veturius and Sp. Postumius, assembled their troops in the neighbourhood of Calatia, in Campania, whence they intended to march through the mountain-passes into Samnium. Apulia was left to itself, as Rome wished to concentrate all her forces against Samnium. The march through the dangerous passes had been arranged as carelessly and thoughtlessly as possible, and when the long column arrived in the narrow valley of Caudium, (*furculæ Caudinæ*),⁸ the Romans perceived that they were surrounded by swarms of enemies. A fearful battle ensued, in which the Romans were completely defeated and obliged to capitulate.⁹ About half the Roman troops were cut to pieces in the battle, and the survivors, being surrounded, were entirely in the power of the Samnites. The noble-hearted C. Pontius, the general of the Samnites, proposed to the Romans whom he might have massacred, or kept as prisoners, and then marched against Rome, the following terms of peace:—That the ancient equal alliance between Rome and Samnium should be restored; that all places which belonged to the Samnites before the war should be given up to them; and that the Romans should withdraw the colonies which had been established in them. These terms were accepted: and the consuls swore to the peace in the name of the republic: 600 equites were given to the Samnites as hostages, and the Romans were allowed to depart; but they had to pass under the yoke, which was, in Italy, the ordinary mode of disgracing a defeated army. When the remnants of the army, full of shame, had returned through Campania to Rome, all business, private as well as public, was suspended, and the whole population put on mourning. The soldiers went away in secret to their homes: and the consuls, after having appointed a dictator for the purpose

⁸ The modern village of Forchia di Arpaia, not far from Benevento.

⁹ Livy's account (ix. 5) is disfigured, as he endeavours to conceal the great-

ness of the Roman loss; but the genuine account is preserved in Appian, and collateral evidence of it occurs in several other writers.

of presiding at the assembly of the people, were regarded as dishonoured men, and not permitted to discharge any of the functions of their office.

It was evident that the carelessness of the consuls had been the cause of the disaster; but as, according to Polybius, Rome was almost most formidable after a great misfortune, so the senate resolved to sacrifice the 600 hostages, or even more, rather than ratify the peace of Caudium: it was therefore decreed, that all who had sworn to the peace should be delivered up to the Samnites as persons who had deceived them. This breach of faith towards the Samnites is a disgrace to the Roman name, and wholly unworthy of the people who had consecrated a temple of Faith on the Capitol. The consuls and their companions in misfortune were led before C. Pontius, who, as well as the Samnite people, refused to receive them, and the 600 hostages were either given back or ransomed.

Luceria had been taken by the Samnites, either during the affair at Caudium, or soon after; but in B.C. 320 and the following year, the consul, L. Papirius Cursor, gained advantages over the Samnites, as is attested by his triumph. He is said to have recovered Luceria, where 7000 Samnites capitulated, together with the 600 hostages who were kept there in custody, and where likewise the standards and arms which had been lost at Caudium were recovered. But it is more than probable that this account is a mere invention of Roman vanity, to make it appear that the defeat of Caudium did not long remain unavenged. Satricum, which was occupied by a Samnite garrison, was treacherously delivered up into the hands of the Romans, and appears to have been destroyed soon afterwards. The years B.C. 318 and 317 passed away under a truce, during which, however, the Romans extended their sway in Apulia: the towns of Teanum and Canusium also submitted to them and gave hostages. In the two following years the war was conducted by the dictators, L. Aemilius and Q. Fabius Maximus; and the attack which the former made upon Saticula, in the neighbourhood

of Capua, was the signal to the Samnites for re-commencing the war. They took the towns of Pistica and Sora, and tried to relieve Saticula; but were defeated by the Romans in a bloody battle, and Saticula surrendered. The Romans now ravaged the enemy's country, and entered Apulia, which thenceforth became the scene of the war. The Samnites now determined to make a desperate effort to bring the war to a close. The hostile armies met at Lautulæ: the Romans were commanded by the dictator, Q. Fabius, the consular army being probably still engaged at Luceria. Fabius was defeated, and his army took to flight. This defeat induced a number of towns subject to Rome to revolt: but the particulars of these occurrences are unknown, as Livy here again passes over a series of reverses, the history of their efforts to recover from which would have conferred more lustre upon his countrymen than this petty and vain concealment. We are only told that C. Fabius came to the assistance of the dictator with the civic legions, and that when united they gained a great victory.¹⁰ Whether it was as brilliant as is described, may be left undecided; since, at any rate, as the battle of Lautulæ had not broken down the Romans, the Samnites appear to have lost all hope of ever conquering their enemy in battle; and this feeling may have greatly contributed towards determining the course of events, for henceforth fortune seems to have withdrawn its favour from the Samnites, whose strength gradually sank and decayed under the sufferings of the war. From the indefinite accounts we have, it would appear that they were defeated, in B.C. 314, in several engagements. Capua revolted against Rome; but the insurrection was soon quelled by an armed force. The Ausonians also betrayed hostile feelings towards Rome; but by the treachery of some noble Ausonians, Roman soldiers were enabled to enter in disguise the towns of Minturnæ, Veecia, and Ausona, and opened the gates to their comrades. The inhabitants were thus overpowered, many were massacred, and the survivors were sold as slaves. This frightful

¹⁰ Liv. ix. 22, &c.

example of cruelty showed the subjects of Rome what they had to expect if they did not remain faithful. In the same year the consuls are said to have gained a great victory near Caudium, and to have put the Samnites to flight. The year B.C. 313 is not marked by any battle; but the Romans made lasting conquests, which had a decided influence upon the course of events. The citadel of Fregellae, the only part of that town which had not been destroyed, was now in the hands of the Samnites; but it was taken by the Romans: the Volscian town of Atina, and Calatia, in Campania, were likewise conquered. Nola, a wealthy and populous city, surrendered to the Romans. Apulia was protected by the Romans, and remained faithful; and Campania was secured against the Samnites by the establishment of colonies at Suessa Aurunca, Saticula, and in the Pontian islands. In B.C. 312 the consul, Valerius, gained victories over the Samnites, reconquered Sora, and led in chains to Rome 225 of its inhabitants, who were put to death.

The success of the Romans was now so great, that if they had been able to direct their undivided forces against the Samnites, the latter would in a short time have been compelled to submit, and to accept any terms which the Romans might dictate; but the Etruscans, who had long been threatening Rome, obliged her to keep a part of her forces in readiness, to act against them. When, in B.C. 311, the war with Etruria broke out, Rome still continued to act on the offensive against Samnium. As she wished to be no longer defenceless at sea, decemvirs were appointed to restore and equip the small fleet which she then possessed. We shall defer giving an account of the Etruscan war, until we have concluded the narrative of that against the Samnites. The town of Cluvia had been taken by the latter, who put the Roman garrison to the sword; but it was re-conquered by the consul C. Junius, who then proceeded against Bovianum, a very wealthy town, which likewise fell into his hands. This conquest, however, being in the midst of the enemy's country, was not lasting. In the north of Samnium the Romans were surprised

by an army of Etruscans, and were nearly destroyed; but the veterans, who had been trained in a long war, soon rallied, and made a desperate attack upon the enemy: they gained a complete victory, and large herds of cattle fell into their hands as booty. In Apulia, too, the Roman arms were successful; but that country was again attacked by the Samnites in B.C. 310, while the Romans were engaged against the united forces of Etruria. C. Marcius, the consul, took Allifae, and many other places; though soon afterwards, the Samnites obtained a great victory over him, and so completely cut him off from Rome, that not even a messenger could carry the tidings of his defeat to the city. In these perilous circumstances, L. Papirius Cursor was appointed dictator, and with an army of reserves hastened to the assistance of the distressed legions in Samnium: for a time he merely observed the movements of the enemy; but in the battle which was at length fought, the Samnites were beaten, and obliged to abandon their camp to the victors. The dictator's triumph was magnificent, on account of the splendid arms and shields he had taken from the enemy. In B.C. 308, Q. Fabius Maximus conducted the war against Samnium, and conquered the important town of Nuceria. He had also to fight against the Marsians and Pelignians, who had joined the Samnites. The Umbrians also now declared war against Rome; but Fabius speedily reduced them to submission, and was thus enabled to continue his operations against her other enemies. As the Hernicans and the Aequians began at this time to show a hostile feeling towards Rome, the Samnites conceived fresh hopes; but the reduction of Etruria, with which the Samnites had long wished to form an alliance against the common enemy, was near at hand, and Rome's power became irresistible. In B.C. 307, Fabius, as proconsul, took Allifae, and granted to the Samnites a free departure, but sold their allies as slaves; and some Hernicans found in the place, were assigned to the custody of the Roman allies, as persons guilty of high treason. After Fabius had withdrawn, the Samnites appeared with fresh strength and a numerous army;

Calatia and Sora, with their Roman garrisons, fell into their hands. They also conquered Arpinum and Cesennia. In the same year the consul L. Volumnius is said to have been victorious in Apulia.

The senate having instituted an investigation into the case of the Hernicans found at Allifae, nearly all the Hernican towns declared war against Rome; and in B.C. 306, C. Marcius was sent against them, while the other consul, P. Cornelius, took the field against the Samnites. When it was found that P. Cornelius was cut off from all communication with Rome, so great an alarm prevailed, that all men capable of bearing arms were called out, and formed into four new legions. But Cornelius maintained himself in the heart of the enemy's country so successfully, that his colleague was enabled to bring the war against the Hernicans to a close, and then to join him. C. Marcius had had easy work with the Hernicans, for they were as quick in abandoning, as they had been in declaring, war against Rome: he drove them from their strong positions, and compelled them to purchase a truce for thirty days. Soon after Cornelius was joined by his colleague, the Samnites were put to flight in all directions, and 80,000 of them are said to have been slain. The news of the sudden despair of the Hernicans had induced the Samnites to order a fresh levy to be made throughout the country; but the reinforcements did not arrive till after the battle, when it was too late. The Romans then made another attack, and routed the enemy without much exertion.

The Samnites, having now lost all hopes of success, sued for a truce, which was granted them on condition of their furnishing the whole Roman army with a supply of corn for three months, and with one year's pay and clothing. They had hoped to obtain a tolerable peace, but in vain; probably because even now they could not make up their minds to submit to the humiliating demand of Rome to recognise her sovereignty. When hostilities were re-commenced, the Romans ravaged Samnium in a fearful manner, in order to compel the people to seek peace on

any terms; but when a great part of Samnium was reduced to a wilderness, the Samnites took revenge by an inroad into Campania, laying waste the Stellatian and Falernian districts. The consuls of the year B.C. 305 are said to have driven them out of Campania, and afterwards to have defeated them in a great battle near Bovianum, which was taken by storm. Sora, Arpinum, and Cesennia, also were re-conquered by the Romans. The Samnites were now completely crushed. A truce was concluded for the purpose of enabling negotiations for peace to be carried on, though the Roman army under P. Sulpicius, remained in Samnium during B.C. 304. In the peace now agreed to, the Samnites acknowledged the majesty of Rome,¹¹ and were obliged to give up their supremacy over Lucania, as well as their alliance with the Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, and Frentanians; while Rome obtained the right to interfere in all the external relations of her conquered enemy. This peace must have been intolerable to the Samnites; but they were so much weakened and reduced, that rest and peace were the only means from which they could hope for recovery. Rome, too, needed repose, after a war which had lasted for about twenty years; and the settlement of her internal disorders required peace.

The fate of the Hernicans, after their subjugation in B.C. 306, was, on the whole, the same as that of the Latin towns after the reduction of Latium. Three Hernican towns, which had not joined in the revolt, retained their own laws and mutual *connubium* and *commercium*.

During the Samnite war, numbers of Aequians had served as mercenaries in the armies of the Samnites; and after the reduction of the Hernicans, in B.C. 304, the whole nation of the Aequians openly took up arms for the Samnites. Two consular armies marched against them; but the Aequians dispersed, despairing of gaining a battle, and the contingent of each town returned home to defend its own walls. The Aequian towns,

¹¹ *Livy*, ix. 45, says that the ancient alliance with Samnium was restored, but this is an absurdity. See *Dionys. Excerpt. de Legat.* p. 2381. ed. Reiske.

forty-one in number, were now attacked and conquered one after another in fifty days, and most of them were destroyed. This speedy conquest induced the Marsians, Marrucinians, Pelignians, and Frentanians, to conclude a treaty with Rome. The country of the Aequians was made secure by several strong colonies, who afterwards drove the people to hopeless revolts. During those struggles the Aequians are said to have been nearly annihilated; but this cannot have been the case, since the Tribus Aniensis and Terentina, which were formed in B.C. 299, consisted of Aequians. About this time Rome concluded a peace with Tarentum, in which it was stipulated, that no Roman ship should sail beyond the Lacinian promontory.¹²

The long peace which Etruria observed towards Rome, during the early part of the second Samnite war, must undoubtedly be ascribed to its internal weakness, and to its fear of the Gauls. This fortunate circumstance had enabled Rome for a time to direct her whole forces against the south and east, Etruria serving as a bulwark between her and the Gauls. But as the Gauls gradually lost their warlike character in the mild climate of Italy, and were not averse to a peace which secured to them the undisturbed enjoyment of a rich and fertile country, the Etruscans, after the defeat of the Romans near Lautulae in B.C. 315, seem to have conceived the plan of recovering their old dominions as far as the banks of the Tiber. They began the war, however, much too late, although the Samnites had undoubtedly urged them on long before. All the united forces of the Etruscans advanced towards Sutrium in B.C. 311; but the army of the consul, Q. Aemilius, relieved the fortress; and a battle was soon afterwards fought. Both parties contended with equal perseverance: the Romans were inferior in numbers, but the battle ended without either of the belligerents being in a condition to claim the victory. In the following year, the consul, Q. Fabius, commanded the Roman army, and went to relieve Sutrium, which was again besieged by the Etruscans. The latter hastened to

¹² Appian, *Samnit.* p. 56, ed. Schweigh.

attack him; but he had taken so favourable a position upon an eminence, that when the enemy had ascended half-way, the Romans hurled them down, and cut off their retreat to the camp, which, together with its rich booty, became the prey of the Romans, who are said to have slain or taken prisoners many thousand Etruscans. Sutrium was now relieved, and Q. Fabius penetrated farther into Etruria. A fresh Etruscan army, reinforced by Umbrians, assembled in the neighbourhood of Perugia, where Fabius again gained a complete victory: the three principal towns, Perugia, Cortona, and Arretium, begged for peace, and obtained a truce for 30 years.

After this glorious campaign, in which the Etruscans had made the most desperate efforts, and lost an enormous number of men, the great Fabius celebrated a most brilliant triumph. The Etruscans do not appear to have sent an army into the field in B.C. 308, but Tarquinii obtained a truce for 40 years;¹³ and after the taking of some other places by the Romans, the rest of the Etruscans also concluded a truce for one year. Soon after this, the Umbrians threatened Rome with a war; and Q. Fabius, who was stationed in Samnium, was ordered to lead his troops against them. But they submitted to him without a battle, and with unexampled cowardice. We now hear nothing of any fresh hostilities between the Etruscans and Rome, for a period of six years; the truce, therefore, must have been prolonged, or renewed every year.

In the interval between the second and third Samnite wars, when Rome was not engaged against any other enemies, a swarm of Gauls, who had crossed the Alps, were induced by their countrymen who had already settled in Italy, to proceed into Etruria; and in B.C. 299, the Etruscans prevailed upon them to march into the Roman territory. The Romans were still afraid of meeting the Gauls in the open field; they therefore allowed their territory to be laid waste; and after a short stay, the Gauls, laden with booty, returned across the Apennines.¹⁴ The Romans

¹³ Diodor. xx. 44.

¹⁴ Polyb. ii. 19.

took vengeance for the conduct of the Etruscans in this affair, by ravaging the open country and villages of Etruria.

The third Samnite war broke out in B.C. 298. The Samnites had only been waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw off the unbearable yoke of Rome: for the same reason, the Etruscans abstained from war until Rome should be engaged with other enemies. The Samnites had supported the Umbrian town of Nequinum in the war of the Umbrians against Rome; and as the Roman senate, probably from fear of the Gauls, did not take immediate vengeance for this breach of peace, the Samnites became emboldened to venture upon further undertakings, and tried to recover the sovereignty of Lucania. That country was accordingly invaded by the Samnites, who at the same time endeavoured to gain over other nations by treaties; but in vain: the Picentians instead of joining the Samnites, accepted a treaty which was offered to them by the Romans. After the Samnites had conquered the Lucanians in several battles, the Lucanian nobles placed themselves under the protection of Rome, and promised to obey her commands. A Roman embassy was then sent to Samnium to demand the evacuation of Lucania. This irritated the Samnites so much that they immediately resolved upon war, and bade the Roman envoys quit the country. The consul, Cn. Fulvius, led an army to the assistance of the Lucanians, and, near Bovianum, gained a great victory over the Samnites, who were far superior to him in numbers; he also conquered the towns of Bovianum and Aufidena.

In the same year in which Cn. Fulvius thus distinguished himself in Lucania, his colleague L. Cornelius Scipio fought a hard battle near Volaterrae, in which the Etruscan camp and all its stores were taken. The conquerors afterwards confined themselves to ravaging the open country, and destroying a number of villages and country towns. In B.C. 297 there seems to have been a truce with Etruria, and Rome was enabled to direct all her forces against the Samnites. The two consuls, Q. Fabius, the ablest general of the age, and his friend, P. Decius Mus, accordingly

led their armies into Samnium; the former into the country of the Pentrians, the latter towards Maleventum. Q. Fabius was met by the whole army of the enemy, and a battle ensued, in which neither party gained any decisive advantage, until the Samnites, being deceived by the consul's reserve, which they took to be the army of Decius, failed in courage, and were defeated with a loss of more than 4700 men. Decius, who had in the meantime found the revolted Apulians encamped near Maleventum, gained an easy victory over them; and both consuls now traversed Samnium for five months, during which the country was ravaged in the most fearful manner. In the following year the two consuls had their command prolonged; they remained in the enemy's country, making several conquests, and Fabius succeeded in gaining over the whole of Lucania to the interests of Rome. App. Claudius, on the other hand, conducted the war in Etruria; for it was well known at Rome that the Samnites had formed the plan of sending an army to that country. This army now actually marched out, under the command of Gellius Egnatius. The Etruscans further strengthened themselves by forming an alliance with the Umbrians, and by engaging Gallic mercenaries in their service. App. Claudius was scarcely able to resist the ever-increasing forces of the enemy, and his situation was highly alarming, until he was joined by his colleague L. Volumnius. The united Romans fought a battle, which turned out so favourably for them, that Volumnius was enabled to return to Samnium, leaving only a small army in Etruria to act on the defensive.

In the absence of L. Volumnius, the Samnites had invaded Campania: many of the inhabitants of the open country were carried away into slavery, and an immense quantity of booty was taken. Volumnius, who hastily returned from Etruria, found the Samnites on the Vulturnus, and immediately attacked them. The Romans stormed their camp, and pressed upon them on all sides. The defeat of the Samnites, who had been taken by surprise, was very severe. The news of this victory, which relieved Rome from the fear of the revolt of her subjects, was

received with joy and gratitude. At the same time the Gauls were expected, and, under these threatening circumstances, Q. Fabius and P. Decius were again raised to the consulship for B.C. 295. Various prodigies frightened the Romans, and two days were devoted to propitiating the gods by prayers and sacrifices. The preparations which Rome made were unprecedented. Volumnius still commanded against the Samnites, while all the other forces were opposed to the Etruscans, Gauls, Umbrians, and the Samnites under Gellius Egnatius. Fabius on entering Etruria, joined the army of App. Claudius, in which he restored a better military discipline, whereby the soldiers themselves were animated with fresh courage and confidence. When all the Roman troops were ready, they were led to join those who, under L. Scipio, had maintained their position in the face of the enemy. He had been cut off from all communication with Rome; and one legion, which had been stationed near Camerinum, had been completely annihilated, without the consuls being aware of it, until the Gauls advanced, exhibiting the heads of the slain on their lances. Notwithstanding every obstacle, the consuls succeeded in joining Scipio. What saved Rome, was the want of unity among her enemies, each of whom had a camp apart. At length a great general battle was fought near Sentinum, in Umbria, whither the Romans had cautiously advanced. The battle was fought on a hot summer's day, and the Gallic horsemen and war-chariots made great havoc among the wavering legions: the flight became general, and a complete defeat of the Romans seemed unavoidable, when Decius, imitating the example of his father in the battle of Mount Vesuvius, ordered himself and the enemy to be devoted by the pontiff M. Livius to the gods of Death. He then rushed among the enemy and fell, and from that moment the fortune of the day turned. The Gauls being pressed together in one thick mass, were cut down without having it in their power to move from the spot, and the Samnites fled to their camp. The Romans pursued the fugitives with great vigour and vehemence, and the battle

was changed into a revengeful massacre. Gellius Egnatius fell, and the Samnite camp was taken: 25,000 Gauls and Samnites are said to have been slain, and 8000 to have been made prisoners; but the Romans too had lost 8200 men, and were unable to follow up their victory. Five thousand Samnites effected their retreat through a hostile country, and reached their homes, after the loss of 1000 in the country of the Pelignians.

Q. Fabius led back his army across the Apennines into Etruria, where Cn. Fulvius had ravaged the territories of Perugia and Clusium, and beaten the Etruscans who attempted to protect those towns. Q. Fabius now defeated them a second time, near Perugia, in a bloody battle, and took many prisoners: on his return to Rome he celebrated a magnificent triumph over the Gauls, Samnites, Umbrians, and Etruscans. Those Samnites, who had not joined the northern coalition, had, in the meantime, crossed the Liris towards Formiæ, and invaded the valley of the Volturnus; and when Volumnius and App. Claudius, after the battle of Sentinum, hastened against them, the country was in such a state that it scarcely afforded the necessary means of subsistence for the Samnites: a battle was then fought, in which an enormous number of Samnites is again said to have fallen. But that their loss in this battle cannot have been very great, is evident from the fact, that in the very next year they were able to send three armies into the field, one of which was destined to enter Etruria.

The consuls of the year B.C. 294, L. Postumius and M. Atilius Regulus, marched, as some accounts state, into Samnium, and fought a battle near Luceria, in which many were slain on both sides; afterwards one or both of the consular armies marched into Etruria.¹⁵ Both consuls gained triumphs over the Samnites and Etruscans, and many of the principal Etruscan towns concluded separate truces with Rome for 40 years. In the following year, the war against Samnium was conducted with brilliant

¹⁵ Livy mentions two other accounts less entitled to credit than the one of this campaign, but both seem to be given in our text.

success by L. Papirius and Sp. Carvilius. The Samnites now combined the terrors of religion with the compulsory power of their government, for the purpose of raising all the forces that their country contained : they were resolved to make a last and desperate effort against their enemy, and having enlisted all the men capable of bearing arms, and bound them by the most solemn and fearful oaths, they invaded Campania. But the Romans, by marching into Samnium, thus left defenceless, compelled the Samnites to return.¹⁶ L. Papirius encamped opposite the Samnites, near Aquilonia; Sp. Carvilius blockaded Cominium; and both had agreed to make their attack on the same day. When the day came, a Samnite detachment was sent off, and the Romans began the battle against the reduced forces of the enemy: it was less obstinate than might have been anticipated; the Samnites, believing themselves overwhelmed, fled to their camp, which they were not able to maintain; and their scattered troops assembled again at Bovianum. L. Scipio, by an act of great boldness, made himself master of Aquilonia, and Cominium was taken by storm. The towns were given up to the soldiers for plunder, and then set on fire.

The greatness of this victory is evident from its results, though the statement of the number of men which the Samnites are said to have lost is quite incredible.¹⁷ The Samnites, indeed, continued to fight against the two consuls, but could not unite their forces, and consequently gained no decisive advantage. The Faliscans had in the meantime broken the peace with Rome, in consequence of which Sp. Carvilius was obliged to lead his army into Etruria: his colleague remained in Samnium till the winter, when both returned to Rome in triumph. The booty carried to Rome was very great; Carvilius had the brass of the Samnite armour worked into a statue of Jupiter on the Capitol, which was of so gigantic a size, that it was visible from the temple of the Alban mount.

No sooner had the Roman armies withdrawn from Samnium,

¹⁶ Zonaras, viii. 1, whose account seems more credible than that of Livy, x. 38, &c.

¹⁷ Liv. x. 42.

than the Samnites again invaded Campania; and Papirius was obliged, after his triumph, to hasten with his army into the Falernian district. But his successor, Q. Fabius Gurgus, shortly afterwards undertook the command of the army. The Samnites were led by their great and noble general, C. Pontius, who, though now an old man, still possessed the same energy and skill as in the days of his youth. Q. Fabius attacked a detachment of the enemy, believing it to be their whole army endeavouring to retreat, but he suffered a disgraceful defeat, and his army would have been annihilated had the Samnites acted less cautiously. This defeat excited at Rome the greatest indignation against Fabius: it was doubly felt, because the city had been suffering under an epidemic disease for the last two years, and a war with Etruria was expected to break out every moment. The senate decreed that the tribunes should propose to the people to deprive Fabius of his power as a general. He was accordingly summoned before the people; but the prayers and entreaties of his aged father, Q. Fabius Maximus, who had so often led the Romans to victory, procured the people's pardon for him, and Fabius Maximus himself entered the army as his son's legate. Soon after this a battle was fought, which decided the contest between Samnium and Rome. The Samnites under C. Pontius fought with despair, for they well knew that this effort was the last, and they would have conquered had not the Romans been commanded by the aged but invincible Fabius. The place of the battle is unknown, but it is said that the Pentrians, who formed one of the four Samnite cantons, alone fought in it against the Romans. The latter were on the point of being overpowered, when Q. Fabius came up with the reserve to his son's assistance, and decided the day. Twenty thousand Samnites are said to have been slain, and 4000 to have been made prisoners, among whom was the brave C. Pontius. The war was in reality terminated, although the submission of Samnium was delayed for nearly two years longer.

After this victory, the command of Q. Fabius Gurgus was prolonged for the year B.C. 291, in order that he might, as pro-consul, continue the operations against the Pentrians, while a consular army under L. Postumius, a haughty and overbearing man, was to bring the war with Samnium to a close. Postumius required Fabius to give up his army, but the latter led his men back to Rome, in order to avoid coming into collision with a person who acted like a tyrant or a madman. In the triumph of Fabius, B.C. 291, C. Pontius was led in chains, and was afterwards beheaded: this execution of a great general, who twenty-seven years before, after the peace of Caudium, had taken the greatest care of the sick and wounded Romans, and had magnanimously provided the defeated army with all the supplies necessary for their return to Rome, is the foulest and blackest deed ever committed by the Romans, and an eternal disgrace to their name.

L. Postumius soon reduced Cominium, which Fabius had been besieging; among other towns he conquered Venusia in Apulia, where a colony of 20,000 men was established: Tarentum was thus completely separated from Samnium and Lucania. The Samnites, after their great defeat, did not venture upon another battle in the field, and hence we hear only of conquests of separate towns; though according to some authorities,¹⁸ the consuls of B.C. 290, P. Cornelius Rufinus and M'. Curius Dentatus, defeated the Samnites in dreadful battles. Thereupon the Samnites are said to have sued for peace; and Livy,¹⁹ as on a former occasion, absurdly states that the ancient alliance with Samnium was renewed; but the peace undoubtedly determined, still more strictly than before, the dependence of Samnium.

In the same year the Sabines, who had for a long time been neutral in the wars of Rome, revolted, but were conquered by Postumius. Immense tracts of land were acquired for the Roman people, and a very large number of Sabines were made prisoners.

¹⁸ Eutrop., ii. 5.

¹⁹ *Epitome*, 11; comp. above, p. 209, note 11.

The other Sabines received the Caerite franchise. As Rome had now conquered her enemies, and was ruling far and wide over Central Italy, the peace she enjoyed affords us an opportunity of casting a glance at the condition of her people and internal affairs.

On the whole it may be said, that, owing to the vast military undertakings in which the Romans were constantly engaged, the internal peace and harmony of the republic were not much disturbed. Now and then the patricians still endeavoured by intrigues to recover their ascendancy over the plebs, and party spirit occasionally burst out; but it is evident that the power of the patricians was broken, and had, comparatively speaking, become harmless. One of the most eventful years in the internal history of Rome was that of the censorship of App. Claudius the Blind, B.C. 312. He seems to have had many enemies in the senate, and in revenge he excluded them from the list of senators, admitting the sons of freedmen in their stead. He also distributed the whole body of low people among all the tribes.³⁰ But his list of senators was set aside in the following year by the tribunes, who were unanimous in favour of the former senate. His colleague C. Plautius, a man of weak character, who had allowed himself to be overruled by Appius, laid down his office in order to screen his own honour; and Appius remained sole censor, in defiance of law and custom, according to which he too ought to have laid down his office. This conduct has commonly been censured as insolence, and as an insult offered to the senate, or as intended to enable Claudius to create a strong party for himself; but if we remember that the war against the Samnites had been carried on for a series of years, during which the Romans had sustained some very severe losses, it is not impos-

³⁰ But in B.C. 304, the censor, Q. Fabius Maximus, removed the whole class of low people from the country tribes, and threw them together into

the four city tribes. Liv. ix. 46; Val. Max., ii. 2, 9; Aurel. Vict., *De Vir. Illustr.* 34.

sible that the object of Appius was in reality not so bad as it may at first sight appear, and that he intended to increase the number of men liable to serve in the armies, since freedmen, as such, were not allowed to enter the legions. But much as Appius favoured the common people, he still hated the plebeians; for among the latter were many wealthy and illustrious families, who thought themselves equal to the patrician nobility; and a rivalry of this kind was sure to make an obstinate patrician like Appius hate them most cordially. But the name of Appius Claudius is immortalised by the great and useful works which he designed and completed. In order to facilitate the communication with the subject countries in the south, and to enable Rome to maintain possession of them, he made the road from Rome to Capua, which was named after him the Appian road (*via Appia*), and is justly called "the queen of roads."²¹ It was constructed of large polygon blocks, so accurately fitted together, that the spaces between the stones could scarcely be perceived. Considerable portions of it exist to this day in perfect preservation, and justify the high admiration with which the ancients speak of it. Another great work was the aqueduct (*aqua Appia*), the oldest at Rome, which supplied a want that had long been felt. It was about eight miles long, and conducted the water to the city from wells on the left of the Praenestine road. With the exception of a short distance near the Porta Capena, the aqueduct ran under ground, in order that the supply of water might not be cut off by an enemy in time of war. The censorship of Appius is further remarkable for a legend which accounts for his blindness. The Potitian and Pinarian gentes had till then performed the sacred rites connected with the worship of Hercules: Appius is said to have induced them to instruct public slaves in these ceremonies; in consequence of which the whole Potitia gens, which then contained twelve families, became

²¹ Statius, *Silv.* ii. 2, 12. At a later time it was continued from Capua to Brundisium.

extinct in a very short time, and Appius himself had to pay for his sin with the loss of his sight.

In the censorship of App. Claudius, Cn. Flavius, a scribe, and the son of a freedman, had been raised to the curule aedileship, by the influence of that class of people whom Appius had distributed among all the tribes. Cn. Flavius, however, had been obliged, previously to his election, to renounce his profession, which at Rome was thought dishonourable to a citizen. Until that time, the pontiffs alone knew on what days assemblies of the people could be held, and justice administered; that is, which days were *fasti* and which *nefasti*, either entirely or in part; and every one who was in want of information upon these matters, had been obliged to apply to them for it. To obviate such unnecessary trouble, and at the same time to check the arbitrary power of the pontiffs, who often abused it for party purposes, Cn. Flavius drew up a calendar, in which all *dies fasti* and *nefasti* were marked, and exhibited it in the forum on a tablet covered with gypsum. All the people had reason to be thankful for this great convenience. Another benefit he conferred upon the public was, that he made a collection of the formulae of legal actions (*legis actiones*), which hitherto had been handed down by tradition, and the knowledge of which the patricians had always endeavoured to keep for themselves exclusively. In this work he undoubtedly enumerated all the different actions of every kind. Flavius is said to have made this collection by the advice of App. Claudius,²² while others went so far as to ascribe the work to Appius himself. These services which Flavius rendered to the people made him extremely popular, and the aedileship was the reward he received for them:—the greatest triumph for which the class to which he belonged could have hoped. The nobility evinced the deepest grief at seeing the sons of those, who had once been the enemies of the republic, raised to such honours.

²² Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 6.

The year of the censorship of Q. Fabius and P. Decius, B.C. 304, when the low people whom Appius had distributed among all the tribes were transferred into the four city tribes, is considered by some²³ to form an epoch in the history of the Roman constitution. The comitia of the centuries had gradually lost much of their importance, in proportion as that of the assemblies of the tribes increased; at length a combination of the centuries and the tribes was devised to meet the altered exigencies of the times, the centuries being engrafted on the tribes; each of the latter voted as two centuries, one of the seniors and the other of the juniors.²⁴ But it is by no means certain that this arrangement was made in the year B.C. 304; on the contrary, there is evidence that it existed as early as B.C. 396, when, in speaking of the election of the consular tribunes, who were chosen by the centuries, Livy²⁵ mentions the *praerogativa*, that is, the tribe chosen by lot to give its vote first. The assembly in which the centuries were thus combined with the tribes, was quite distinct, however, from the comitia of the tribes, which continued to be held as before.

The last great point, which completed the equality of the plebeians with the patricians, was gained by the Ogulnian law. Hitherto the colleges of augurs and pontiffs had consisted of four priests each, all of whom were patricians: in B.C. 300 the tribunes Q. and Cn. Ogulnius carried a law, by which the number of augurs was increased to nine, and that of the pontiffs to eight (the chief pontiff, who is not included in this number, being the ninth), and which ordained that four of the pontiffs and five of the augurs should always be plebeians. This law was of great importance, inasmuch as it abolished the exclusive right of the patricians to interpret the auspices, and to superintend all religious and ecclesiastical matters.²⁶

From B.C. 293 to 291, Rome was visited by a famine and an

²³ For example, by Niebuhr, vol. iii., p. 320, &c.

²⁴ Cic., *Philipp.* II. 3; Liv. i. 43.

²⁵ V. 18.

²⁶ Liv. ix. 6, 9.

epidemic disease : as the latter did not cease, the Sibylline books were consulted ; and in them a command was found, to fetch the god Aesculapius from Epidaurus in Peloponnesus to Rome. Ten ambassadors were accordingly sent to Epidaurus, and the god, in the form of a gigantic serpent, having of his own accord gone on board of the Roman ship, was conveyed to Rome, where he disappeared in the island of the Tiber on which a temple was erected to him.

We have already remarked that attempts still continued to be made occasionally, by haughty and obstinate patricians, such as App. Claudius and Sp. Postumius, to evade the Licinian law respecting the division of the consulship ; but infringements of the agrarian law of Licinius must have been of far more frequent occurrence, as we may infer from the fact, that the haughty Sp. Postumius employed 2000 men on the public land in his possession. Several instances are also recorded, in which the transgressors were punished with heavy fines. After the reduction of Latium, we hear of no more assignments of land : the establishment of numerous colonies, from which the poor citizens, who became settlers, derived benefit, often answered the same purpose. Assignments are again spoken of after the conquest of the country of the Sabines, in B. C. 290, when each citizen received a lot of seven jugera ; for M'. Curius refused to give more to the discontented people, although there remained a great quantity of public land undistributed : he himself took a farm, in the Sabine district, which was not larger than that of any other citizen, and on which he was afterwards found roasting his turnips, when the Samnite ambassadors came to offer him their gold. The assignments in the Sabine country were made at the time when the people were in urgent want of some improvement in their domestic affairs, but the relief thence derived came too late. The long-continued wars which Rome had been carrying on, had exhausted the very marrow of the nation, and destroyed its prosperity : many thousands, whose lands had been laid waste,

and who had been obliged to ransom their friends from slavery, had fallen into extreme poverty; many families must have been bereaved of their fathers and supporters, or at least were deprived of their support during the incessant campaigns; and the calamities arising from war were aggravated by scarcity and epidemics. This state of things produced disorders, to relieve which some tribunes thought it necessary to propose even a general cancelling of debts. Matters indeed went so far, that in B.C. 287, the commonalty were induced to secede and encamp on the Janiculum. At length Q. Hortensius was appointed dictator, to put down the insurrection by conciliatory means. One of these means was the celebrated Hortensian law, which gave to the decrees of the plebs the power of a law binding on the whole nation.²⁷ It is probable that the point in which this law differed from the Publilian, was that it abolished the veto of the senate upon legislative measures passed by the plebeian assembly. The secession of the plebs, which gave rise to this law, is the last that occurs in Roman history.

During the period of which we have just been speaking, the Romans must have made considerable progress in the fine arts. C. Fabius, surnamed Pictor, made a painting in the temple of Salus, probably representing one of the battles with the Samnites, which is praised for the correctness of its drawing, and the gracefulness of its colouring. The excellent bronze figure of the Capitoline she-wolf with the two babes, which still exists, is probably the same as the one mentioned by Livy,²⁸ which was dedicated by the aediles Cn. and Q. Ogulnius. This figure, and the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, which belongs to about the same time, gives us a high idea of the character of the works of art which were produced in Rome at that early period. The city was then adorned with many splendid buildings and works of

²⁷ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 15; Gellius, xxv. 27; Gaius, i. 3.

²⁸ X. 23. Some archaeologists ascribe this she-wolf to a still earlier date.

Zonar. viii. 2; comp. Dion. Cass. *Fragm.* 146, p. 60, edit. Reimar.; Oros. iii. 22.

art; and if we except the transitory poverty of certain classes, the state was rapidly increasing in wealth and prosperity. Greek religious rites were freely introduced at Rome; and there can be little doubt that the Romans, though yet without a literature of their own, were well acquainted with that of the Greeks.

CHAPTER XIII.

WARS WITH THE GAULS, ETRUSCANS, LUCANIANS, AND BRUTTIANS—THE
FOURTH SAMNITE AND THE TARENTINE WARS—PYRRHUS—SUBJUGATION
OF ALL ITALY, AND THE RELATIONS OF THE ITALIANS TO ROME.

AFTER the third Samnite war, Rome enjoyed a short interval of peace with her foreign neighbours; though her internal tranquillity was disturbed by the last secession of the plebs in B.C. 287, which led to the laws of Q. Hortensius. But a new enemy was rising in the south of Italy, who, although not yet venturing on open war with Rome, was watching for an opportunity, and contriving to stir up others against her, in order thereby to facilitate his own victory in the end. Things however turned out contrary to his expectations, and Rome came forth from the struggle the sovereign of Italy.

In the tenth year after the battle of Sentinum, B.C. 285, the Gauls, incited by the Tarentines and Volsinians,¹ entered Etruria, and laid siege to Arretium. The Romans sent out an army to relieve the place; but their legions were defeated, and the prætor, L. Caecilius, was slain. He was succeeded by M'. Curius, who sent ambassadors to the Gauls, for the purpose of negotiating the ransom of the prisoners; but the barbarians, contrary to the laws of nations, put the ambassadors to death. This outrage provoked the anger and indignation of the Romans, who forthwith sent a fresh army into the country of the Senones, and this time they were victorious: the Senones were completely defeated; the Romans took possession of their country, destroyed almost every

¹ Zonar. viii. 2; comp. Dion Cass. *Fræg.* 146, p. 60, edit. Reimar.; Oros. iii. 22.

trace of cultivation, and secured their conquest by the establishment of the colony of Sena.² The Senones were nearly annihilated; and this fearful calamity of the people who had once conquered Rome roused the Boians, another Gallic tribe, to seek revenge: the whole nation took up arms, and marched into Etruria, in the direction of *Faesulæ*. They were joined by the few remnants of the Senones, and by the Etruscans, who seized that moment as a favourable opportunity for recovering their independence. This formidable army marched against Rome. The Romans met the enemy near Lake Vadimo, and gained a decisive victory, for most of the Etruscans were cut to pieces, and few of the Boians escaped. The latter however did not yet despair, and having armed all who were capable of bearing arms, they returned to Etruria.³ The scene of the war was now transferred to the neighbourhood of *Populonia*, B.C. 282, and the Romans would have been annihilated, had it not been for the watchfulness of the consul, Q. Aemilius Papus, who fought alone against the enemy, while his colleague, C. Fabricius, was engaged against the revolted nations of southern Italy. Aemilius gained a victory, after which the Boians sued for peace, which was willingly granted by the Romans, as their troops were wanted in other quarters.

The submission of the Gauls was soon followed by that of the Etruscans, though the towns of *Volsinii* and *Vulci* continued hostilities for some years longer, and peace was not completely restored in Etruria till B.C. 280, after *Pyrrhus* had conquered the Romans near *Heraclea*. This reverse induced Rome to grant to the Etruscans a peace on the most favourable terms. Thenceforth Etruria remained faithful to Rome for nearly two centuries, during which its prosperity appears to have greatly increased.

Meanwhile the Lucanians, who were still in a state of inde-

² Polyb. ii. 19; Appian, *Gall.* p. 83, ed. Schweigh.; Livy, *Epit.* xii. says that the Roman ambassadors were sent to the Gauls while they were besieging *Arretium*, before the out-

break of the war, and that their object was to persuade the Gauls to abstain from hostilities against the place.

³ Polyb. ii. 20.

pendence, had been prevailed upon to make war against Thurii; and as this town could not hope to be supported by any of the other Greek towns in southern Italy, it applied to Rome for protection. The Romans were not slow in obeying the call, which afforded them an opportunity of extending their dominion. But owing to the situation of the place it was not an easy matter to relieve Thurii; and the southern Italians, who again conceived a hope of destroying the power of Rome, formed a league, which is said to have been planned by Tarentum, and in which the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls were expected to join. The Romans, on hearing of the negotiations which were carried on among these nations, used all possible precautions to prevent their own allies from joining the enemy. But the Samnites, hoping to recover their independence, entered into the coalition.

In B.C. 282, while the Lucanians in conjunction with the Bruttians were besieging Thurii, the consul C. Fabricius undertook, with an inferior army, the relief of the place; but when he was on the point of fighting a pitched battle, his soldiers began to despair at seeing the far superior numbers of the enemy. Their courage, however, was roused by a supernatural occurrence; for a youth of gigantic size was seen carrying a scaling ladder to the ramparts of the enemy's camp which he mounted by means of it. He was believed to be the god Mars, who had come to the assistance of his desponding Romans. This occurrence discouraged the besiegers as much as it rejoiced the Romans, who were now sure of victory; and the result of the battle was the relief of Thurii, which evinced its gratitude to its deliverers by erecting a statue of C. Fabricius.⁴ Statilius, the commander of the enemy's forces, was taken prisoner, together with a great number of his troops, of whom still more lay on the field of battle. Besides this great victory, Fabricius gained many others over the confederates and the Samnites; he took numerous towns, and the booty obtained was so great that, after a large portion had been distributed among the soldiers, and the tribute which the

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 18.

citizens had paid for that year had been returned to them, there still remained an immense sum of money which the consul brought into the public treasury.

Thurii received a Roman garrison, but as soon as the Roman army had withdrawn from Lucania, the town was cut off from communication with Rome except by sea. In the treaty with Tarentum it had been stipulated that Rome should not send any armed vessels beyond the Lacinian promontory; the necessity of assisting Thurii, however, outweighed every other consideration, and ten ships, under the duumvir L. Valerius, appeared in that part of the sea. The Romans thought so little of the treaty with Tarentum, that their squadron steered towards its harbour without any apprehension. But the people of Tarentum, who happened to be assembled in the theatre, which, as in all Greek towns, overlooked the sea, were so enraged at the sight of the Roman ships, that the multitude rushed to their own galleys, and attacked the Roman squadron, which being unprepared for resistance took to flight. Only five of the Roman ships escaped; four were sunk, and one was taken: the captains and marines were murdered, and the rowers carried off as slaves. The Tarentines immediately sent a force against Thurii, which, being now entirely deprived of the support of Rome, was obliged to throw its gates open to the enemy. The Roman garrison was dismissed, but the most distinguished citizens were exiled, and the town was plundered.^a This happened in the year B.C. 282.

The Roman senate, desirous to avoid if possible a war in southern Italy until peace was restored in Etruria, sent an embassy to Tarentum with demands as moderate as the dignity of the republic would allow. The Tarentines were requested to restore the prisoners to freedom, to indemnify Thurii for the losses it had sustained, and to surrender the instigators of the crime. When the Roman ambassadors were introduced into the popular assembly, they were received with shouts of laughter and insults, and were at length driven away without receiving

^a Appian, *Samsit*. p. 57, ed. Schweigh.; comp. Strab. vi. p. 263.

any answer. Q. Postumius, their spokesman, on leaving the assembly, was insulted in the grossest and most indecent manner by a person who soiled his garment. Postumius turned back and showed his dress to the people, and as their laughter continued, he said, "Laugh on as long as you can, you will have time enough to cry." The populace becoming infuriated by this threat, he added, "And that you may become still more enraged, I tell you that this garment will be washed in torrents of your blood." The ambassadors at once returned to Rome, where the conduct of the Tarentines excited the greatest indignation; but under the circumstances it was difficult to decide upon the mode of acting. Long deliberations took place in the senate; but in B.C. 281 the consul L. Aemilius Barbula marched with an army to Tarentum to repeat the terms of peace, having at the same time orders to prosecute the war with energy if the Tarentines should reject the proposed conditions.

The Messapians had now joined the Tarentines in the league against Rome. When the consul arrived on the frontier of the Tarentine territory, he offered peace on the terms which had been proposed by the ambassadors; but it was to no purpose; and as he did not take immediate vengeance, the Tarentines fancied that he despaired of the event of a battle, and that the moment had come for crushing for ever the power which threatened to destroy the independence of the Italian nations. The expectation of a general coalition against Rome was not realised, however, and the Tarentines were compelled to commence the war with an army which they had to hire. They turned their eyes to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, the ablest general of the time; to whom an embassy was accordingly sent. Pyrrhus was not one of the ordinary leaders of mercenaries at that time: his object in accepting the proposal of the Tarentines probably was to found for himself a kingdom in Italy. Before he arrived with his auxiliary force, however, the Tarentines were thoroughly beaten, and several of their fortified places fell into the hands of the Romans. Soon afterwards Milo, one of Pyrrhus's generals,

arrived at Tarentum with 3000 Epirots, who occupied the citadel, and aided the Tarentines, in attacking the Roman army on its retreat from Lucania: but though the Romans were in a most dangerous position, nothing of any consequence was achieved by their enemies.

When Pyrrhus crossed over to Italy in B.C. 281,⁶ he was thirty-seven years old. He had received an excellent education, and of contemporary sovereigns he was the only one really worthy of the kingly dignity. He possessed the art of winning the affections of all who approached him, and had not only the good fortune to find sincere friends, such as Cineas, but the wisdom to retain them and listen to their counsels. He was greater in battles than in the management of campaigns; he had confidence in his genius and his art; he was more anxious to gain an advantage than to follow it up diligently or keep it when gained. He arrived in Italy with an insufficient army, consisting of 20,000 foot, 3000 horse, 20 elephants, and a number of slingers and bowmen. He expected, however, to be joined by a large army of the Italian confederates; and it was further believed that the war with Etruria would divide the forces of Rome, and cause her subject towns to revolt. The Romans sent eight legions into the field. L. Aemilius Barbula carried on the war against the Samnites as pro-consul, while P. Laevinus, one of the consuls of the year B.C. 280, marched against Tarentum and Pyrrhus, and his colleague Tib. Coruncanius concluded the war in Etruria. What Rome had to dread, even more than the numbers of her enemies, was the great generalship of Pyrrhus, and his Macedonian tactics, which were as yet unknown to the Romans. On his arrival at Tarentum Pyrrhus had assumed dictatorial power, which was absolutely necessary to compel the luxurious and idle Tarentines to take an active part in the war: the popular assemblies were suspended, the theatres

⁶ Polyb. ii. 19; Liv. *Epit.* xii.; viii. 6) places the landing of Pyrrhus one year earlier.
Gellius, xvii. 21; Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*

closed, and all persons capable of bearing arms were trained in military exercises.

The Roman consul P. Laevinus led his army into Lucania, resolving not to wait for the attack of the king and his allies. He was at first successful, and prevented the Lucanians from uniting their forces with those of the king; nay, he felt strong enough to send the Campanian legion, under Dacius Jubellius, to Rhegium, now the only Greek town in Italy that espoused the cause of Rome. Pyrrhus, who wished to defer a decisive battle, till he was joined by his allies, wrote to the consul, demanding to be accepted as arbitrator between the Romans and the Tarentines. Laevinus answered, that the king himself must first make amends for having invaded Italy, and that war must decide between them. The hostile armies met on the banks of the Siris, between Pandosia and Heraclea, where the consul was compelled, by the fear of scarcity among his troops, to force a battle. The Romans fought like lions; seven times did both armies advance and retreat alternately; but the Thessalian cavalry of Pyrrhus and his elephants, the formidable aspect of which terrified the Romans, decided the day; the Romans took to flight, and perhaps not one of them would have escaped had not a wounded elephant in his fury turned against his own men and stopped their pursuit. Pyrrhus took the enemy's camp without resistance; he had indeed gained a complete victory. On the following day he visited the field of battle, and seeing the bodies of the Romans, all of whom had fallen with their faces towards the enemy, he exclaimed, "With such soldiers the world would be mine; and it would belong to the Romans if I were their commander." But the best part of his own army had fallen, and to those who congratulated him on his victory, he replied, "One more such victory, and I shall be obliged to return to Epirus without a single soldier." He proposed to the Roman captives that they should serve in his army, but all refused; and he ordered the bodies of the dead to be burned and buried like those of his own soldiers. Of the Romans 7000 are said to have fallen, and only

4000 of their enemies. Pyrrhus gave his allies a part of the spoils, and dedicated another part to Zeus at Tarentum, with the inscription,

The men till then unconquer'd, best Olympian father !
Have I in battle conquer'd ; and they, too, conquer'd me⁷

The immediate consequence of this victory was that many of the Italians, the Apulians, Locrians, and a number of separate towns, openly joined Pyrrhus. Decius Jubellius, the commander of the Campanian legion at Rhegium, charged the inhabitants of the place with intending to desert the cause of Rome ; Rhegium was in consequence treated like a hostile town taken in war : the men were put to the sword, and the women and children made slaves. Jubellius and his men, from that moment, ceased to regard themselves as Romans, and uniting with the Mamertines, who, a few years before, had taken possession of Messina in the same way, established themselves as an independent state, and took no part in the war against Pyrrhus until it touched their own territory. Pyrrhus, who disliked long-protracted wars, and was anxious to accomplish as much as possible by persuasion, sent his eloquent friend and minister, Cineas, to Rome with proposals of peace, while he himself collected the forces of his Italian allies. Cineas, on his arrival at Rome, offered peace with Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, on condition that Rome should recognise the independence of all the Greek towns in Italy, and that the Samnites, Apulians, and Lucanians, should receive back all that the Romans had taken from them. After Cineas had delivered his proposals, and while the Romans were hesitating what course they should pursue, the aged App. Claudius the Blind, in an energetic speech, frustrated the hopes of the cunning Greek, who was obliged to quit the city forthwith. What he had seen at Rome filled him with amazement, for the city he said, was one temple, and the senate an assembly of kings.

⁷ Orosius, iv. 1.

New legions were formed to reinforce the army of Laevinus : all who were capable of bearing arms voluntarily offered to serve their country, and preparations were made for the defence of the city. Laevinus, who had retreated with the remains of his army to Capua, being there joined by fresh reinforcements, thwarted the attempts of Pyrrhus, who having also advanced thus far, accompanied by his Italian allies, tried to make himself master of Capua. Some parts of Campania, however, were laid waste by the enemy, whose progress was interrupted only by petty skirmishes. Taking Fregellae by storm, Pyrrhus thence proceeded to Anagnia and Praeneste, both of which fell into his hands, together with the Acropolis of the latter, from which he could see the city of Rome itself at a distance. His outposts advanced even farther. But here a stop was put to the king's progress ; for at that moment peace was concluded with the Etruscans, on whom Pyrrhus had reckoned ; the army of Coruncanius had returned to Rome ; and Laevinus had contrived to cut off the communications between the different parts of the hostile army. Pyrrhus, having lost all hope of compelling Rome to accept the peace he had before proposed in vain, retreated ; a step for which it is difficult to give a satisfactory reason ; since he might at least have maintained himself in the places which he had taken. In Campania he found himself opposed by Laevinus, who had now a far more numerous army under his command than he had had on the Siris, and offered battle. Pyrrhus, however, did not think it advisable to accept it, but proceeded to Tarentum, where he took up his winter quarters. There his troops indulged in the enjoyment of the rich booty they had made, while the army of Laevinus was led into Samnium, and spent the winter in a country where all the means of subsistence had to be wrung from the reluctant hands of enemies.

Before a new campaign was opened, the Romans sent three ambassadors, C. Fabricius, Q. Aemilius Papus, and P. Dolabella, to negotiate with the king for the liberation of his prisoners ; and Pyrrhus, who was desirous of concluding the war in an

honourable manner, received them kindly on the frontier of the Tarentine territory. The proposal of the Romans to exchange the prisoners, or to accept a ransom for them, was rejected; but the king allowed all the prisoners to go with the three ambassadors to Rome for the purpose of celebrating the festival of the Saturnalia, adding, that if the senate would accept his terms, they might remain at Rome and be free; but they had to pledge their word to return, if by a certain day the senate should not have agreed to his conditions. The prisoners, during their stay at Rome, exerted all their power to induce their fellow-citizens to make peace with Pyrrhus, but in vain: they were obliged to return into captivity; and the senate declared, that any one who should be untrue to his word, and attempt to remain, should be put to death. All without a single exception therefore returned to Pyrrhus.

The king opened the campaign of the year B.C. 279, by laying siege to several places in Apulia. The two consuls, P. Sulpicius and P. Decius Mus, hastened with their forces to relieve those towns, and met the enemy in the neighbourhood of Asculum. For some time the armies faced each other without any inclination to engage in a battle, but when they did, the Romans made almost incredible efforts and fought during the whole day. The losses on both sides were very great, and Pyrrhus himself was wounded; at length, however, he gained a victory, notwithstanding the self-sacrifice of Decius, who is said to have imitated the example of his father and grandfather.⁸ Six thousand Romans lay on the field of battle, and the king lost 3505 men; but his victory was useless; for Pyrrhus, not venturing to attack the Roman camp, withdrew to Tarentum: it had now become evident to him that he could place no reliance on his Italian allies, and he spent the remainder of the year in inactivity. His conduct may to some extent have been owing to the defensive alliance which was in that year concluded between Rome and Carthage.⁹ A Carthaginian fleet was forthwith sent to Ostia, but

⁸ Cic. *Tuscul.* i. 37, *de Finib.* ii. 19.

⁹ Liv. *Epit.* xiii.; Polyb. iii. 25.

the Romans, unwilling to offer Carthage an opportunity of employing its selfish policy, sent the fleet back with thanks. The Carthaginian admiral then tried to act as a mediator of peace with Pyrrhus, but failed in this also ; for the latter, it seems, had already formed the plan of crossing over into Sicily. The kingdom of Pyrrhus was, in the meantime, visited by the ravaging hordes of the Gauls, and the Romans severely felt the pressure of the war with Pyrrhus. While both parties therefore were disposed to relax in their efforts, an event occurred which afforded to both a most desirable opportunity for putting an end to their hostilities.

In B.C. 278, the consuls, C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius Papus, undertook the command of the war. At the beginning of the campaign, a traitor offered to poison Pyrrhus ; but the Romans honestly denounced the scoundrel : Pyrrhus was so deeply moved by this honourable conduct, that he sent his friend Cineas to conduct back all the Roman prisoners that were in his hands, providing them with clothing, and honouring them with rich presents : Cineas was further commissioned to try to obtain a peace on tolerable and decent terms for the king and his Italian allies. The Romans still refused to listen to any proposals, until the king should have quitted Italy ; but a truce appears to have been concluded,¹⁰ which enabled Pyrrhus to carry out his plan of crossing over into Sicily. Milo was left in command of the garrison at Tarentum ; and the king's son, Alexander, was left behind as governor of Locri.

Towards the end of the summer, in B.C. 278, two years and four months after his arrival in Italy, Pyrrhus sailed for Sicily with 60 galleys, which were furnished to him by the Syracusans. The Carthaginians were then in possession of the whole of Sicily, with the exception of Syracuse, which was suffering not only from the Carthaginians, but from the tyrants who, after the death of Agathocles, disputed for the sovereignty of the city sword in hand. Pyrrhus's object was to drive the Carthaginians from the island, and to establish himself in it ; and he might have

¹⁰ Appian, *Samnit.* p. 69, ed. Schweigh.

succeeded, had he not been misled by his Sicilian advisers, and thwarted in his undertakings by the faithlessness of the Sicilian Greeks. After a stay of three years in the island he returned to Italy, laden with immense booty, of which, however, the greater part was lost in a storm, and a seafight with the Carthaginians, before he reached the coast of Italy.

The Roman prisoners whom Pyrrhus had sent back before he embarked for Sicily were treated by their countrymen as infamous, and every one of them had to perform the most arduous duties in the camp, until he should recover his honour by bringing the spoils of two enemies. During the absence of Pyrrhus, the Romans reduced to submission and punished their revolted subjects: thus, in B.C. 278, C. Fabricius gained victories over the Lucanians, Bruttians, Tarentines, and Samnites; and was honoured with a triumph. In the year following, the consuls P. Rufinus and C. Junius Bubulcus carried on the war in Samnium, taking several of the towns which still held out, and spreading devastation wherever they appeared. The Samnites had carried their women, children, and property, into inaccessible mountain districts, so that when the Romans endeavoured to gain possession of them, they suffered severe losses. Thereupon Rufinus marched into Lucania, and laid siege to Croton, whither the citizens favourable to Rome had invited him. The town was soon taken by treachery; and the general, Nicomachus, escaped to Tarentum after having sustained severe loss. Locri also went over to the Romans. In B.C. 276, the consul Q. Fabius triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians; and the distressed Italians implored Pyrrhus to come to their assistance. Pyrrhus was glad thus to obtain a pretext for leaving Sicily; but in the straits he was met by a Carthaginian fleet, which sank seventy of his ships, only twelve escaping to the coast of Italy between Rhegium and Locri. After landing, he suffered another great loss from the Mamertines, who were waiting for him in the narrow mountain-passes with a large

army. Locri, however, was compelled to surrender to him, and was severely chastised. From Locri he went to Tarentum with an army of 20,000 foot and 3000 horse; but these troops were chiefly fickle Greeks, his brave Epirots having fallen in the numerous battles he had fought. The Romans, however, were seized with the same consternation and alarm, when they heard of his return, as they had been at the time when he arrived from Epirus.

In B.C. 275, two consular armies marched into the field: one was led by M'. Curius Dentatus into Samnium, the other by L. Cornelius Lentulus into Lucania. Pyrrhus, who was strengthened by all the Tarentines capable of bearing arms, advanced against Curius Dentatus; he was also joined by a Samnite army, which, however, was weak and desponding. He contrived to keep Lentulus at a distance from his colleague, in order that he might first fight against the latter alone. Curius Dentatus occupied a strong and fortified position near Beneventum, but was not inclined to venture upon a battle, until he should be joined by his colleague. Pyrrhus and his generals, on the other hand, were impatient of delay. During the night, a part of the king's troops tried to reach the top of the hill above the Roman camp by a circuitous path; but matters had been badly calculated, and it was already broad day-light when they descended from the heights. Curius resolved to meet the hostile troops, who were in disorder, and fatigued by the night march. His plans were well founded, for soon after the contest had begun, the king's troops fled, and numbers of them were slain. Curius, now emboldened, began the battle against the main force of the enemy in the plain. Pyrrhus was completely defeated: his camp was taken; two elephants were killed, and four were captured alive, which afterwards adorned the consul's triumph. Pyrrhus himself reached Tarentum with only a few horsemen: as his allies in Lucania were equally unfortunate, he endeavoured to obtain succours from the kings of Macedonia and Syria; but

his expectations were not realised, and he was obliged to abandon Italy. Milo with the garrison at Tarentum remained behind. A report, that the reinforcements which Pyrrhus had solicited were on their way to Italy, enabled him to keep his fleet ready to take his troops back to Epirus. The remnant of his army consisted of only 8000 foot and 500 horse; the want of money to pay which drove him into new adventures in Greece, and he was at length killed at Argos in a battle against Antigonus, in B.C. 273. He was one of the greatest generals of antiquity, but he neglected the welfare of his own kingdom, and hurried from one giddy adventure into another until he perished.

After the departure of Pyrrhus, the Romans abstained for a time from prosecuting the war against his allies; for they wanted rest, being exhausted by their previous exertions. Meantime the Tarentines, tired of their Epirot garrison, conspired against Milo; but as their plan failed, their leaders fled, and concluded peace with the Romans. In B.C. 272, the Romans at length resolved to put an end to the war in southern Italy. The consuls, L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, accomplished this object: the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians did homage to the majesty of Rome; for the death of Pyrrhus appears to have destroyed all their hopes. The Tarentines now secretly applied to the Carthaginian commanders in Sicily for assistance; and while Papirius was encamped before the town, a Carthaginian fleet appeared at the entrance of its harbour. Milo, to whom the Carthaginians and Romans were no less hostile than the Tarentines themselves, nevertheless prevailed upon the latter to choose him to negotiate a peace with C. Fabricius. But he acted only for himself, and betrayed the Tarentines, so that when all the points were settled, the people of Tarentum learned with amazement that the Romans were in possession of the citadel, while Milo, under their protection, departed for Epirus, with his treasures. Tarentum was now obliged to surrender; but the Romans treated the town with more mildness than it deserved:

they seem to have been afraid lest the Tarentines should call in the aid of the Carthaginians, who, in their envy and jealousy of Rome, would have been glad of an opportunity to direct their arms against her. Tarentum remained free, but its walls were broken down, and its ships taken away. The triumph after this war brought many luxuries to Rome, and from this time we must date a great change in the manners and mode of living among the Romans. Livius Andronicus, the earliest Roman dramatist, whose first play was performed about thirty years later, was one of the prisoners carried from Tarentum to Rome. The fall of Tarentum was soon followed by that of Rhegium, which was still in the hands of the Campanian legion. It was blockaded in B.C. 271, by the consul Genucius, who at the same time contrived by a treaty, to deprive the Campanians of the support of the Mamertines. After a long siege the town was taken by storm: the greater number of the Campanians fell by the sword, and all the deserters found among them were immediately put to death. The surviving Campanians, 800 in number, were sent to Rome in chains, and were there scourged and beheaded. The remaining citizens of Rhegium had their town, and their property as far as possible, restored to them.

In B.C. 268, the last Samnite war blazed forth from the ashes. The Samnites had been obliged to send hostages to Rome: Lollius, one of them, had escaped to the mountains of his native country, and there gathered round himself a band of robbers and others, who had no alternative except a wretched life or a cruel death. Two consular armies took the field against the rebels, who had scarcely heard of the approach of the enemy before they gave up their senseless enterprise. The leaders of the insurrection were beheaded, the other prisoners sold. In the same year the Picentians revolted against Rome, but were soon conquered, and their whole country, with its capital, Asculum, was reduced to submission. In B.C. 266, the Sallentines likewise were subdued, and Brundisium fell into the hands of the Romans.

These conquests, which were secured by a number of colonies, completed the subjugation of Italy. But before peace was restored throughout the peninsula, Rome had to make one more effort. The Etruscan town of Volsinii was under its protection; as the slaves and freedmen of that place had raised themselves to an equality with their lords, on whom they probably wreaked their vengeance in a very cruel manner, Q. Fabius Gurgus was sent with an army to the assistance of the aristocracy, and conquered the enemy in the field, but lost his life in an unsuccessful attempt to storm the town, which was now closely besieged. But it was not taken till the following year: its defenders fell into the hands of the Romans, and were put to death as rebellious slaves, or delivered up to their former masters. Volsinii was razed to the ground, and the surviving Volsinians were transplanted to another but unfortified place.

After struggles which had lasted for nearly five centuries, Rome thus succeeded in making herself mistress of the peninsula of Italy. The dominion of Italy, compact and separated as it is from other countries, might have been expected to satisfy the Romans; and, as a people, they might perhaps have remained happier and purer within the natural boundaries of the peninsula; but they were called to greater things, even to determine the fate of the world. The possession of Italy required to be secured from without; and the threatening position of Carthage, which was striving to extend its dominion over south-western Europe, and had already manifested a desire to interfere, from Sicily, with the affairs of Italy, could hardly permit the Romans to look on quietly: hence the Roman senate can scarcely be blamed for embracing the first favourable opportunity of waging a war with Carthage, which could, after all, be only delayed, not avoided. All the nations of Italy, from the straits in the south to the river Macra in the north, now obeyed the commands of Rome. The country north of Etruria and Umbria was inhabited by Ligurian and Celtic tribes, which were

still free and unsubdued. In what manner the affairs of the conquered people were regulated is not known in every case, but we have good reason to believe, that in general it was done in a prudent and moderate manner ; for during the whole of the first Punic war, which immediately followed the subjugation of Italy, no movement of a single Italian town or nation against Rome is recorded ; and previously to the arrival of Hannibal, the country was more prosperous and flourishing than ever after. Since all Italy now formed, so to speak, one state, the different parts of which enjoyed different rights and privileges, according to the different ways in which they had come to recognise the sovereignty of Rome, we shall here subjoin a brief account of the various relations in which the Italians stood to Rome :

From within, Rome secured her possessions and conquests by the establishment of numerous colonies in the countries of her conquered enemies ; for it was the policy of the Romans, who never rose to the idea of an Italian nationality, but ever clung to that of a sovereign city, to endeavour to reduce their subjects to a condition in which they should be prevented, as much as possible, from revolt, and be required to serve their sovereign wherever their aid was needed. Their freedom and their territory were generally taken from them ; and where this was not done, they were left to the conquered as the *gifts* of the Romans : their national feelings were destroyed, in order to render them the fitter instruments for their rulers. The maxim expressed by Virgil,¹¹ "*Parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos*," was followed by the Romans from the earliest times : with the appearance of fairness and disinterestedness, they treated their subjects, and those oppressed by others, in a manner which was sure to make them faithful allies ; while those who ventured to offer resistance, and to maintain or strive to recover their independence, were punished with almost inhuman cruelty.

The towns which possessed the Roman franchise were called

¹¹ *Æn.* vi. 854.

municipia, and their citizens *municipes*. All towns of this kind, however, were divided into three classes: the first comprised those which had the Roman franchise (*civitas*), but whose citizens had the right neither to vote in the assemblies at Rome, nor to hold any magistracy there; such towns were Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Acerræ, Lanuvium and Tusculum. *Municipia* of the second class were those which were completely incorporated with the Roman state, as was the case with Anagnia, Caere, and Aricia: these had no separate administration of their own internal affairs, whereas those of the first class retained their own constitutions and magistrates. The third class of *municipia* were those whose inhabitants might go to Rome and there exercise *all* the rights of Roman citizens, and yet retain at home their own administration, as was the case with Tibur, Praeneste, Pisa, and many other towns.

The colonies (*coloniae*) stood to Rome in the relation of children to a parent, and formed a kind of miniature copies of the city of Rome itself. A Roman colony differed from what is now understood by that term, in this respect, that it was established in a town or city which had been already inhabited, before its occupation by the Romans, and was never founded without a decree of the senate; whereas a modern colony usually settles in a yet uninhabited district. The colonists, who were sent into such a town as a garrison, usually received the third part of its territory as their full property, the remainder being left to the original inhabitants of the place, who became the subject people, while the colonists formed the ruling body. The ordinary number of colonists sent to one place was 300, and each received two jugera of land; but this regulation was often modified, according to circumstances. We must distinguish between two kinds of colonies, viz. Roman colonies (*coloniae civium Romanorum*) and Latin colonies (*coloniae Latinae*). The settlers might be of the same class in both, but the political rights of the two kinds of colonies were different. A person going out with a

Roman colony retained the rights which, as a citizen, he would have had at Rome : it seems also that a person could join a Roman colony only by his free consent, not by compulsion. The rights enjoyed by a Latin colony were the same as those possessed by a *Latinus*, and were altogether of an artificial kind, inasmuch as they were rights devised and granted by the Roman senate. A Latin colony might consist of Roman citizens, Latins, Hernicans, or any other allied nation ; but those Roman citizens who joined it (they could not be compelled to do so) lost their full franchise as Romans, which, however, they might easily recover.

Another class of towns were the prefectures (*præfecturae*), or towns which were by no means reduced to perfect political dependence : they continued to form distinct political communities, to which Rome sent annual prefects (*præfecti*) to administer justice to the Romans residing in them. Such a town, however, might be a municipium or a colony ; it differed from other Italian towns only in having a prefect ; and its inhabitants might be in the enjoyment of the full Roman franchise.

The Latins in Latium, and the different Latin colonies, are often designated by the expression *nomen Latinum* : these must be distinguished from the allies or *socii*. Both together are mentioned by the name *socii nomen Latinum*, that is, *socii et nomen Latinum*. By a singular mistake, some writers have changed this into the senseless *socii nominis Latini*, forgetting the ordinary practice of the Romans to omit the copulative *et*, as in the case of *populus Romanus Quirites*. The *socii*, or allies, were either *foederati*, that is, people whose rights were secured by treaties with Rome, and by mutual oaths ; or *liberi*, that is, people to whom, after their subjugation, the Roman senate had granted full independence or autonomy, and whose rights, in consequence, had no other security than the goodwill of the Romans. The inhabitants of places taken by the sword, or of towns which had been compelled to surrender at discretion, were

dedititii: they no longer formed distinct political bodies; they had no freedom nor commercium; their relation to the Roman people was similar to that of serfs; they had lost their own landed property, and were not allowed to acquire any elsewhere, so that such communities gradually decayed and crumbled away.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE REPUBLIC—MILITARY AFFAIRS
—RELIGION—ARTS AND LITERATURE—MANNERS AND STATE OF MORALITY.

THE constitution of the Roman republic, which had at first been an oppressive aristocracy, and had gradually become a mild and temperate form of democracy, had by this time reached its highest perfection; and on the whole, it may be said, that this state of perfection continued down to the end of the Punic wars, when Polybius,¹ himself a great statesman, saw its working, and admired it. The manner in which the constitution had been developed, and brought to that point by many commotions, struggles, and secessions of the commonalty, and by the most strenuous exertions of their tribunes, has been related in the preceding part of this history: it only remains here to make a few general observations upon its character and practical operations.

The Roman constitution was not a written document, such as has been drawn up in modern times in several continental states; but like the English constitution, it was gradually and practically developed out of slender elements. Some parts of it, indeed, were settled by written laws and compacts between the two orders; but others consisted in traditionary forms and customs, which were hallowed by time, and revered by the Romans as sanctioned by the practice of their forefathers (*more majorem*). Hence we cannot expect that everything should have been accurately defined; nor be surprised that owing to the loss of so many ancient authors and public documents, we are unable to

¹ Polyb. iv. 11.

describe every point with that precision which we could desire. Political power was so widely and wonderfully distributed among the several bodies of which the republic consisted, viz., the senate, the magistrates, and the remaining body of the citizens, that there could be no fear of either anarchy or military despotism; for each of these three powers was at once a check upon and a support of the others, and it was the interest of each to win and preserve the goodwill of the others; the great plans of the republic could not have been executed except by the harmonious co-operation of all parties. The consuls carried into effect the decrees of the senate, convoked the people to the assemblies, levied the troops, determined the contingents which the allies had to furnish for the armies, and punished the offences committed by the soldiers during the time of their service. The sums necessary for military purposes were voted by the senate, and when this was done, the consuls required the quaestors or public treasurers to take the money from the treasury. The senate had the administration of the finances, or of the revenue and expenditure of the state, and controlled the accounts of the censors and quaestors. The senate was also the high court of justice, which tried all crimes committed against the state, settled disputes among the allies, and sent ambassadors to, and received ambassadors from, foreign powers. The number of ambassadors sent by the senate was usually three, or ten: they formed a select committee of the senate, as it were, empowered to carry on negotiations; but such negotiations, before they became valid, required to be sanctioned or ratified by the senate and people.

The political rights of the people have already been stated, in the account of their gradual growth and development. The people conferred the executive power upon the magistrates, and punished or rewarded them, according to the manner in which they had used their delegated authority. Declarations of peace and war, and treaties, were not valid until they were sanctioned by the people. A Roman citizen could not be condemned to death

except by the people; and before the tribes had voted on his case, he might, if he apprehended condemnation, withdraw into voluntary exile. This was a wise custom, inasmuch as it enabled the people to retract any rash or unjust verdict; and there are several instances of persons who thus escaped, and were afterwards triumphantly recalled from exile. After the equalisation of the orders of the patricians and plebeians, the assemblies of the curiae and tribes still continued to be held, but only for set purposes, such as the election of certain officers, and to sanction particular measures; otherwise they were little more than mere forms:² the assembly of the centuries, in their connection with the tribes, was now the most important.

The powers of these three bodies, of which the Roman republic consisted, were very nicely balanced, and their efficiency arose from their co-operation. A consul, for example, required a decree of the senate before he could levy an army; and his treaties with foreign nations were inoperative unless they obtained the sanction of the senate and people; after the close of a campaign also he might be taken to account by the people, for he was a responsible officer. The senate, on the other hand, could not carry on the administration of the republic without the goodwill and co-operation of the people, or of the tribunes who were the organs of the people, and could, by their intercession, prevent the senate coming to any resolution. The people, lastly, were benefited by acting in concord with the senate: as the farming of the tolls, public lands, mines, and the contracts for public buildings were regulated by the senate, and as the chief magistrates had power over the life and death of the citizens in the field, the people had every inducement to concur with the senate and magistrates so long as they did not overstep the bounds of their authority. While the powers of the republic were thus equally distributed and balanced, Rome was happy and flourishing;

² The curiae as such altogether ceased to meet, and were represented only by thirty beadles (*lictors*) who

went through certain forms and whose meetings were called *comitia curiata*.

but when one power began to predominate over the others, the equipoise was lost, so that the whole fabric fell into decay.

Although a consul united in his person the highest civil and military power, yet he was not allowed to exercise the latter within the city, or in its territory, for the distance of one mile all round. Unlimited military power was possessed only by a dictator, who was appointed in times of great danger; but the abuses, which in former times dictators had made of their power, are no longer mentioned in the period we are here speaking of. The most important office, and the one in which the vital principle of the republic was most energetically manifested, was that of the tribunes of the people; for they had the right to interfere in everything, stopping the proceedings of the senate and magistrates, and affording their protection to the injured and oppressed. But they had no judicial power. The administration of justice, which had passed from the hands of the consuls into those of the praetors, had been greatly facilitated, as we have seen, by the *jus Flavianum*. The judges, appointed by the praetor to decide upon a given case, were taken from among the senators.

The administration of the finances was, as we remarked above, in the hands of the senate. The public revenue consisted of the tribute of the Roman citizens and the Italian allies, of the rent paid for the use of the domain land, which was let to farm like the tolls, of the port and import duties, of the produce of the mines, salt-works, and of the booty, all or part of which was sold for the benefit of the state. The accounts of the public treasury were kept by the quaestors (*quaestores*), the number of whom was raised in B.C. 275 to eight, on account of the increased business arising out of the conquests which Rome had made. The quaestors, like other public functionaries, were assisted by clerks (*solarii* or *scribae*), who were mostly freedmen, and who formed a distinct class of persons: owing to their position, they had no claims to any of the higher offices, though Cn. Flavius, one of them, succeeded in obtaining the aedileship.

The police of Rome was at first in the hands of the plebeian

aediles, and afterwards, with more extensive powers, in those of the curule aediles, who had at the same time the superintendence of the temples and other public buildings; but in times of scarcity a praefect of the corn-market (*praefectus annonae*) was appointed, who had to take care that a sufficient supply of food was imported, and that it was sold at a fixed price, so as to prevent the cost from being beyond the means of the poor. No other magistrate had such extensive power over the public and private life of Roman citizens as the censors. Their main business from the first had been to draw up the lists of the senators, equites, and the remaining body of citizens, and to ascertain and register the amount of their property. But as a man's property is in a great measure dependent upon his conduct, the censors soon became the superintendents of the citizens' moral conduct also; and their influence grew to an extraordinary extent, for it was in their power to determine a person's status in society. They could punish by their censorial mark (*nota censoria*) any violation of a citizen's duty towards the state, his fellow-citizens, or his own position; dishonourable occupations; the squandering of property; the profanation of things devoted to religious purposes; the neglect of agriculture, and a great many other offences. But however great the influence of the censors might be, they could neither deprive a citizen of his franchise, nor confer it upon a person not possessing it; all they were empowered to do, was to degrade a citizen, that is, to remove him from his own tribe into a less honourable one (*tribu movere*), to make him an aerarian, or enter his name in the tables of the Caerites. Such a punishment however was not permanent, for the censors of the next lustrum might always restore a citizen to his former position, if they thought his conduct entitled him to it.

With regard to the constitution of the army, its regulation, according to the centuries instituted by king Servius Tullius, continued for a considerable time after the establishment of the commonwealth; but the perpetual wars which followed one

another in rapid succession, and which made the Romans acquainted with other nations, led them to introduce various changes into their own system. In the earlier times, the wars had frequently lasted only a few days or weeks, during which the loss of human life cannot have been very great, the hostile armies being generally satisfied with ravaging the fields of their enemies, and with carrying away as much booty as they could. But after the siege of Veii, the campaigns had become longer and more serious; and no sooner had the Romans gone forth triumphantly, and with fresh vigour, from the wars with the Gauls, than they had to fight against the Samnites, Latins, Etruscans, Pyrrhus, and the inhabitants of southern Italy, with whom they did not struggle for the possession of a few fields, but for the sovereignty of Italy. Whether the soldiers received any pay as early as the time of the kings, is very doubtful: all writers agree in stating that military pay was not introduced till the war against Veii, which must also be regarded as the first occasion when the Romans made any progress in the art of besieging a town. Their ordinary mode of taking a place, if it could not be otherwise compelled to surrender, was to undermine its walls; for the *aries* or battering-ram, by which the walls were shattered to pieces, was an invention of later times, and as yet unknown to the Romans.

At the period of the Gallic war, the ancient brass armour was exchanged by Camillus for iron armour, a polished iron helmet being a better protection against the huge swords of the barbarians. The increased value of brass may likewise have contributed to the introduction of iron for military purposes. Camillus is also said to have surrounded the shields of the soldiers with iron rims. The original shields of the Romans (*clippæ*) were, like those of the ancient Greeks, of brass; but after the Veientine war, a different kind of shield (*scutum*) was introduced, which consisted of a wooden frame covered with the hide of an ox. At the same time, the ancient weapon of the front lines was exchanged for a peculiar kind of spear (*pilum*)

seven feet long, by which a blow might be warded off, and which might also be used as a weapon to attack the enemy. The Roman sword was short, resembling a large knife, but many a battle was decided by it.

A legion, according to Livy's account, consisted at the time of the Latin war, of five divisions or battalions, which are called *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, *rorarii*, and *accensi*. The *rorarii* were slingers, or a sort of light-armed infantry, like the later *velites*; the *accensi* were a reserve which followed the legion. The regular number of men contained in a legion was 4500, in addition to which 300 horsemen were always attached to it. Four legions were generally levied every year, and the allies had to send a contingent of double the amount. In many cases, however, the Romans were compelled by circumstances to exceed the ordinary number; as in the war against the Volscians in B.C. 405, when Rome alone is said to have sent ten legions into the field. The military laws, respecting the subordination of the soldiers and officers to their commander, were extremely severe, as is attested by numerous examples; but when the soldiers were resting in their camp, it was not uncommon for their commander to amuse himself with his men by gymnastic exercises and games of various kinds. The greatest reward bestowed upon a general, after a successful campaign, was to be allowed to enter the city in a triumphal procession; the other rewards were usually, in themselves, simple and trifling, and were given to common soldiers no less than to their commanders; but they were always significant, and incited those who were honoured with them to great deeds in the service of the republic.

A perfect system of tactics was unknown to the Romans till the time of Pyrrhus, who was not only an able general himself, but a writer on tactics, and who made them acquainted with the Macedonian system, and with the use of elephants in war. It is commonly believed that the Romans had no navy before the first Punic war; but this opinion is contradicted, partly by their treaties with Carthage, and partly by the appointment of admirals

(*dunmvi navales*), who were elected every year from B.C. 448. The ships were probably furnished by the maritime towns subject to Rome. A regular fleet of vessels, with five benches of rowers, however, was not kept up by the Romans until their war with Carthage.

The religion of the Romans, which was so wonderfully interwoven with all the affairs of their private and public life, both in war and in peace, had been considerably modified by the introduction of Greek divinities and modes of worship, which were engrafted upon the ancient Italian religion. It was in vain that the aediles opposed the adoption of foreign rites; for in times of great distress, the people, under the guidance of the Sibylline books, would have recourse to them; hoping to obtain, through the mediation of foreign gods, that which their own divinities seemed unwilling to grant. It was under such circumstances that the image of Aesculapius was fetched from Epidaurus. The worship of this god brought to Rome a number of Greek physicians, who undertook to cure the sick by *incubatio*, that is, by passing the nights in the god's temple, and by other religious ceremonies. The ancient worship of the native divinities, being thus more and more thrown into the back-ground, fell into oblivion, so that in many instances it became a matter of mere antiquarian curiosity, and was as obscure and unintelligible to the Romans themselves as it is to us. The auspices still continued to maintain their ancient dignity and authority, for public undertakings were never entered upon without consulting them. Isolated instances of disregard for them, however, occur long before the Punic wars; and it is evident that as early as that time many persons regarded them as mere forms, or used them hypocritically, as a means for unjust and selfish purposes. At Rome, the letter of the religious laws began, at a very early period, to prevail over their spirit; until, in the days of Cicero, men had lost all religious feeling, and treated religious matters either with perfect indifference or with contempt.

Intellectual culture is a delicate plant, which cannot well grow

and develop its quiet beauties amid the troubles of destructive wars; hence its progress was slow among the people of Rome. Commerce must have been carried on, at this time, to a very great extent with the Etruscans and southern Italians, with whom mercantile intercourse was kept up even in war, during those months in which there was a cessation of hostilities; Roman merchant-ships also visited Sicily, and even Carthage, where they were, by treaties, allowed to trade. But from Sardinia and Libya, they were excluded by the jealousy of Carthage. The main source of wealth among the Romans, and their most honourable occupation, was agriculture: the greatest generals and statesmen, after they had held the helm of the republic and gained victories and triumphs, did not scruple to return to the plough, and live in rural retirement, disdaining the pomp and splendour which in other times and countries would have been inseparable from their high position. Rustic pursuits produced and nourished the highest virtues that characterise the best of the Romans; and the greatest praise that a censor could bestow upon a man was, that he was a good husbandman and father. Their mode of living still continued to be extremely simple: their ordinary food consisted of a kind of porridge made of flour, and of the fruits of the fields. Bread was made at home by the women. In the time of the Samnite wars, wine was thought so precious, that even the libations to the gods were mere drops of wine; and one Egnatius Mecenius³ was not censured for having killed his wife, because she had drunk wine without his knowledge. The majority of people dwelt in huts, or small cottages, and slept on beds of straw; the streets were not yet paved; but cleanliness was enjoined by religion in all the states of antiquity. Public buildings, however, began to be distinguished by their grandeur and splendour; and after the second Samnite war, private houses were better built than they had been before; so that, on the whole, the city must then have assumed a stately appearance. Down to the age of Pyrrhus, houses were covered

³ Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 14.

with wooden shingles, for which, after that time, raintiles (*imbrices*) were substituted.

But, notwithstanding this general simplicity in their mode of living, symptoms of extravagance, and the love of luxuries, began to show themselves, here and there, at an early period. Thus, P. Cornelius Rufinus, in B.C. 275, was expelled from the senate by the censors, because he possessed silver vessels to the amount of ten pounds; and a law against bribery had been found necessary as early as B.C. 358. How easily the rustic simplicity of the Romans degenerated into baseness and brutality, is evident from the conduct of the Campanian legion at Rhegium; and from the fact that, in B.C. 332, a number of Roman ladies of rank were convicted of having poisoned their husbands. The conquest of the wealthy city of Tarentum, and the splendid booty which was there taken, increased the taste for luxuries of every kind, and for the ornaments of life. It is a remarkable fact in Roman history, that an acquaintance with the luxuries and refinement of the Greeks seldom benefited the Romans, as it might have done; and numerous cases are on record which show that the Romans, like barbarians, could not exercise any control over their enjoyment of novel luxuries, which only debased them through their intemperance and want of moderation. The first silver coins were issued at Rome in B.C. 269, probably on account of the extended intercourse with foreign nations. Down to the year B.C. 800, the Romans had allowed their beards to grow freely, but in that year Greek barbers are said to have come from Sicily, and to have introduced the custom of shaving. In later times, wealthy Romans used to keep slaves, whose sole duty was to shave their masters; while the majority of the people went to the public shops of the barbers, which were great places of resort in the morning, when numbers of idle loungers assembled there and talked over the news of the day.

Literary and scientific pursuits were still foreign to the Romans; for the object of their education was, on the whole, no other than to train the young men in a manner that would make them good

citizens, and render them fit to serve their country in war and peace. The young nobles received the instruction which was thought necessary for these purposes, from Etruscan teachers. The arts, as we have already remarked, were cultivated to a considerable degree, but more by Etruscans and Greeks residing at Rome than by the Romans themselves; for artists were not held in any high esteem, and the arts never flourish where they are not honoured. Painting alone seems to have formed an exception, as Fabius Pictor, a distinguished painter, received his surname from his art. The numerous gold and silver vessels, which were dedicated in the temples, indicate the increasing wealth of the republic. After the subjugation of Latium, we hear of several equestrian statues being erected at Rome; and the numbers of works of art, which were carried to the sovereign city from the conquered towns of Etruria and southern Italy, may be inferred from the statement, that after the taking of Volsinii, 2000 statues were carried to Rome. The first sun-dial was set up at Rome in B.C. 293, by L. Papirius Cursor. The ignorance or want of skill of the Romans in music is manifest from the following anecdote. The Etruscan flute-players had enjoyed the privilege of taking their meals in the temple of Jupiter; and when the senate took this privilege from them, they emigrated to Tibur. As there was now nobody at Rome that could play the flute at sacrifices, the senate summoned them to return, but they refused. The Tiburtines were thereupon induced to make the flute-players drunk, and having succeeded in this, they carried them in their sleep to Rome, where their ancient privilege was restored to them. In B.C. 364, Etruscan dancers and actors (*Andriotes*, *histriones*) were invited from Etruria to avert a plague, from which Rome was then suffering. Such hired actors never enjoyed any estimation at Rome, and were excluded from the civic franchise; but free-born youths had their own amusements, in reciting comic and frivolous songs accompanied by dramatic gesticulation. The time for the development of literature was only just beginning to dawn; the Romans of that period were more ambitious to

accomplish great military feats, and to display bold and manly courage, than to spend their time in the refined amusements of the Greeks, who in their sight were a degenerate race.

Rome had long been connected with Carthage by treaties ; and her relations with foreign powers were extended in B.C. 273, when Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent an embassy to Rome, and concluded friendship and alliance with the conquerors of Italy. In the following year, the city of Apollonia, on the Ionian gulf, likewise sent an embassy to Rome, but its object is not known. Rome therefore was no longer a stranger to the eastern part of the world.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR—SICILY THE FIRST ROMAN PROVINCE—INTERNAL HISTORY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

AFTER the conquest of Italy, it was impossible for the Romans to remain peaceful neighbours of the Carthaginians, who were in possession of all the fair island of Sicily, with the exception of the small kingdom of Hiero, and the north-eastern district, which was ruled over by the Mamertines of Messana. The mutual jealousy of the two republics had become too manifest during the war of the Romans against Tarentum. An opportunity for giving vent to this feeling occurred soon after the taking of Rhegium. The Campanians, who had been masters of that town, had been allied with the Mamertines, who were likewise Italians, and who, after serving as mercenaries in Sicily, had taken possession of Messana in the same base and cruel manner as that by which the Campanians had made themselves masters of Rhegium. The fall of the latter town deprived the Mamertines of their only friends and supporters. In conjunction with them, the Mamertines had spared neither the possessions of the Carthaginians in Sicily, nor the Greek towns, and had conquered the north-eastern corner of the island. King Hiero of Syracuse now longed to punish them for the outrages which they had committed during many years: with an army, which he had formed of his own subjects, he took from them some towns they had subjugated; and in the neighbourhood of Messana, gained a decisive victory over them, in which their commander was taken prisoner. The Mamertines were so much weakened by this defeat, that they were on the point of imploring the mercy of their conqueror,

when they were saved by the interference of a Carthaginian commander, who was cruising off the coast of Messana; for the Carthaginians foresaw that a connection between the Mamertines and Hiero might draw the Romans into the island, and thus involve them in a struggle with Rome for the possession of Sicily, the complete conquest of which, they fancied, they might now easily accomplish. But the Mamertines were divided among themselves; for the proffered protection of Carthage created fear and suspicion in the minds of many of them, who would have preferred an alliance with some Italian power. As Hiero was ready to make another attack upon them, no time was to be lost; and while one part of the Mamertines accepted the protection of Carthage, the other applied for assistance to Rome. It was now scarcely six years since Rome had inflicted the most severe punishment on her own subjects, who had been guilty of the same crime as the Mamertines; and she ought to have rejected their offer of alliance with scorn and indignation; but ambition, and the love of dominion, prevailed over every other feeling. The majority of the senators, indeed, obeyed the laws of conscience and honour, and rejected the proposal; but the consuls, eager for war, brought the matter before the assembly of the people, who in their jealousy of Carthage, and in the hope of a speedy termination of the war, and of rich booty, allowed themselves to be prevailed upon to agree to the alliance with the Mamertines, and to promise them their assistance.¹ This decree, which was passed in B.C. 264, is a greater disgrace to Rome than even the murder of C. Pontius: it shows that the constitution was already inclining too much to the democratical side, though the republic itself did not suffer any material injury from this state of things for a long time to come.

As in the meantime Hiero had been pressing hard upon the Mamertines, the Carthaginian party admitted a Carthaginian garrison into the acropolis, and Hiero was thus obliged to give up all further undertakings against the place. He was at length prevailed upon by the Carthaginians to make peace with Messana;

¹ Polyb. l. 12.

and as the Romans had promised their assistance only against Hiero, they had now lost every pretext that could justify their interference on behalf of the Mamertines. For some time the Romans seem to have hesitated as to what course they should pursue: at last they resolved on war against the Carthaginians; and a legate of the consul Appius Claudius appeared at Rhegium with an army, and a number of triremes which had been furnished by the Greek towns of Italy, for the Roman fleet had been completely neglected. The legate, however, was prevented from crossing over into Sicily by a Carthaginian fleet, which was stationed in the straits: he therefore sailed in a boat to Messana, to proclaim to the Mamertines that the Romans would deliver them from the yoke of the Carthaginians. Soon after his return, he succeeded, during a favourable wind, in safely reaching the coast of Sicily with his fleet. Hanno, the commander of the Carthaginian garrison at Messana, was treacherously compelled to surrender the citadel to the Romans. Another Carthaginian general had in the meantime brought an army to Sicily, and was approaching Messana with a fleet. He called upon the Romans, in the name of Carthage, to evacuate Messana and Sicily before a certain day; and as they refused, the Carthaginians, in conjunction with Hiero, but in separate camps, began to blockade Messana. In the night the consul, Appius Claudius himself, landed with fresh legions in Sicily, and drew up his army near that of Hiero, who, being beaten before the Carthaginians could send him any assistance, retreated to Syracuse. The consul next made an attack upon the camp of the Carthaginians, who had considerably weakened their forces by putting to death all the Italian mercenaries serving in their army, though, being emigrants from the countries which had recently been subdued by Rome, they might have been of great service to the Carthaginians. But the latter feared treachery: the consequence was, that they were defeated by the Romans; whereupon they withdrew among their subject-towns in the island, to spend the winter there, while the Romans

followed up their victory over Hiero, and encamped under the walls of Syracuse. But nothing decisive was accomplished, for they soon retreated to Messina, and the Syracusans, who had already suffered so much from the Carthaginians, were not inclined to continue the war against the Romans. In B.C. 263, the consuls, M'. Otacilius and M'. Valerius, landed with their armies in Sicily, without any obstacle, and Centoripa, Agrigium, and Halaesa surrendered to them: sixty-seven towns in all are said to have submitted to Rome.² When the consuls approached Syracuse, Hiero complied with the wishes of his people, and offered peace, which the consuls gladly accepted, for their armies were already suffering from want of provisions. The king restored all the Roman prisoners to freedom, paid down a contribution of 200 talents, and became the ally of Rome.³ He faithfully kept his engagements; and without taking any active part in the war against Carthage, supported the Romans with money, arms, and provisions. The peace with Hiero may be regarded as the real beginning of the first Punic war, though most writers date it from the passage of Claudius's legate into Sicily, in B.C. 264.

At the beginning of the war, Carthage might reasonably hope for a fortunate issue of the contest, since she possessed a considerable navy, large and fertile dominions, a treasury well stocked by the tribute of her subjects, whereby she was enabled to engage the service of large numbers of mercenaries, and a long experience in maritime undertakings. Rome, on the other hand, had few resources, no navy, and but small armies, since, as yet, no great reliance could be placed on her allies; but the armies she had at her command consisted of citizens ready to fight for their country to the last: she had courage, perseverance, and firmness. Her constitution was, at that time, in its full bloom, while that of Carthage was already in its decline. Carthage was unable to raise armies of citizens: she was obliged to form them of foreign

² Diodor. *Eclog.* xiii. 5.

³ Oros. iv. 7; Polyb. i. 16, speaks of only 100 talents.

mercenaries, who might be formidable in war for a time, when commanded by a great and experienced general, but might also be very dangerous to the safety of the republic, and were ever ready to rebel. So long as the republic was able to pay them well, and to keep the enemy away from Africa, defeats affected her but little, and Carthage was safe; but when at length the Romans attacked her in her own immediate neighbourhood, and she could place no reliance upon her hired protectors, who cared for nothing but pay and booty, the fall of the African republic was unavoidable.

After the peace with Hiero, the Romans penetrated into the western parts of Sicily. Segesta received them, and concluded a favourable treaty with them; and many other towns followed its example. The Carthaginians did not make their appearance in the field; and after the brilliant campaign of the consuls, one would have thought that the conquest of Sicily would be a matter of small difficulty, and that peace was not far off: but the idea of driving the Carthaginians from the island altogether, and of making themselves masters of it, did not occur to the Romans till after the taking of Agrigentum. This town was defended by Hannibal the son of Gisco, and in B.C. 262 it was besieged by the Romans for seven months. They exerted themselves with the greatest perseverance, and in spite of very unfavourable circumstances, at length compelled the town to surrender. The large Carthaginian garrison, which had been stationed within the extensive walls of the city, was allowed to escape, and many of the citizens followed them. The Romans then took possession of the place, and indulged in all the horrors which usually accompany such a conquest:⁴ 25,000 persons are said to have been sold into slavery, and the city was plundered and ransacked by the soldiers, who were eager to indemnify themselves for the hardships they had endured during the long siege. Agrigentum was afterwards rebuilt by the Romans, and exists to this day,

⁴ Polyb. i. 17, &c.; Diodor. *Elog.* xxiii., &c.; Zonar. viii. 10.

under the name of Girgenti, attesting its former greatness by its magnificent ruins.

After the loss of Agrigentum, Hanno, who had been sent out to its relief, was re-called and heavily fined. While the Romans were making progress in the interior of the island, the Carthaginians, who, during the first period of the war had no able generals, were in danger from their own mercenaries, who were clamorous for pay. A numerous band of Gauls was destroyed by a treacherous and cruel stratagem, in order to prevent their going over to the enemy. In the meantime the Carthaginian fleet, which ruled over the sea, ravaged the coasts of Italy, no part of which could be protected; and many of the towns on the coast of Sicily were induced by fear again to place themselves under the dominion of Carthage. This turn of the war convinced the Romans that no decisive advantages could be gained without a fleet, and that victories in Africa alone could bring the war to a close. The senate, therefore, determined to build a fleet, and attack the enemy on his own element. The woody chain of the Apennines furnished the timber, and a Carthaginian quinquereme, which had been thrown on the coast of Bruttium, and had fallen into the hands of the Romans, served as the model after which they built their first ships of war. One hundred and thirty ships⁵ were now built, within sixty days after the trees had been felled. Each quinquereme had 300 rowers and 200 marines. As the Romans had no practised rowers or sailors, the men were trained for their work on scaffoldings on shore, and afterwards, for a short time, in the ships themselves, while they lay at anchor. All this was done in the greatest hurry, as the condition of Sicily did not allow of delay. The vessels thus hastily constructed were, of course, not very durable; and they were awkward and unwieldy in comparison with those of Carthage. But the Romans deserve our admiration on this occasion, not only for the almost incredible rapidity with which

⁵ According to Polybius (i. 20) this fleet consisted of 120 ships, 100 quinqueremes and 20 triremes.

they overcame all difficulties and provided themselves with a fleet, but also for the boldness with which they at once ventured upon the dangerous element, the sea.

Meantime a Carthaginian general, Hamilcar, had commenced acting on the offensive, and was blockading Segesta. The Roman legate, C. Caecilius, had been beaten by him in an attempt to relieve the town. As the consuls, Cn. Cornelius Scipio and C. Duilius, B.C. 260, were still engaged in superintending the preparations for the fleet, the praetor was entrusted with the command in Sicily until the consuls should arrive. Cn. Cornelius, however, sailed to Messana as soon as possible with a part of the fleet; but he was credulous and stupid enough to allow himself to be persuaded to go and take possession of the Liparian islands: a Carthaginian commander lay in ambush, and on his appearance the Romans were seized with a panic; they fled to the shore, the consul was taken prisoner, and the entire squadron fell into the hands of the enemy. The Carthaginians, who had ridiculed the maritime undertaking of the Romans, now fancied that they could destroy the whole of the enemy's fleet before it reached Sicily; but their calculation was wrong. After the defeat of his colleague, C. Duilius undertook the command. He was well aware that the ridicule of the enemy was not undeserved; but he devised a means by which he hoped to make his awkward ships available, by depriving the enemy of the advantage of their superiority in manœuvring the vessels, and by changing as it were the sea-fight into a land-fight. He provided every Roman ship with a boarding bridge, sufficiently broad for two or three men abreast: these bridges were thrown upon the hostile ships by means of a simple mechanism, and took hold of them with grappling irons.

Prepared in this manner, C. Duilius went boldly out to meet the enemy, whose fleet was ravaging the coast of Mylae. The Carthaginians hastened to battle as to a certain victory, and neglected even the most necessary precautions. Thirty of their ships, which were first attacked by the boarding bridges, were

taken; and the others, as soon as they came near enough, experienced the same fate. The Carthaginians at last became hopeless, and took to flight. Fourteen Carthaginian ships were destroyed, 3000 men killed and 7000 made prisoners, while the Romans do not seem to have lost a single ship. The immediate result of this victory was, that the siege of Segesta was raised. C. Duilius was rewarded for his naval victory, the first that Rome had ever gained, not only with a triumph, but with distinctions which lasted during his whole life-time; for he was allowed to be accompanied home in the evening from banquets with torch-light and music, and a column (*columna rostrata*) adorned with the beaks of the captured ships, was erected, with an inscription recording the details of his victory.⁶

In the following campaign, B.C. 259, the Romans no longer thought it necessary to direct their whole force against Sicily, but while the consul C. Aquillius undertook the war in that island with only one consular army, his colleague L. Cornelius Scipio, sailed out with the fleet, to make an attack upon Sardinia and Corsica. The whole of the former island was subject to Carthage, and of the latter at least the coast. Aleria in Corsica was taken by the Romans, and a Carthaginian fleet under the command of Hannibal, was destroyed; whereupon Hannibal was put to death by his own men, with whom he had escaped to the shore, but he was honourably buried by the Romans. Scipio now landed in many parts of the island, and carried away a large number of prisoners. In the neighbourhood of Olbia, however, a numerous Carthaginian army made its appearance and induced the consul to retreat.

Carthage suffered much from this piratical expedition of the Romans; but the turn which the war had taken in Sicily, through the diminution of their forces, was even more injurious to the

⁶ Some fragments of this inscription are still extant; but whether the marble slabs on which they are engraved are the original ones, or formed

part of an accurate restoration made at a later time when the original monument was destroyed, is a matter of dispute among the learned.

Romans; for the Carthaginian Hamilcar took several towns, and killed about 4000 Romans; his operations for fortifying what he possessed, as well as for recovering what had been lost, were so much to the purpose, that the consul Aquillius was compelled to confine himself to acting on the defensive. At the same time, Rome was threatened by a conspiracy within her own walls: 4000 Samnites, who had been enlisted for the service of the fleet, were quartered at Rome; there they found many of their countrymen in slavery, and their sympathies established a bond of union between them: slaves of other nations also, and all in fact who were thirsting for vengeance, were readily admitted into the conspiracy. Three thousand slaves are said to have thus joined the Samnites. Their intention was to set fire to the city, and rouse the whole slave population to rebellion. But the plot was communicated to the senate by the commander of the Samnites, and the conspiracy was suppressed. The Roman ascendancy in Sicily also was restored, in B.C. 258, by the consul A. Atilius Calatinus. Myttistratum had been besieged by the Romans for seven months, and the Carthaginian garrison still held out; but the inhabitants were dying of hunger, and suffering intense misery. The Carthaginians at last quitted the place, leaving the unfortunate inhabitants to settle their affairs with the Romans as well as they could. But the latter had no mercy: the town was taken by storm; nearly all its inhabitants were massacred, and the few survivors had to spend the remainder of their days in slavery. From Myttistratum the Romans marched to Camarina; but on their way thither through the mountains, they fell into a danger similar to that which threatened the Romans in their first war against the Samnites, and were saved by a similar act of heroism. A tribune of the soldiers, M. Calpurnius Flamma,⁷ with a bravery equal to that of Leonidas

⁷ It is singular that the name of this gallant officer is not the same in all accounts; for while Livy (*Epit.* xvii. and xxii. 60) calls him M. Cal-

purnius Flamma, Varro called him Caedicius, and Claudius Quadrigarius mentioned him under the name of Laberius.—See Gellius, iii. 7.

at Thermopylae, opposed the whole hostile army in a narrow mountain pass, with a gallant band of 300 comrades, while the Romans gained a free passage. The tribune himself was afterwards found bleeding among the corpses of his companions; but his life was saved. Camarina and Gela were then taken and destroyed, and their inhabitants put to the sword, or sold as slaves. Enna also surrendered, and the consul appeared before the Carthaginian camp, near Panormus, but the enemy did not venture to come forward.

In the eighth year of the war, B.C. 257, nearly one-half of Sicily was still in the hands of the Carthaginians, and the Romans had only recovered what they had previously lost. A naval victory, which C. Atilius gained off Tyndaris, gave them fresh hopes of terminating the war, in which they were only wasting their strength. Their exertions were immense, and, in B.C. 256, a fleet of 330 quinqueremes, each manned by 300 marines, sailed out under the consuls, L. Manlius and M. Atilius Regulus, with the intention of crossing over to Africa. The Carthaginians met them with 350 quinqueremes, which carried 150,000 men; and then was fought the greatest naval action that the world had yet seen. The encounter of the two fleets took place off Ecnomus. The Carthaginians were commanded by Hamilcar, the ablest of their generals, and by Hanno. The battle which ensued was decisive and destructive: the Carthaginians were completely defeated; more than thirty of their ships were sunk, and sixty-four were taken with their crews, while the Romans lost only twenty-four.* While the consuls were repairing their damaged vessels, in order to sail for Africa, Hanno appeared before them, suing for peace; but his suit was fruitless. The Roman soldiers left the Sicilian coast with sad forebodings; but Regulus, a presumptuous and fool-hardy man, suppressed their murmurs by threats of the severest punishment. Hamilcar and Hanno divided the remnant of their fleet, intending to cruise, and to avail themselves of any opportunities that

* Polyb. i. 26, &c.

might occur to strike a blow against the enemy; but Hanno afterwards altered his plan, and made for Carthage. The Romans landed in Africa, in the neighbourhood of the town of Clupea, which, on their approach, was abandoned by its inhabitants, and occupied by the Romans, as their head-quarters. From this place they made ravaging excursions over the country, which was cultivated like a garden, and covered with splendid villas. The Carthaginians could not venture to meet the enemy in the field, as their main army was still in Sicily. The Romans carried away, as booty, everything they thought worth removing; and a countless multitude of prisoners, and herds of captured cattle were driven to Clupea. At the close of the year, the consul, L. Manlius, returned to Rome, with a portion of the fleet and 27,000 prisoners; a measure which can scarcely be accounted for, since the senate cannot have been so short-sighted as to think that the army of Regulus alone would be sufficient to accomplish the reduction of Carthage.

Whether Regulus was obliged to remain in Africa, or whether, as Polybius says,⁹ it was his own wish to do so, in order to bring the war to a close, so that his successors might not reap the glory of subduing Carthage, is a doubtful question; for our authorities contradict one another; at any rate, we may here remark, that Regulus is one of the characters who are much overrated in history. He had indeed the Roman virtues of his age; but he was by no means a great general; and he entertained a presumptuous confidence in his own good fortune, for which he had afterwards to atone, to the injury of his country no less than of himself.

Early in B.C. 255, Regulus opened the new campaign, by laying siege to the town of Adis. In the meantime, the Carthaginians had brought over a part of their Sicilian army; but neither their commanders nor their soldiers had any courage, nor did they yet understand the nature of a Roman war; they therefore withdrew to the mountains, although their cavalry

⁹ I. 31.

and elephants might have been used in the plains with great effect against the Romans. Their attempts, from their position in the mountains, to relieve Adis, were useless ; their infantry was beaten and dispersed. A fearful number of Carthaginians is said to have fallen in the battle, and the rest retreated within the walls of their city. Tunis was taken by Regulus, and seventy-four other places submitted to him. The Numidians also threw off the dominion of Carthage, and completed the devastation of the country. In this campaign, Regulus is reported to have encountered on the river Bagradas, a gigantic serpent, which measured 120 feet in length, and attacked and devoured the soldiers. The monster, it is said, could not be overcome until the whole Roman army attacked it.¹⁰ Carthage was crowded to excess by the numbers of country people who had taken refuge in it, and who began to suffer from famine and disease. Under these distressing circumstances, the Carthaginians sent an embassy to the Roman camp, to negotiate for peace. Regulus might now have concluded the war, and obtained for Rome an indemnification for the great losses she had already sustained ; but believing that he held the fate of Carthage in his hands, he wished to make the greatest possible use of his supposed power, and thus to leave nothing whatever for a successor to do. He therefore required Carthage to give up Sicily and Sardinia, to restore all the Roman prisoners without ransom, to give ransom for those who were in the hands of the Romans, to pay an annual tribute, to recognise the supremacy of Rome, to renounce the right of carrying on any war without the sanction of Rome, to surrender all ships of war with the exception of one, and to assist Rome in her military undertakings if she thought fit to ask for such support. To these insolent and exorbitant demands the Carthaginian envoys made no answer, for Carthage was yet too strong to submit to such humiliating terms ; but it would

¹⁰ This tale, though it was related by Livy, is a mere fable, and was probably derived from the poetical descrip-

tion which Naevius had given of the first Punic war.

probably have fallen nevertheless, but for the valour and skill of one man, and that man a foreigner, Xanthippus of Sparta.

Xanthippus was engaged in the service of the Carthaginian army, though he was probably not a common mercenary: he must have distinguished himself before, and acquired fame in the wars which had been carried on in Greece, for otherwise it would be difficult to understand how he could have gained the unlimited confidence of the Carthaginian people, who at this critical moment listened to his advice, and intrusted to him the supreme command of their forces. He pointed out to them that the ignorance and inability of their generals were the only causes of their misfortunes. He caused all men capable of bearing arms to be enlisted, and mercenaries to be taken from all quarters into the service of Carthage, and when he had trained the new army outside the city, it became so obvious that through his influence, the troops were animated by a better spirit, that fresh hopes of success arose in the minds of the people.¹¹ He taught them the use of elephants in war, with which they seem to have been previously unacquainted, and had one hundred of those animals trained for this campaign. With an army of 14,000 foot and 4000 horse he went out to meet Regulus, who commanded an army of upwards of 30,000 foot. The Romans at first despised the bold presumption of the Greek, but the confidence and firmness with which he approached soon began to make them uneasy. A well arranged battle was fought, in which the elephants and cavalry decided the victory for the Carthaginians: the whole Roman army was dispersed or annihilated, and Regulus himself was taken prisoner with 500 men. 30,000 are said to have been killed in the battle; only 2000 escaped to Clupea. After this victory, Xanthippus had the wisdom to withdraw from the envy and jealousy of the foreign city; and, honoured with rich presents, he returned to his own country.

Ser. Fulvius and M. Aemilius, the consuls of the year, now sailed out to Africa with the whole of the Roman fleet, consisting

¹¹ Polyb. i. 32.

of at least 300 ships, in order to rescue the garrison of Clupea, which had defended the town most gallantly against the utmost efforts of the Carthaginians to clear their country of the remnant of the hostile army. The Roman fleet was met by that of Carthage near Cape Hermaeum, and the former won a brilliant victory: 104 Carthaginian ships are said to have been destroyed, and 30 to have been taken with their crews; about 30,000 men perished, while the loss of the Romans is stated to have been trifling.¹² After this victory the consuls sailed to Clupea. Here the Carthaginians are said to have been beaten again, whereby the Romans were enabled to take on board the garrison, which was already suffering from famine. They then quitted Africa, and sailed along the southern coast of Sicily towards Syracuse. It was about the beginning of July, and the Roman fleet, the commanders of which had disregarded the caution of experienced pilots, was overtaken by a storm: some ships were thrown upon the harbourless coast, others were swallowed up in the waters. The number of vessels thus lost varies in our authorities between 340 and 220.¹³ The whole coast, from Camarina to Pachynus, was covered with wrecks and corpses. On this occasion Hiero acted the part of a true friend to the Romans, providing those who had escaped with food and clothing: the remnants of the fleet assembled at Messana.

This great disaster of the Romans raised the courage of the Carthaginians. They had in the meantime subdued their faithless subjects in Africa; and having learned from Xanthippus a system of tactics which the Romans could not withstand, they sent strong reinforcements to Sicily, one-half of which was still in their possession, and where they made new conquests, the Romans confining themselves to acting on the defensive among the mountains. As soon as the news of the fearful destruction of the fleet reached Rome, the senate, far from desponding, forthwith decreed the building of a new fleet. Two hundred and twenty ships

¹² Polyb. i. 36; Diodor. *Excerpt.* xxiii. 14; Oros. iv. 9; Eutrop. ii. 22.

¹³ Diodor. l. c.; Oros. iv. 9.

were completed within the short space of three months, and, in B.C. 254, were conducted to Sicily by the consuls Cn. Cornelius Scipio and A. Atilius Calatinus, with a large number of troops. Panormus was now blockaded, while the Carthaginian general did not dare to leave his quarters near Lilybaeum, and the place was soon taken. After this important conquest, many of the towns, such as Tyndaris and Soloeis, which had till then been faithful to Carthage, surrendered to the Romans; but the ships which were carrying the booty to Rome fell into the hands of the Carthaginians. As, however, the conquest of Sicily proceeded but slowly, the consuls of B.C. 252, Cn. Servilius Caepio and C. Sempronius Blaesus, were tempted to sail once more to Africa with their whole fleet of 260 ships. The Carthaginians offered no resistance, and the Romans laid waste the coast of the Lesser Syrtis; but they soon discovered the dangers of those gulfs, and it was not without the utmost exertions, and the sacrifice of part of their booty, that they escaped from the Syrtis. They steered towards Panormus, and thence endeavoured to sail across to the coast of Italy. But when they arrived in sight of Cape Palinurus, they were surprised by a fearful storm, in which 150 ships were wrecked, and the booty they had brought from Africa was lost amid the waves. This second disaster at sea broke down the courage of the Romans on that element: the senate resolved that the fleet should not be restored again, and that only sixty ships should be kept for the protection of the Italian coasts and of the transports which had to be sent to Sicily.

But though the Romans had renounced the sea, they were still able in the same year to conquer Lipara and Thermae, on the north coast of Sicily; and the Carthaginians were confined to the western corner of the island. In the following year, the Romans were arrayed against the Carthaginians in the territories of Selinus and Lilybaeum; but not being able to overcome their fear of the elephants, and remembering the fate of Regulus, they did not venture upon a decisive battle. This backwardness induced the Carthaginian general, who had come over with a large army and

130 elephants, to offer battle. The proconsul, L. Caecilius Metellus, who was encamped, in B.C. 250, in the neighbourhood of Panormus, retreated on the approach of the enemy close up to the walls of that town, where he had his fortified camp. He managed the battle with great skill, and the Carthaginians were completely defeated: many fell on the field of battle; others, who endeavoured by swimming to reach the Carthaginian fleet, which was following the movements of the army, perished in the waves. The triumph of Metellus was adorned with a great number of Carthaginian officers of rank, and with 104 elephants, which were afterwards killed in the Circus.

This was the third great battle that had been fought during the war; and it was the last, though the struggle continued many years longer; for, during the subsequent period, we hear of scarcely anything else than sieges, which were conducted in a slow and tedious manner. Sicily, however, which, during the whole of this war was obliged to maintain the armies and fleets of both belligerent parties, and was ravaged by both, was partially reduced to that condition of desolation, which was completed in the Hannibalian war, and from which it has not recovered to this day. After their defeat at Panormus, the Carthaginians evacuated Selinus, whose inhabitants they carried to their great fortress of Lilybaeum, which, with the exception of Drepana, was now the only place of importance they possessed in Sicily. Their late defeat, and the progress of the Romans in the island, induced the Carthaginians to send an embassy to Rome with proposals for peace, or at least for an exchange of prisoners. Regulus, who had now been their prisoner for nearly five years, went with the ambassadors, under a promise that he would return into captivity if he could not prevail upon his countrymen to accede to the wishes of Carthage. He was permitted to be present at the discussion in the senate, and he there objected to the peace no less vehemently than to the exchange of prisoners: he preferred his honour and his oath to all the enticements of his friends to remain behind; and in order to remove all temptations, he

pretended that a slow poison had been administered to him, which would soon end his days. He then withdrew from the embraces of his friends, and returned to Carthage, where he is said to have been put to death with the most cruel tortures. This story of the embassy of Regulus, which, through poets and orators, has become more celebrated than any other, is quite devoid of historical foundation. Polybius, the most ancient and trust-worthy of the writers on those times, knew nothing of it; it is in all probability a mere fiction, devised partly to honour the unfortunate man, partly to excite hatred against the Carthaginians, or to justify the cruel treatment which some Carthaginian prisoners experienced from the family of Regulus, to which they had been given over.¹⁴ The captivity of Regulus cannot be doubted, but he had deserved his fate by the overbearing conduct and hard-heartedness with which, when prosperous, he had treated the humbled enemy. His return to Carthage, even supposing it to be an historical fact, was no more than his duty; and if he had reason to fear, it was his own fault.

Rome rejected the proposed peace, because she had resolved not to lay down her arms until all Sicily should be subdued. Hence the consuls of B.C. 250, C. Atilius and L. Manlius Vulso, went to Sicily with four legions and a large number of allied troops. Their success at Panormus had so much raised the courage of the Romans, that the senate ordered a new fleet of 200 ships to be built without delay. The consuls laid siege to Lilybaeum, which was fortified by every means which the art of fortification then afforded. The Romans surrounded the town from sea to sea with a strong line of fortifications, and their fleet cruised before the harbour, and guarded its entrance, which they afterwards endeavoured even to block up by sinking a number of ships, in order to cut off all communication between the fortress and Carthage. The faithless mercenaries, to whom the defence

¹⁴ Zonar. viii. 15; Diodor. *Fragm.* lib. xxiv. p. 566, ed. Wesseling; comp. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 598, &c.; *Lectures on Rom. Hist.* vol. i., p. 128.

was intrusted, would have sold the city to the enemy, had not an honest Achaean of the name of Alexo disclosed the plot to the Carthaginian commander, who could only insure the fidelity of the traitors by the promise of greater advantages than they expected from the Romans. The latter in the meantime conducted the siege with considerable success; but a bold Carthaginian admiral, of the name of Hannibal, kept up the communication between Carthage and Lilybaeum by making his way through the Roman fleet, and, to the great consternation of the Romans, succeeded in introducing reinforcements into the place, amid the joyous shouts of the distressed inhabitants. This success emboldened the besieged to make a sally, but it failed, notwithstanding their great exertions. What men, however, could not accomplish, was soon afterwards achieved by the aid of a storm, which blew in the direction of the Roman camp. As the camp was full of combustible materials, the besieged threw fire into it during the storm, which caused a conflagration, consuming all the engines, towers, and galleries of the Romans, who, after this loss, confined themselves to blockading the town, in order to compel it by hunger to surrender; for the besieged were suffering from scarcity, in consequence of which epidemic diseases broke out among them. The Roman fleet was still stationed near the entrance of the harbour, while that of Carthage was at Drepana.

The Romans still made very great efforts, and in B.C. 249, the consul, P. Claudius Pulcher, led a supplementary army to Sicily. His presumption and fool-hardiness cost the republic the lives of thousands, about whom he, a true Claudian, was little concerned. On his arrival at the harbour of Drepana, he endeavoured early in the morning, and contrary to the auspices, which he despised, to enter it and take the enemy by surprise; but the Carthaginian admiral, Adherbal, had been very watchful, and as the enemy's fleet was entering, he led his ships out to sea in a long line on the opposite side of the entrance. Claudius soon discovered that he was thwarted, and ordered his ships to retreat, but it was

too late; and the Carthaginians, profiting by the confusion and hurry of the Romans, cut off their retreat. Ninety-three ships were destroyed or taken, and only thirty escaped with the consul.¹⁵ This victory was a very easy one, and the loss of the Carthaginians was quite insignificant. They now recovered their ascendancy in Sicily, while at Rome the most vehement indignation burst forth against the presumptuous consul. The senate ordered him to appoint a dictator, and then to lay down his dignity and give an account of his conduct. Claudius, who scorned the command of the senate, had the insolence to appoint M. Glycias, the son of a freedman, to the dictatorship. The Romans could not endure this insult: they deprived the unworthy man of his office; and in his place A. Atilius Calatinus was made dictator. Claudius himself was charged with high treason against the people; but whether he was punished, or escaped on account of a thunder-storm, which, according to some, broke out during the assembly, and thus stopped the proceedings, is uncertain. He does not appear however to have long survived his disgrace; and it is probable that he made away with himself.

During this period of the war, the Roman generals were below mediocrity, and far inferior to those of the Carthaginians, even before the appearance of the great Hamilcar on the scene of action; but the Romans had the advantage of better soldiers than the mercenaries of the enemy. The Carthaginians followed up their victory at Drepana with great energy. Hannibal took the Roman provision-ships from the harbour of Panormus, and sent them to Lilybaeum; while Carthalo destroyed the greater part of the remaining Roman fleet, and then made predatory excursions on the coasts of Italy and Sicily. In the same year another great disaster happened to the Romans. The consul, C. Junius, the colleague of Claudius, had arrived with sixty ships near Messana, and there joined the remnant of the Roman fleet. As the army at Lilybaeum was suffering greatly from want, he assembled, partly at Messana, and partly at Syracuse, a large

¹⁵ Polyb. i. 51; Eutrop. ii. 26; comp. Diodor. *Excerpt.* xxiv. 1.

convoy of 800 transports to provide for the wants of the army. A detachment of this convoy was sent out in advance, under the protection of a part of the fleet, while the consul remained behind at Syracuse. Carthalo, the Carthaginian admiral, pursuing these, destroyed a large number of the transports, and seventeen ships of war. He then withdrew into the river Halycus to wait for the other detachment, which was commanded by the consul himself, who, when the Carthaginians came out of the river to meet him, fled towards the coast of Camarina. A storm was threatening, and the Carthaginians retired to a place of safety; but C. Junius, neglecting the approaching danger, exposed his fleet to destruction. He lost all his ships of war, with the exception of two, and his transports were dashed to pieces. The crews, however, were, for the most part, saved, and with these he joined the land army, endeavouring to cover his loss by the conquest of Eryx, the only one that Rome made in that year. Junius, like Claudius, had despised the warning of the auspices, and was likewise accused before the people, but he withdrew from condemnation by going into voluntary exile.

The series of misfortunes which the Romans had suffered induced them a second time to renounce all maritime warfare, and to confine themselves to keeping up a few ships. The Carthaginians being now the sole masters of the sea, Carthalo, in B.C. 248, landed in various parts of the coast of Italy, and avenged the sufferings of Africa by ravaging the country.¹⁶ But as all these successes could not restore the exhausted resources of Carthage, an attempt was made to borrow a large sum of money from king Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, who however refused to comply with the request of Carthage, because he wished to remain neutral.¹⁷

In these difficult circumstances, the great Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, that is, Lightning, undertook the supreme command of the Carthaginian forces. He must then have been about the age of thirty: he began his operations with unparalleled boldness,

¹⁶ Zonar. viii. 16; Oros. iv. 10.

¹⁷ Appian, *Sicil.* p. 92, ed. Schweigh.

for he was a true military genius, and worthy to be the father of Hannibal. He first tamed the rebellious mercenaries by severe discipline, and then sailed out to plunder the coasts of Bruttium and Locri. On his return in B.C. 247, he landed at Panormus, while the consuls, L. Caecilius Metellus and N. Fabius Buteo, were continuing the sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepana with separate armies. Hamilcar took his position on Mount Hercte (the modern Monte Pellegrino), where he maintained himself as in a fortress for a period of three years, making occasional ravaging excursions upon the coast of Italy as far as Cumae in Campania. No great battle was fought during those three years, although the hostile armies were often arrayed against each other, and constantly in great activity; but Hamilcar completely paralysed the Romans, and never lost an opportunity of injuring them. His object was to wear them out, and gradually to form an army so well disciplined, that Rome should not be able to resist it in the field. After the third year he seems to have abandoned his original plan, for he left Hercte and took possession of Eryx. In this town, which was situated on a mountain, and from which the communication with the sea was much more difficult than from Hercte, he was blockaded by the Romans. The mercenaries who had served under him felt so much admiration for him, that no one ventured to undertake anything against him. We cannot enter here into a detailed account of the petty but bloody engagements which took place during this period; but shall relate an anecdote which shows the great and amiable character of Hamilcar. In B.C. 243, the consul, C. Fundanius, fought a battle against him. Hamilcar was defeated through the fault of his officers, and many of his men were slain. He sent to the conqueror to ask for a truce during which he might bury his dead. Fundanius haughtily replied, that he ought to be concerned about the living rather than about the dead. A short time afterwards another battle was fought, in which many of the Romans fell. When Hamilcar was asked to allow the dead to be buried, he willingly consented to do so, saying that he carried

on war against the living only.¹⁸ This answer, which was no doubt the sincere expression of his feelings, must have put the Romans to the blush.

The Romans had now become convinced that the war could not be brought to a close without some extraordinary exertions, and in B.C. 242, it was decreed for the third time to build a fleet. As, however, the republic did not possess the requisite means, loans were contracted with wealthy citizens for building and equipping a fleet of 200, or, according to some authorities, of 300 ships. The money thus advanced was to be repaid if the war should turn out favourably. The command of this fleet was undertaken by the consul, C. Lutatius Catulus, and the praetor, Q. Valerius Falto. The Roman ships were now much better built than they had been at first; the maritime towns of Italy were also able to furnish more skilful sailors than they had done before; and it seems that the Romans had no longer any occasion to make use of boarding bridges. The Carthaginian fleet, on the other hand, had been neglected for want of means, whence the great exertions which Carthage made at last were not sufficient. Lutatius Catulus first made an attack upon Drepana, which was nearly taken, but he received a severe wound which prevented him from continuing his operations. A Carthaginian convoy of provisions and reinforcements was sent to Lilybaeum, Drepana, and Eryx, and this fleet arrived at the Aegatian islands. The Carthaginians wanted to take Hamilcar and the best of his soldiers on board before venturing upon an open sea-fight. The Romans, who were cruising along the coast, would have lost everything if they had allowed the enemy to carry out this plan; they therefore resolved upon attacking the Carthaginians, who accepted the battle. But, owing to their ships being heavily laden with corn, and to the bad condition of their fleet, which consisted in part of old ships and had been got up in too great a hurry, the Romans gained an easy but complete victory: 63 Carthaginian ships were taken, 120 were sunk, and the rest

¹⁸ Diodor. *Fragm. Vatic.* p. 60, ed. Dindorf.

dispersed; 14,000 men were killed, and 32,000 taken prisoners. This victory, which decided the issue of the war, was gained on the 10th of March, B.C. 241. Another success was obtained soon after at Eryx, which fell into the hands of the Romans.

The Carthaginians, being totally unable to equip a new fleet, now sued for peace; the negotiations were conducted by Hamilcar, who submitted to the humiliating terms only from necessity, not despairing however that a day would come in which he might take vengeance on his now victorious enemy. The conditions on which peace was concluded were as follows: the Carthaginians were to evacuate Sicily, and all the islands between Sicily and Carthage; to abstain from war with Hiero and his allies; to restore all Roman prisoners without ransom; and to pay 2200 Euboean talents by twenty yearly instalments. The last point was altered by the Roman people, to whom the peace was submitted for its sanction, to the effect that Carthage should pay 1000 talents more, and that the number of yearly instalments should be reduced to ten.¹⁹

This peace terminated the first Punic war in the twenty-fourth year after its commencement. It had been conducted with immense exertions by both parties, and the losses which the two states had sustained were prodigious. Rome had lost 700 ships of war, and Carthage 500; from which we may infer the number of men that were killed or led into slavery: a much larger number must have perished in the battles, and by hunger and epidemics. Rome however derived new strength from her allies, and she was yet full of that vital principle which was ever capable of renovation; hence she felt her losses and misfortunes less than Carthage, who had already fallen from her ancient greatness, and was obliged to trust her safety to foreign mercenaries. The dominion which Rome had acquired over Sicily and the Mediterranean paved the way for new conquests; and it soon became manifest that the national hatred between the two republics, which had been nourished and increased by the long and bloody

¹⁹ Polyb. i. 62, 63; comp. iii. 27; Zonar. viii. 17; Oros. iv. 11.

war, and the overweening assumption of Rome, would not allow the peace to last much longer than was necessary to enable both parties to gather strength for another struggle.

As Sicily was a distinct country by itself, the Romans resolved to give it a constitution different from that adopted in the case of conquered nations in Italy: they made Sicily a Roman province (*provincia*²⁰), that is, a country out of Italy which had lost its sovereignty, and was under the administration of a Roman governor, who was sent thither every year with the title of praetor, or proconsul, and had supreme civil as well as military power, (*potestas* and *imperium*). The governor was assisted in his administration by quaestors, and a train of other officials. The Roman state was in reality the owner of the land contained in a province; or, at least, the provincials were not the proprietors of the soil according to the Roman law, and were allowed to continue in possession of it only on condition of paying to Rome a certain amount of taxes, namely a tenth of the wine, oil, olives, and other products of the soil. This tax was let to farm by the censors at Rome, either to Romans or to wealthy natives of the provinces. Some portions of a province, however, might remain the property of the provincials, who had then to pay a land-tax, from which all land in Italy was exempt. The provincials generally did not serve in the Roman armies, (for they were usually deprived of their arms :) whenever they did, it was only as auxiliaries, never as allies of Rome.

It must, however, be observed, that all the towns of Sicily were not reduced to this condition, for the kingdom of Hiero, the towns of Messana, Tauromenium, and Netum, became *civitates foederatae*, and retained their territories as independent states. Panormus, Segesta, Centoripa, and others, became *liberae*

²⁰ The etymology of the word *provincia* is very uncertain; the ancients derived it from *pro* and *vincere* in the sense of "to push forward," or "to drive before one;" Niebuhr connects it with *proventus*, according to which

it would mean "a country paying a tax to the ruling state;" it may perhaps more probably be regarded as a contraction of *providentia*, and if so, it would signify a country intrusted to the care of some one.

civitates, that is, they had not to pay any taxes (*decimae*) to Rome.

When a country became a Roman province, it gradually fell into decay; for a number of wealthy strangers or Roman speculators usually settled in it, and purchased the lands at reduced prices. Hence the number of landowners in Sicily, for instance, was in the time of Cicero extremely small; and the few who thus monopolised the land, had it cultivated by hordes of slaves, while the free inhabitants were reduced to abject poverty. Such a state of things accounts for the dreadful servile wars, which in later times broke out in Sicily.

With the exception of the transitory revolt of the Samnite soldiers, all the Italians had been quiet during the long period of the first Punic war, a fact which was mainly owing to the wise moderation with which Rome treated her Italian subjects; though their weakness, and the fear of the Carthaginians, who certainly would not have been very lenient rulers, may likewise have contributed to keep the Italians quiet. During this time, we hear little of constitutional changes, for which, in fact, there was scarcely any occasion. In B.C. 253, Tib. Coruncanius, a plebeian, was made pontifex maximus, and was the first of his order who obtained that office; he proved to be a more distinguished person than any of his predecessors.²¹ After the increase in the number of quaestors, which had taken place shortly before the outbreak of the war, the election of new members of the senate was no longer left to the discretion of the censors, for as vacancies occurred, they were filled up with those who had been quaestors; and as the quaestors were elected by the people, the senate may be said to have consisted at this time of wealthy persons nominated by the people: for none but wealthy persons could hope to obtain any of the higher magistracies; wealth having now acquired the influence which formerly belonged to birth only. Down to the beginning of the first Punic war, the Roman republic had every year paid the sum of 500 minae to defray the

²¹ Liv. *Epit.* xviii.; Cic. *De Leg.* ii. 21, *De Orat.* iii. 15, *Brut.* 14.

expenses of the public festivals and games,²² but from that time forward the aediles were obliged to undertake the payment of those expenses; and the aedileship being an introduction to the higher offices, the latter thus became inaccessible to any except the wealthy; for no one who had not treated the people with splendid games in his aedileship could hope to be raised to greater dignities. This change, therefore, was one of the highest importance, and exercised no small influence upon the future condition of the republic. In B.C. 243, a second praetor was appointed, probably on account of the necessity of keeping a reserve army in Italy, to prevent the enemy from landing on the coasts, which were no longer protected by a fleet.

In B.C. 264, Rome saw the first gladiatorial exhibition; it was presented by D. Junius Brutus at the exequies of his father. How much those games, which afterwards became one of the principal amusements of the Romans, contributed to debase and brutalise their national taste and character, no explanation is needed to render manifest.

²² Dionys. vii., p. 475, ed. Sylburg.

CHAPTER XVI.

DISTRESS OF CARTHAGE, AND ITS LOSS OF SARDINIA—WARS AGAINST THE
ILLYRIANS, LIGURIANS, AND GAULS—THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN—
THE SAGUNTINE WAR.

THE peace with Carthage had scarcely been concluded when the inhabitants of Falerii rose against Rome (B.C. 241); but this senseless revolt of a single town against the city that had just acquired the dominion of Sicily, and had humbled the power of Carthage, was put down within six days, and a large number of Faliscans had to pay for their fool-hardiness with their lives. Rome, however, was in a state of great exhaustion; for though she had not seen the enemy in her own territory, still the expenditure of such immense sums of money, with the loss of no less than 700 ships, was felt very severely. She therefore required time to recover her strength, and it was probably not without some secret satisfaction that she witnessed the new disasters which befel Carthage immediately after the peace.

It has been already remarked that the armies of Carthage consisted mainly of mercenaries: when the troops returned to Africa, after the evacuation of Sicily, Carthage was unable to pay the arrears due to these clamorous hordes, which consisted of persons from all parts of the ancient world. The insurgents were stirred up and encouraged by the Italian deserters, who dreaded nothing more than to be delivered up to the Romans. One of these deserters, Spendius, a Campanian, made himself particularly conspicuous, and was one of the leaders of the insurgents. This intestine war was carried on with the greatest cruelty and brutality on both sides, and Carthage was brought to

the brink of destruction, for at times its whole dominion was confined to its walls and fortifications, all the surrounding country being in the hands of the rebels. The Carthaginian subjects in Africa, and even the Punic towns of Utica and Hippo, likewise revolted, being unable to bear the heavy burdens imposed upon them. Utica went so far as to offer to place itself under the protection of Rome; but the Romans were generous and honourable enough to refuse this protectorate—a conduct forming a strange contrast to the faithlessness with which they acted towards Carthage soon afterwards. This internal or African war, which lasted for three years and four months,¹ was brought to a close by the great Hamilcar Barca, who was aided in suppressing and destroying the rebels, partly by their own acts of barbarous cruelty, and partly by the generous conduct of the Romans, who declined having any dealings with them, and protected the ships in which provisions were conveyed to Carthage.

During this war in Africa, the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia likewise revolted, and massacred the Carthaginian colonists in the island. The natives of Sardinia, however, rose against the mercenaries, and drove them from the island. These men threw themselves into the arms of the Romans, who eagerly seized the opportunity of making a new conquest, and in B.C. 238 took possession of Sardinia. The natives, perhaps stirred up by the Carthaginians, opposed the Romans, and continued their hostilities for many years, with one short interruption in B.C. 235, during which the temple of Janus at Rome was closed. When, after the conclusion of the African war, the Carthaginians attempted to chastise the rebellious mercenaries of Sardinia, they were treated by the Romans as if they were attempting to commit acts of hostility towards Rome, and, not being yet prepared to renew the struggle with her, they were obliged to yield; Carthage lost the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, in both of which however the natives manfully continued to defend their liberty, and further

¹ Polyb. i. 88; comp. Liv. xxi. 2. erroneously states that it lasted four Diodorus (xv. 1, *Eclog.* p. 510) years and four months.

was obliged to pay a contribution of 1200 talents. This perfidious conduct of Rome, who thus took advantage of the unfortunate condition of a rival republic, was contrary to all law and conscience, and such as to warrant the conclusion, that the generosity displayed during the African war must have arisen from some selfish motives. Rome's treachery excited the utmost indignation at Carthage, and great efforts were made to recover strength for a new contest with her. Hamilcar was the soul of the undertaking: he devoted all his energies to the raising of his prostrate country, and successfully endeavoured to render it fit again to take the field against its unprincipled and treacherous oppressors.

In the year in which the Romans took possession of Sardinia and Corsica, they had to carry on a war against the Ligurians and Boians, which lasted as long as that with the natives of those islands; and the Ligurians continued in arms for several years after peace was made with the Boians.

For nearly half a century the Cisalpine Gauls had been quiet, either because they were not disturbed by any fresh immigration from the north, or because they rested satisfied in the belief that the Romans had forgotten them. But their tranquillity was disturbed in B.C. 232, by the carrying into effect of the agrarian law of the tribune C. Flaminius, in spite of the most vehement opposition by the aristocratical party. His law² enacted, that the lands which had been taken from the Gauls in the last war with them, and had come into the hands of the Romans as a wilderness, should be distributed among the Roman citizens; and a number of Romans accordingly settled in those districts. This circumstance is said to have made the Gauls uneasy, and they commenced negotiations with their Transalpine kinsmen, among whom great movements were going on at the time; but several years yet passed away before anything was undertaken

² This law was a *plebiscitum*, which acquired the force of law without a *senatusconsultum*. It is the first in-

stance of the kind that occurs in Roman history.—Cic. *De Senect.* 4.

by the Gauls. The negotiations with the Transalpine Gauls, however, created very great apprehensions at Rome.

In B.C. 229, while Rome was still engaged in the war against the Ligurians, she became involved in another with the Illyrians inhabiting the countries which at present form the south of Dalmatia and the north of Albania, and which were then governed by a princess of the name of Teuta. Her husband and predecessor, Agron, had extended his dominion over a part of Epirus, over Corcyra, Epidamnus, Apollonia and Pharus, and his subjects had become formidable as pirates in the Adriatic and Ionian seas. After his death his widow, Teuta, had undertaken the government, in the name of her son Pinneus, who was not of age. The Illyrian pirates had plundered, among others, vessels belonging to Italian merchants, and had carried off the men as captives. The Roman senate sent ambassadors to Illyricum, to demand reparation. Queen Teuta answered, that she would take care that in future no public injury should be done to the Roman people by her subjects; but that she could not prevent their carrying on piracy, which was a national custom of the Illyrians, from which they derived their means of living. The noble and bold answer of one of the ambassadors, that it was the custom of Rome to punish in the name of the republic any private wrong, and to give succour to those who were injured, and that the bad custom of the Illyrians must be abandoned, exasperated the queen so much, that, after the departure of the ambassadors, she despatched assassins who slew them. As soon as this violation of the law of nations became known at Rome, war was declared against the Illyrians: the consuls of B.C. 229 were sent out with an army, and a fleet of 200 ships, and landed on the Illyrian coast. The enemy, though attacked in their own country, made but little resistance; many towns were taken, and several Illyrian tribes were reduced to submission. The Greek towns, which had been subject to the Illyrians, placed themselves under the protection of Rome; and even Demetrius of Pharus, an Illyrian noble, who had the command of the Illyrian garrison at Corcyra

and Pharus, treacherously went over to the Romans. In the following year, Teuta sent an embassy to Rome, and concluded a peace, by which the Romans took away a part of her dominions, imposed a tribute upon her, and compelled her to promise to put an end to the piracy of her subjects. The Illyrians were further commanded not to keep more than two unarmed vessels. Demetrius was rewarded by the Romans for his treachery with some districts of land, and the possession of Pharus; but as he thought his services were not sufficiently acknowledged, he again began, in conjunction with other Illyrians, to carry on piratical practices, and in the course of his expeditions proceeded as far as the Cyclades, whereby he afterwards occasioned a second Illyrian war.

In this manner the Romans became the real benefactors of the islands and maritime towns of Greece, which had suffered greatly from the Illyrian pirates. Up to this time, the Romans seem never to have entertained the thought of crossing the Adriatic, or of extending their dominion over the countries to the east of it; but different ideas appear to have now possessed their minds. It is surprising to observe how anxious they were to court the friendship of the Greeks, and it would seem that they felt a pride in being noticed by them, for embassies were sent to Athens and to Corinth. The former city honoured the Romans with its friendship, and the right of isopolity, and allowed them to become initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries, while Corinth conferred upon them the right of taking part in the Isthmian games.²

The time was now approaching when the Boians, who thought themselves injured by the settlement of the Romans in their immediate vicinity, were enabled to take active measures to prevent their further advance into their territory. They had formed alliances with the Tauriscans and the Insubrians, in the country about Milan, and were joined by many other Celtic

² Polyb. ii. 12; Zonar. viii. 19.

tribes, which are known to us under the name of *Gaesatae*.⁴ Hosts of these *Gaesatae* came across the Alps in B.C. 226, and invaded Italy; and the intelligence of their arrival filled the Romans with very great alarm. The most extraordinary preparations were made to meet these enemies, for the fears and apprehensions of Rome were even greater than when Hannibal descended from the Alps. A general levy was made throughout Italy, and every one was ready to take up arms, as all looked with horror upon the invasion of these northern barbarians. An army was raised which amounted to 300,000 men, or, according to others, even to 800,000. There was a prophecy current at Rome that the city should be taken by the Gauls and Greeks; the books of fate being consulted, were found to enjoin the Romans to bury alive in the forum boarium two Gauls and two Greeks:⁵ by this sacrifice they hoped to satisfy Fate, and to avert the impending calamity. The consul L. Aemilius Papus was sent with an army to Ariminum, his colleague C. Atilius being still engaged in Sardinia, and a corps of reserve was stationed in Etruria. The Gauls, unconcerned about the army at Ariminum, marched into Etruria, ravaged the country, and advanced as far as Clusium, a distance of only three days' journey from Rome. Here they learned that the Roman army, which had to protect Etruria, was following their traces. The Gauls immediately turned round to meet the enemy; but during the night they left their cavalry behind and marched in a different direction. Next morning, the Romans, who fancied that the barbarians had taken to flight, pursued the cavalry; but the Gallic infantry, which had been lying in ambush, now rushed forward and offered battle. The Romans lost a large number of men, and took refuge on an eminence where they were besieged by the enemy. The blockade however was conducted very carelessly, as the Gauls thought they were sure of their prey. But when L. Aemilius heard of

⁴ Probably from the Celtic *gæsum*, a spear or javelin, though Polybius (ii. 22) asserts that it signifies mer-

cenaries: διὰ τὸ μισθοῦ στρατεύειν.

⁵ Plut. *Marcell.* 3; Oros. iv. 13.

the enemy's invasion of Etruria, and of their proceedings there, he hastened to the assistance of his countrymen. He succeeded in rescuing the Roman army from its perilous position, and the Gauls withdrew along the sea-coast, in order to carry their booty into a safe place. Aemilius followed, but did not venture to attack them. In the meantime the other consul, C. Atilius, had landed at Pisa with his army from Sardinia, and learning that the Gauls were not far off, and that they were pursued by his colleague, he at once attacked them. A most destructive battle was fought: the Gauls, being pressed between two armies, lost the greater part of their infantry, and the cavalry took to flight: about 40,000 Gauls are said to have fallen, and 10,000 were taken prisoners.

The year after this battle, B.C. 224, the two consuls took the field against the Gauls, and compelled the Boians to submit to Rome. In that year the Roman legions crossed the river Po, for the first time, and carried on the war against the Insubrians, who being supported by the Transalpine Gauls defended themselves very gallantly in their unprotected country. But in B.C. 223, the consul C. Flaminius gained a great victory over them. He fought the battle against the will of the senate; for some said that the consuls of that year had not been elected in due form, and while his army was arrayed against the enemy, a letter from the senate arrived in the camp, summoning him and his colleague to come back to Rome; but Flaminius left the letter unopened until the battle had been fought, and when he afterwards learnt its contents, he still refused to return. The agrarian law, which he had carried in his tribuneship, was a point which the senatorial party had never forgiven him; and he may have had reason to dread their machinations and intrigues. When at length he complied with the command of the senate, both he and his colleague were obliged to lay down their office. The war against the Gauls and Insubrians was brought to its close the year after by the brave consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, who, with his own hand, slew Viridomarus, the leader of the Gauls, in the battle of

Clastidium. After this defeat the Gauls sued for peace, which was granted them on condition of their acknowledging the sovereignty of Rome. By this peace the Romans became masters of the whole plain of Lombardy, which they called *Gallia Cisalpina*, and afterwards *Gallia Togata*; and in order to secure their new acquisitions, they established the colonies of *Cremona* and *Placentia*: it is not improbable that *Mutina* was founded and fortified about the same time.

In the year B.C. 219, the faithless conduct of *Demetrius of Pharus* gave rise to the second Illyrian war. He had ceased to fear the Romans, because he thought them sufficiently engaged with the Gauls; and he not only renewed the piratical practices of the Illyrians as far as to the *Aegean sea*, but even attempted to make himself master of towns which were under the protection of Rome. The Romans, therefore, sent the consul, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, with an army to *Illyricum*. He took *Pharus* without any difficulty, and subdued the whole of *Illyricum*, after which he returned to Rome in triumph. *Demetrius* took refuge at the court of *Philip of Macedonia*, with whom he spent the remainder of his life, and used his influence to stir him up against the Romans, whereby he prepared the way for future events.

While the Romans were thus engaged in wars with the *Sardinians*, *Corsicans*, *Ligurians*, *Gauls*, and *Illyrians*, the *Carthaginians* had been making the most strenuous efforts to recover their strength, and to establish in some other quarter the power they had lost in *Sicily* and *Sardinia*. *Hamilcar Barca* was the man who conceived and carried into effect the wise plan of founding a *Carthaginian* empire in *Spain*; a country which, might, by wise management, become in the course of a little time, so united with *Carthage*, as to enable her to obtain national armies, one of the principal things of which she was in want; and, besides this, it offered other advantages which could never have been derived from *Sicily* or *Sardinia*. Up to this time, the *Carthaginians* had possessed only a small portion of the Spanish

coast, but Hamilcar's plan was to subdue the Spaniards, and then, by winning their affection, to change them gradually into a Punic nation. With this object in view, he treated them kindly, and put no obstacles in the way of marriages between Carthaginian men and Spanish women. He had come to Spain in B.C. 238, immediately after the close of the African war; he conducted the administration of the country with extraordinary wisdom, and procured new resources for Carthage from it, by causing the silver mines to be regularly worked. On his death, in B.C. 229, he left the command to Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, who followed the same system as his predecessor, and founded the town of New Carthage (Carthagera). The Romans were at this time apprehensive of the invasion of the Gauls; and in order to secure themselves against any aggression on the part of the Carthaginians, they, in B.C. 228, concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal, in which they recognised the right of Carthage to rule over or make conquests in all Spain to the south of the river Iberus (Ebro), but stipulated that she should not cross that river.⁶ Hasdrubal had the command in Spain for a period of eight years: he was assassinated in B.C. 221, and was succeeded by Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar Barca, who, when a boy nine years of age, had sworn eternal enmity to the Romans, and was now about twenty-six years old.

Hannibal was one of the greatest generals, not only of antiquity, but of all ages; and no less great as a statesman in times of peace, than at the head of his armies. The character which Livy has drawn of him is unfair: the charge of inhumanity or cruelty is expressly contradicted by Polybius, and of his alleged faithlessness not a single instance is known. He was a man of cultivated mind; intelligent and learned Greeks were the favourite companions of his leisure hours. He, like his father,

⁶ Polyb. ii. 13, iii. 27. Livy (xxi. 2) adds that according to this treaty Saguntum was to remain free, and under the protection of Rome. If this had been the case, Hannibal's

subsequent siege and destruction of Saguntum would indeed have been a violation of the treaty. But Polybius denies that the freedom of Saguntum was stipulated for in the treaty.

seems to have possessed irresistible personal attractions, which enabled him to manage and guide his subordinates without any difficulty; no one ever ventured to oppose him, notwithstanding the exorbitant demands he was obliged to make upon the faculties and resources of those under his command.

Immediately after he had undertaken the administration of Spain, he made war against the Olcades, and subsequently upon the Vaccaeans and Carpetanians, by whose subjugation the Carthaginians became masters of Spain as far as the river Iberus, with the exception of the town of Saguntum. His next operations were directed against that town, by interfering in its disputes with its neighbours. The Saguntines, who were well aware of his object, applied to Rome for assistance; but while the senate was resolving to send ambassadors to Spain for the purpose of looking into the affairs of Saguntum, which was certainly allied with Rome, Hannibal had commenced the siege of the place, B.C. 219.⁷ The ambassadors were now forthwith dispatched with directions to call upon Hannibal to abstain from hostilities towards Saguntum, and in case of his refusal, to cross over into Africa and demand of the Carthaginian government the surrender of Hannibal. When the ambassadors arrived in Spain, Hannibal continued the siege without paying any attention to them, and they accordingly went to Carthage. But there they met with no better success. The Saguntines in the meantime defended themselves with truly heroic valour, and it was not till the eighth month after the commencement of the siege that the town was taken by assault. It was razed to the ground.⁸ Hannibal withdrew to New Carthage with immense booty, and there made the necessary preparations for his invasion of Italy.

Another embassy was sent to Carthage, but it was received as might have been expected after so long a period of irritation,

⁷ Livy (xxi. 6) places the beginning of the siege in B.C. 218, in consequence of which he is obliged to assign to this year events which must have occupied at least eighteen months.

⁸ The Romans afterwards rebuilt Saguntum; ruins of which are still visible near the town of Murviedro, which in fact derives its name from them (*muri veteres*).

and of ardent desire to take vengeance on Rome for her treacherous conduct in reference to Sardinia. The Carthaginians were divided into political parties, and could not come to any resolution; they were neither willing to admit that they had violated any treaty, nor to surrender Hannibal: one of the ambassadors, Q. Fabius, then made a fold of his toga, as if he was carrying something in it, and said, "Here we bring you peace and war; choose whichever you please." The leader of the Carthaginian senate replied, "Give us whichever you think proper." Fabius then unfolded his toga and said, "Well, then, I offer you war;" to which the Punic senators answered, "We accept it, and shall carry it on in the same spirit in which we accept it." The Roman ambassadors thereupon quitted Carthage forthwith: on their way home they endeavoured to gain over the Spaniards and Gauls, but their proposals were scorned and rejected.

Thus was decreed the second Punic war, to which the Saguntine war forms only a prelude. Down to the time when Hannibal began the siege of Saguntum the Romans had acted the part of mere spectators, but the storm which had been gathering in the distant horizon was now on the point of bursting upon the fair plains of Italy.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SECOND PUNIC, OR THE HANNIBALIAN WAR—CONDITION OF ROME AND ITALY AFTER THE WAR.

THE taking of Saguntum was the occasion indeed, but by no means the cause, of the second Punic war; this must be sought for in the deep exasperation of the Carthaginians against Rome, which had been fostered by Hamilcar, Hannibal, and the patriotic party at Carthage. The aristocratic party indeed was willing to sacrifice Hannibal for the purpose of maintaining peace with Rome; but the popular feeling, and the influence of what Livy calls the Barcine faction, were too strong, and overruled the opposition. Rome, on the other hand, would have been glad if the outbreak of the war could have been delayed for some time, because the Gauls were as yet scarcely reduced to submission, and the second Illyrian war, which, as already mentioned, commenced in B.C. 219, must have inclined Rome to defer engaging in a fresh contest with Carthage. But these very circumstances seem to have made Hannibal all the more anxious to carry his plans into effect as soon as possible.

The principal scenes of this war, which Livy calls the most memorable that was ever waged, and which lasted for seventeen years, from B.C. 218 to B.C. 201, were Italy, Spain, Sicily, and at last Africa. The war itself, in order to be properly understood, must be divided into five periods—1. Hannibal's passage through Spain, Gaul, and across the Alps, with the first three years of his success in Italy; from B.C. 218 till B.C. 215. 2. The subsequent events, down to the taking of Capua, when his star began to sink, and the Romans began to recover

somewhat their losses; from B.C. 214 to B.C. 211. 3. The period during which Hannibal placed his hopes upon Spain, and upon the reinforcements he expected from his brother Hasdrubal, who fell in the battle on the Metaurus; from B.C. 211 to B.C. 207. 4. Hannibal's last years in Italy down to its evacuation; from B.C. 207 to B.C. 202. And, lastly, 5. The conclusion of the war in Africa, down to the peace in B.C. 201.—The war in Spain began simultaneously with that in Italy, but was decided in favour of Rome in B.C. 210 by the taking of New Carthage, though the war continued down to B.C. 206. The Sicilian war, from B.C. 215 to B.C. 210, forms only an episode to the great and bloody drama. The Macedonian war, which arose out of that against Hannibal, in B.C. 215, was carried on contemporaneously with the latter, but an account of it will be given in a separate chapter.

After the war had been decreed, Hannibal assembled his troops in the neighbourhood of New Carthage. The soldiers were attached to him in the highest degree, for his appearance reminded the veterans of his father Hamilcar. He acted with extraordinary caution, and while he enlisted great numbers of Spaniards to accompany him in his expedition, he sent others to Africa, where they had to serve as garrisons, and might be kept as a kind of hostages for the fidelity of their countrymen. After intrusting the command in Spain to his brother Hasdrubal, he crossed the Iberus, in the beginning of the summer¹ of the year B.C. 218, with an army of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants. The Spanish tribes which were under the protection of Rome offered little resistance, and he crossed the Pyrenees, not far from the sea, where the mountains slope down towards the coast, a portion of his army being left in Hither-Spain under the command of Hanno. When he approached the Pyrenees a mutiny broke out among his soldiers, and several thousands, refusing to go any farther, returned home. In order to show that he would not compel the reluctant, Hannibal allowed

¹ Polyb. v. 1.

all who were unwilling to accompany him to return. The remaining army, which he now led towards the river Rhone, consisted of 50,000 foot and 9000 horse. He had before sent envoys to the Gauls, to ask for a free passage through their country; on their return they brought presents, and the assurance that he would not meet with any resistance between the Pyrenees and the Rhone.

When the Romans learned that it was Hannibal's intention to cross the Alps, they resolved to send the consul P. Cornelius Scipio with an army and fleet to Gaul, and his colleague Tib. Sempronius Longus with another to Sicily. Had Scipio arrived with his fleet before Hannibal had left Spain, he might perhaps have stopped his progress; but the Romans, who underrated the importance of their enemy, were slow and awkward, and their army consisted for the most part of inexperienced recruits. As it was, Hannibal had made himself master of Spain as far as the Pyrenees, before the Roman fleet under Scipio set sail, and when the latter arrived at Massilia, having sent his horsemen up the river, he found that Hannibal was already on the eastern bank of the Rhone. Scipio then returned to his ships, without making any further attempt to stop the enemy's progress. The Carthaginians crossed the river in the neighbourhood of Roque-maure at Pont St. Esprit, but not without powerful opposition on the part of the Gauls, who dreaded the starving host of invaders, who were obliged to plunder the country through which they marched in order to maintain themselves. Hannibal, to avoid coming into contact with the Romans, had proceeded up the river. Near the confluence of the Isère and the Rhone he formed an alliance with the chieftain of the Allobroges, and advanced through their territory as far as Vienne. Thence he turned towards Chambery, and followed the course of the Isère to its source, until he arrived at the foot of the Little St. Bernard.

When Hannibal reached this point he had already lost a considerable number of his men, but the army still remaining must

have been sufficiently large to require all the provisions which the Alpine tribes, through whose territory he marched, had laid up for the winter. Hence those tribes resolutely opposed the progress of the Carthaginians. In addition to these difficulties, Hannibal had to struggle with the severity of the season, with snow and frost, with want of provisions, and the consequent despondency of the soldiers, who, accustomed as they were to a milder climate, now suffered greatly from cold and hunger. In many parts, also, it was necessary to clear the road from snow and earth which had fallen, before the army could proceed. But notwithstanding all these difficulties Hannibal crossed the Alps in fifteen days, and through the valley of Aosta descended from the Little St. Bernard into the plain of Turin, where no one was expecting him.²

When Hannibal arrived in the valley of Aosta, five months after his departure from New Carthage, he had lost nearly all his elephants, and his army was reduced to 20,000 foot and 6000 horse, still an astonishing number, if we consider the immense difficulties which he must have had to encounter. The want of decision and energy with which the Romans acted while Hannibal was advancing, can be accounted for only on the supposition that they believed it impossible for him to accomplish his gigantic undertaking, and that if he should reach the southern side of the Alps, his army would be in such a condition that but little effort would be required on their part to annihilate it. Hence Scipio, who ought to have awaited Hannibal's arrival at the foot of the Alps, had lingered at Massilia. He sent his brother, Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greater part of his army to Spain, and then went to Pisa. He did not reach the river Po until Hannibal had

² We have here followed the route as made out by General Melville, as to the correctness of which there can be no doubt. Livy's description is unintelligible in some parts, and in others truly absurd. Melville's account of Hannibal's march through Gaul and

across the Alps may be read in J. A. De Luc's *Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Hannibal, avec une Carte*, Genève et Paris, 1818, 8vo., where use is made of the papers of General Melville, whose account was tested by De Luc's own investigations.

descended from the Alps, and to the amazement of all had overcome all the difficulties which nature and circumstances had placed in his way. The Cisalpine Gauls, who up to this moment had been kept in submission by the Romans, now sent envoys to Hannibal and implored his protection.

Scipio, after having crossed the Po, encamped on the river Ticinus (Ticino), in the neighbourhood of Pavia. There a battle ensued, in which the Romans were beaten by Hannibal's Spanish and Numidian cavalry. In this engagement Scipio himself received a dangerous wound, and his life is said to have been saved only by the gallant spirit of his youthful son, Publius, afterwards called Scipio the Great, or Africanus. The Romans now perceived that they had been labouring under a delusion, and had miscalculated the strength of their enemy. They called back Tib. Sempronius, who had been engaged in laying waste the coast of Africa. Scipio retreated across the Po, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Placentia, waiting for the arrival of Sempronius, who was sailing with his army towards Ariminum. Hannibal likewise crossed the Po below Placentia, and pitched his camp on the eastern bank of the Trebia, with the view of cutting off the retreat of the Romans. In the meantime Sempronius, who had landed at Ariminum, arrived, and reinforced the army of Scipio, who was still suffering from his wound, and was unable to undertake the command of the army. It was perhaps for this reason that Scipio dissuaded his colleague from venturing upon a battle, although Sempronius wished it, and thought it a disgrace to remain idle. Hannibal, but from different motives, was equally anxious to strike a blow, for he was sure of victory, and wanted to get rid of the enemy in these districts, in order that he might be able to take up his winter quarters, to give his soldiers the rest of which they were so much in want, and to organise the Gauls. Sempronius, on the other hand, who had no experience of the enemy, fancied that he should have an easy victory.

The two armies encamped on the opposite banks of the river

Trebia, which is very broad, but shallow, and divided into a number of small streams: the banks were covered with shrubs, in which a detachment of Hannibal's troops lay in ambush. Hannibal provoked the Romans, and enticed them to cross the river; they allowed themselves to be ensnared, and Sempronius led his men through the cold and icy river. There was at the time a sprinkling of snow, which the wind blew into the faces of the Romans. When, therefore, they arrived on the opposite bank, the soldiers were almost frozen. Hannibal, who had contrived to keep his men in excellent condition for fighting, now advanced to meet the enemy. The Romans, though already defeated by the severity of the elements, and of the season, fought most bravely; but were beaten: their left wing escaped to Placentia, whither they were followed by all who survived the day; for the weather became so tempestuous, that the Carthaginians did not think it advisable to pursue the enemy.

The army at Placentia having thus escaped, the consuls at first tried to deceive the senate about the extent of the loss they had sustained, but the truth became known but too soon; for even before Hannibal took up his winter quarters, his army spread over both banks of the Po. The Romans, however, true to their genius, did not despond: and with confidence in the protection of the immortal gods, they exerted all their powers to preserve and secure possessions which it was easy to lose, but difficult to recover when once lost. New armies were accordingly raised; Sardinia and Sicily, Tarentum and other towns, were strongly garrisoned, in order to keep them in submission. In the spring of B.C. 217, the consul, C. Flaminius, went with his army to Ariminum, where he was joined by a portion of the soldiers who had served under Scipio the year before. Flaminius, who may have been rash and inconsiderate, is yet greatly misrepresented in history. He was hated by the aristocratic party, because in his tribuneship he had carried the agrarian law, enacting that the *ager Gallicus Picenus* should be distributed among the people, and because he had subsequently supported another law which

affected the pockets of the insatiable aristocrats.³ Hannibal, unconcerned about the army at Ariminum, which, in fact, did not arrive there until he had set out on his march,⁴ went from Lucca through the marshes on the right bank of the river Arno into Etruria. During this difficult and dangerous march which lasted for three days and three nights, Hannibal rode on his only remaining elephant. His army had indeed been increased by the Gauls, but he here lost a great number of men and horses; and he himself completely lost the use of one eye while passing through those marshes, which in spring must have given to the country the appearance of a sea. He seems to have chosen that road, because no one expected him there. After his arrival at Faesulae, he proceeded straight towards Rome. C. Flaminius, who had in the meantime been informed of the enemy's movements, broke up from Ariminum and hastened to protect the road to Rome, before Hannibal should have made himself master of it. But the latter had advanced as far as Clusium, and reached the rocky shores of Lake Trasimenus, where Flaminius arrived soon after him. Hannibal had taken up his position on the heights; and as the Romans pressed forward on the narrow path between the hills and the lake, Hannibal fell upon them. The day was foggy, and the Romans unable to see, and attacked on three sides at once, were in a most frightful position. The excitement during the battle is said to have been so great, that an earthquake, which took place at the time, was not perceived

³ The law here alluded to was carried by the tribune, Q. Claudius, in a.c. 218: it enacted, that no senator should be permitted to have a sea-going ship of more than 300 amphorae, which was thought sufficient to carry to Rome the produce of their distant estates, for, to enter upon mercantile speculations, in which the nobles at this time appear to have been largely engaged, was thought dishonourable to a man of senatorial rank. But the opposition of the nobles to the law of

Claudius was of the most vehement kind.—Cicero, in *Verr.* v. 18.

⁴ Flaminius is charged with having neglected the celebration of the *Feriae Latinae*, previously to going to Ariminum; but the charge is hypocritical and ludicrous, for surely Hannibal would not have waited till the *Feriae* were over; and in fact Flaminius, as it was, arrived too late at Ariminum. Livy (xxii. 3) mentions some other charges which are equally absurd.

by the combatants.⁵ Fifteen thousand Romans perished on the spot, many of whom were driven into the lake and drowned; the rest escaped to an Etruscan village. Flaminius himself was among the slain. Hannibal, whose object it was to create for himself a power in Italy, as a means of humbling Rome to the dust, distributed the Roman prisoners among his army to be guarded, while he allowed the Italian allies of Rome to return to their homes without ransom. Here, as elsewhere, it was his plan not to wage war against the Italians, but to make them believe that he was fighting against Rome on their behalf. Immediately after the battle of lake Trasimenus, Hannibal heard that the consul Cn. Servilius, who was stationed at Ariminum to protect the province of Gaul, had sent a detachment to assist C. Flaminius: as soon as this detachment fell in with the Carthaginians, most of the men were cut to pieces, and the remainder were taken prisoners.

When the news of this memorable defeat reached Rome, and the praetor announced to the assembly of the people that they had suffered a great loss, the consternation was immense; and in these distressing circumstances it was resolved to appoint a dictator. As the consul Cn. Servilius was absent, the people—a thing which had never been done before—elected Q. Fabius Maximus to the office, and M. Minucius was appointed his *magister equitum*. Fabius has a glorious name in history, and in many respects it is well deserved, for he was a calm, cautious, and persevering general, and his recovery of Tarentum, in B.C. 209, was a great military achievement; but his personal character does not merit the praise that is commonly bestowed upon him, for his subsequent opposition to the great Scipio, who was still quite a young man when Fabius had reached the height of his fame, arose from mere personal jealousy and envy: Fabius could not contemplate without grief the rising greatness of Scipio; and it is clear that he would rather have seen Hannibal victorious than see him conquered by Scipio. M. Minucius was a general

⁵ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* ii. 86; Liv. xxii. 5.

of the directly opposite kind, for he was bold, ambitious, and hasty. A new army was formed, partly of those who had survived the day on lake Trasimenus, and partly of fresh levies; the want of soldiers was so great, that even freedmen were enlisted.

After the battle of Trasimenus, Hannibal was expected to march straightway to Rome; but he went towards Spoletum, from the conquest of which Roman colony he hoped to derive important advantages. But that town held out, and remained faithful to Rome; and as Hannibal had a great aversion to protracted sieges, he broke up and marched into Picenum, which abounded in provisions for his army. There he took up his summer quarters, which are as necessary in Italy as winter quarters are in the northern countries. The question which must here present itself to every reader, is, why did not Hannibal march against Rome, and endeavour to take it at a time when the greatest consternation was prevailing in the city? The answer to this question must be sought for in the circumstances of the case. Rome was then a strong fortress and could not be easily taken, and to blockade it would have required a very large army. But what was probably of greater weight with him, was the condition of his own army: his soldiers were suffering from a cutaneous disease, in consequence of their stay in the unhealthy country of Cisalpine Gaul, and of their subsequent passage through the marshes of Etruria. The unhealthy atmosphere of the vicinity of Rome, during the summer months, might have destroyed his whole army. In addition to this, it must be remembered that his hope of success was mainly based upon a coalition of the Italians against Rome; but though from the moment of his arrival in Italy he had treated the Italians with great generosity, still he had not yet been able to rouse them against Rome. These were sufficient reasons to deter a general like Hannibal from the attempt to take Rome by force; and he accordingly led his army southward, along the coast of the Adriatic. His

march from Picenum to Apulia was a series of calamities for those districts; for, as the walls of most of the towns had been destroyed by recent earthquakes, Hannibal meeting with little resistance, obliged the people to furnish his army with the necessary provisions: while his soldiers ravaged the country, the dictator Fabius followed them at a short distance, harassing the enemy, and always pitching his camp on lofty hills, so that Hannibal compared the Roman army to a cloud hovering on the mountains.⁶ Hannibal's object was to gain the Via Latina and the town of Casinum, and then to see what effect his position would produce on the Italians. But by some mistake Hannibal's guide led the army to Casilinum instead of Casinum; and owing to this unlucky accident Fabius got ahead of the enemy, and cut off his retreat between Casilinum and mount Callicula. When Hannibal discovered the mistake, he saved his army by a stratagem: he caused bundles of brushwood to be fastened to the horns of 2000 oxen, which, fire having been set to the wood, were driven towards the Romans. When in the darkness of the night the animals advanced, the Romans were frightened by the singular spectacle, and quitted their favourable position, which was immediately occupied by Hannibal, who then returned through Samnium to the frontiers of Apulia and the Frentanians. Here he was again met by Fabius, who ventured upon petty skirmishes in which the Romans gained some advantages, which led them to believe that if an effort were made, it would be an easy matter to chase the enemy from Italy, and that his being still in the country was owing only to the excessive caution of the dictator. Hence, as some advantages had been gained by Minucius, a law was passed at Rome enacting that the *magister equitum* should have equal power with the dictator, and the command of one-half of the army.⁷ On this occasion, Fabius showed real greatness of mind, for he not only brooked the insult, preferring to be feared by a prudent enemy to being praised by a foolish people, but even saved from utter destruction

Liv. xxii. 30.

⁷ Liv. xxii. 25; Polyb. iii. 103; Plut. *Fab.* 9.

the rash Minucius, who had allowed himself to be drawn into an engagement with the Carthaginians. This act of generosity induced Minucius to resign his power, and his deliverer now terminated the campaign of the year in as favourable a manner as circumstances would allow. He was thenceforth distinguished by the honourable surname of the Slack (*Cunctator*); and Ennius sang of him:—

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.⁸

Soon after these occurrences, Fabius laid down his dictatorship, and the consuls who now resumed their command followed his plan of operation, but without being able to effect anything decisive.

Hannibal spent the winter in Apulia, where he was in rather distressed circumstances, for the produce of the fields had been carried into the fortified towns before his arrival, and he had great difficulty in providing food for his army. His position was all the more precarious, because up to this time he had not been joined by one of the Italian nations. These circumstances, together with the advantages which they had gained in Spain and Italy, raised great hopes in the minds of the Romans; but a fearful day was yet awaiting them, a day which would have been certain ruin to any other republic. The consuls of the year B.C. 216 were L. Aemilius Paulus, a patrician who cherished a profound hatred of the people, and C. Terentius Varro, who is said to have been a butcher's son, and to have risen by demagogic artifices.⁹ These consuls, who were expected to put an end to the war at one blow, led into the field an army of 80,000 foot and upwards of 6000 horse. With these forces they entered Apulia, and pitched their camp on the banks of the river Aufidus, not far from the little town of Cannæ, where they kept their

⁸ Cicero, *De Off.* i. 24; Sil. Ital. vii. 515, &c.

⁹ Liv. xxii. 25. It must be observed that Polybius does not mention

the low birth of Varro, and the subsequent history of the man cannot be well reconciled with Livy's account.

stores. Hannibal had no elephants left, but his cavalry was excellent. Cannae was taken by him under the very eyes of the Romans, who were timid and not inclined to venture upon a decisive battle, though the consul Varro was anxious to strike the blow. After a long delay, for which it is difficult to account, the fatal battle was fought, on the second of August.¹⁰ It is said that Hannibal had taken up such a position, that a high wind, which usually rose at noon-tide, blew the dust into the faces of the Romans, and that on the day before the battle he had ordered the fields to be ploughed in order to increase the dust. The Romans advanced against the retreating centre of the Gauls, but were outflanked on both sides by the Africans, and though tired were obliged to maintain the fight against the latter. The Roman cavalry was unable to cope with the Spaniards, and being surrounded on all sides, the Romans were pressed together and cut to pieces. Forty-seven thousand Romans and almost as many allies covered the field of battle, and among them were the consul Aemilius Paulus, eighty senators, and a number of persons who had been invested with the highest offices of the republic. The surviving Romans capitulated, and surrendered on condition that Hannibal should commence negotiations with Rome for their ransom. Varro escaped with a few horsemen to Venusia, and another small detachment threw itself into Canusium; but Hannibal, unconcerned about the latter, marched towards Capua.

The consternation and paralysis which the news of this total defeat of so numerous an army produced at Rome are indescribable; but the Romans did not sink under the misfortune; when Varro returned, the senate went out to meet and thank him for not having despaired of the republic: and when Hannibal sent messengers to Rome to effect the ransom of the 3000 Roman prisoners, the senate, stirred up by a vigorous speech of the stern T. Manlius Torquatus, bade them return. The Carthaginian envoys who came with proposals of peace were not admitted into the city, and a truly Roman severity was shown towards the

¹⁰ Gellius, v. 17: Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 16.

unfortunate men who had survived the fearful day of Cannae, for they were treated as dishonoured persons and sent to serve in Sicily in order to wipe off their disgrace. The Romans endeavoured to propitiate the gods by sacrifices, and the historian Fabius Pictor was sent as ambassador to Delphi, to learn from the oracle of Apollo what would be the end of all these misfortunes. It deserves to be mentioned, that among the sacrifices offered up at that time there were two pairs of human beings, a male and a female Gaul, and a male and a female Greek.¹¹

Maharbal, the commander of the Carthaginian cavalry, had advised Hannibal, to march against Rome, immediately after the battle of Cannae; but Hannibal kept steadily to his original plan of destroying Rome through the Italians, as whose deliverer he wanted to appear. This drew upon him the reproach, that he knew better how to win a victory than how to make use of it. His plan however now seemed to be near its realisation, for immediately after the fatal battle, a number of the Italian cities and towns, abandoned the cause of Rome, and joined the Carthaginians. This was the case more especially in southern Italy, where the people still remembered their ancient liberty, and felt the weight of the Roman yoke; but even in central Italy many towns went over to Hannibal, so that Rome was almost confined to the same extent of country as it had possessed previously to the conquest of Samnium. Hannibal was thus joined by Atella, Colatia, the Hirpinians, the Samnites with the exception of the Pentrians, the Bruttians, Lucanians, Surrentum, nearly all the Greek towns on the coasts, and all the Gauls in the north of Italy; but as he was obliged to maintain his army at the expense of his Italian allies, he was unable permanently to attach them to himself.

He had commenced negotiations with Capua, even before the battle of Cannae. This town was, next to Rome, the most important city in Italy; but wealth and luxuries had rendered its citizens unwarlike and effeminate. They stood to Rome in

¹¹ Liv. xxii. 57.

the favourable relation of Isopolites, and the great families of Capua were connected by intermarriage with those of Rome ; but in spite of all this Capua now turned against Rome, probably in the vain hope of becoming the mistress of Italy, if her rival should perish. This hope was fostered by Hannibal, and when, after the battle of Cannae, he appeared in Campania, everything was prepared for the revolt. The only circumstance that made Capua hesitate for a moment, was the fact that 300 of the noblest Campanians were engaged in Sicily in the service of Rome, and were regarded as a sort of hostages for the fidelity of their city. But this scruple was got over : Capua ungratefully deserted Rome, and concluded a favourable treaty with Hannibal. It retained its independence, and was allowed to select from among the Roman captives 300 of the noblest, as a security for the 300 Campanians in Sicily. The people of Capua further committed the outrage of putting to death all the Romans that were staying within its walls. In his march through Campania, Hannibal, who had as yet no port by means of which he could keep up a communication with Carthage, attempted to make himself master of Cumae, Naples, and Nola ; but he was unsuccessful, and at the last of these places he even sustained a severe loss. He entered Capua and took up his winter quarters there. He had now reached the highest point of his glory. It is said that his stay in the effeminate city of Capua corrupted his army, and destroyed its discipline. It may be that the luxurious life led at Capua rendered his men disinclined to endure the hardships which they had hitherto borne cheerfully ; but it must at the same time be taken into consideration, that it was impossible for him to recruit his army from Spain, Africa, or Gaul ; that he had lost the best of his men in the previous battles ; and that he had no means of completing his regiments, except by enlisting Italian recruits. These circumstances alone are perhaps sufficient to account for the fact, that after the battle of Cannae the Carthaginian army appears to have been very different from what it was before. The senate at Carthage, where Hannibal's victories had

silenced all opposition, had decreed to send him reinforcements immediately after the battle of Cannae; but the decree was carried into effect with great sluggishness. Some reinforcements, however, must have reached him before he took up his winter quarters at Capua.¹²

Rome made almost incredible exertions to restore her armies. The management of the war was entrusted to the dictator M. Junius; and besides 8000 slaves who were purchased of their masters by the state on credit, and formed into two regiments, even gladiators were enlisted to serve in their usual arms. While these efforts were made, Rome was suffering from extreme scarcity of provisions. It is therefore a very remarkable fact, that Hannibal, supported as he now was by many Italians, while Rome was in the greatest distress, appears from this time forward less and less able to cope with the Romans, and that the latter acquired new strength every day. In B.C. 215, Hannibal made two unsuccessful attempts upon the fortified camp of the praetor, M. Claudius Marcellus, at Nola, and sustained considerable losses; whereas the Romans, in the same year, began to restore their authority in Campania. The Campanians behaved like cowards, and allowed themselves to be shut up like sheep in a fold. A Carthaginian detachment under Hanno, which tried to relieve them, was beaten by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus in the neighbourhood of Beneventum; and Hannibal, seeing himself thwarted, appears to have lost for a time his former energy; for though he had now received reinforcements from Carthage, still he allowed the Romans to blockade Capua without making any attempt to save the place. He lingered in Apulia and Lucania, making some petty conquests, and left Capua to its fate. At length, however, he appeared in its neighbourhood, but finding the Romans unwilling to accept a battle, he marched along the Via Latina towards Rome, and crossed the river Liris near Fregellae. As he proceeded, the city of Rome was thrown into a state of the greatest alarm; but he did not find a favourable

¹² Liv. xxiii. 18.

reception anywhere. Q. Fulvius, who was conducting the blockade of Capua, was called back to protect Rome. This was just what Hannibal wished; but the Carthaginian officer who had been left behind to introduce provisions into Capua, or to relieve it if he could, was quite unfit for his post, and did not succeed. Hannibal, in the meantime, had pitched his camp in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, near the Colline gate; but when Fulvius arrived and offered battle, Hannibal declined it, and, satisfying himself with ravaging the country, returned to Campania, and thence to Rhegium. Capua continued to be blockaded by another Roman army.

Hiero of Syracuse, the faithful ally of Rome, died in B.C. 216, and was succeeded by his grandson Hieronymus, who, thinking that after the battle of Cannae Rome would not be able to raise her head again, began to treat the Romans with contempt, and to negotiate with Hannibal. The latter made all possible concessions, on condition of Hieronymus renouncing the friendship of Rome. But the tyrannical rule of Hieronymus exasperated his subjects, and after a reign of thirteen months he was murdered. Two Carthaginians of Syracusan origin, Hippocrates and Epicydes, now usurped the government of Syracuse, and then the Romans immediately tried to win over to their interest; but as the usurpers openly declared against Rome, an army was sent to Sicily under M. Claudius Marcellus, B.C. 214. Marcellus laid siege to Syracuse and afterwards blockaded it, but it was not taken till B.C. 212, when Marcellus made himself master of the place by treachery. The siege of Syracuse is remarkable on account of the engines which Archimedes is said to have used in its defence. It is related that he destroyed the works of the Romans by means of burning-glasses; but this seems to be a fiction; all that can be said with certainty is, that by his superior skill in mechanics he constantly thwarted the attempts of the Romans with the battering-rams, and destroyed their military engines. After taking the town, Marcellus did not allow the soldiers to destroy it, but he treated its inhabitants

with barbarous cruelty: those who were not sold as slaves were driven out into the open fields, where they died of hunger; and many represented themselves to be slaves that they might escape starvation.¹³

Another example of similar cruelty was exhibited in B.C. 211, in the reconquest of Capua, though in this case the Romans had had greater provocation than in Sicily. Capua was not destroyed indeed, but the Romans raged against its inhabitants with all imaginable fury. Before the gates were thrown open to the Romans, the most distinguished persons had made away with themselves, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy; others killed their wives and children. When the Roman soldiers entered the city, they acted like infuriated demons: all the nobles were thrown into chains, the mass of the people were driven from their homes, the senators were put to the sword, and no one was allowed to remain in the town except slaves and freed-men. The whole territory of Capua was made domain land of the Roman republic.¹⁴

In B.C. 212, Hannibal, after a long siege, gained possession of Tarentum, but it was retaken in B.C. 209 by Q. Fabius Maximus, the place being treacherously delivered into his hands by the very persons whom Hannibal had intrusted with the command of its garrison. The subjugation of Sicily had been completed the year before by the consul M. Valerius Laevinus; and most of the Greek towns of Italy, being intimidated by the example of Syracuse and Capua, now abandoned the cause of Hannibal, whose situation became more and more difficult, and whose power was reduced from day to day. His brother Hasdrubal was now his only hope.

At the beginning of this war in B.C. 218, the Romans had sent Cn. Cornelius Scipio to Spain, to conduct the war against the Carthaginians under Hasdrubal. There he was soon joined by his brother Publius. The two Scipios remained in Spain for

¹³ Diodor. *Excerpt. Vat.* p. 68, ed. Dindorf; comp. *Excerpt. Vales.* p. 569.

¹⁴ Liv. xxviii. 46.

a number of years, ever harassing the Carthaginians, and keeping Hasdrubal engaged; so that when, after the battle of Cannae, he was expected to march into Italy and co-operate with his brother, they prevented him from doing so, and gained considerable advantages over the Carthaginians, whom they conquered near Ibeta, in B.C. 216, and near Illiberis, in B.C. 215. About the same time Syphax, king of the Masasylians in the west of Numidia, formed a connection with the Scipios, and a Roman fleet sailed to Africa. Syphax attacked Carthage, but was defeated by Masinissa, king of Numidia, who was then allied with Carthage. But in B.C. 212 the Scipios experienced the inconstancy of fortune, for both were slain within thirty days of each other, and their armies were nearly annihilated. The remnants of the army were saved only by the heroic conduct of L. Marcius, who, by the most desperate efforts, prevented the enemy from reaping all the fruits of their victory. The Romans, by these defeats, lost all their possessions south-east of the Iberus, and Hasdrubal now made serious preparations for invading Italy. At Rome, the consternation was so great that no one was found willing to undertake the command in Spain, until at length, in B.C. 211, P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of P. Scipio who had been killed in Spain, came forward and offered to go. As he was then only 24 years old, and was still in mourning for his father, many objected to his age, as well as to the ominous circumstance of his being in mourning. But as he was extremely popular, the people gave him the command with the title of proconsul, and provided him with all that was necessary for his bold undertaking. This young man, who was to be the conqueror of Hannibal, is, next to him, the greatest hero in this war. He is said to have distinguished himself as early as the battle on the Ticinus; and throughout his career he displayed a degree of military talent inferior to that of Hannibal alone. He was especially famous for his great piety, and while at Rome, went every morning to pray in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol: whether this religious feeling was genuine or merely assumed, no

one can say, but it made him immensely popular with the superstitious multitude. As a citizen he was proud and haughty, and in matters where his personal feelings were concerned, he even despised the laws of his country, thus setting an evil example.

On his arrival in Spain, in B.C. 211, he found the army which he had to command in a state of complete disorganisation. The great control he exercised over himself, the belief in his familiar intercourse with the gods, and the success with which he commenced operations, soon inspired his soldiers with such confidence, that no enemy seemed invincible. He soon avenged his father: according to some accounts, he had not been in Spain more than seven days before he took the strongly-fortified and populous town of New Carthage;¹⁵ and C. Laelius, his friend and companion, was despatched to carry the news of this happy event to Rome. The capture of this important place was an irreparable loss to the Carthaginians, who seem to have taken little trouble to relieve it, perhaps because Hasdrubal's attention was wholly directed towards Italy, after the conquest of which he may have thought that it would be an easy matter to recover what might be lost in Spain. Scipio next traversed the southern part of Spain, and took many of the allied towns of the Carthaginians, among which Astapa deserves to be particularly mentioned. It was besieged by Marcius, and as its citizens foresaw that, owing to their staunch fidelity to Carthage, they would be treated in a cruel manner if their town should be captured, they fought with desperate bravery: when nearly all had fallen, the last fifty survivors, in accordance with an oath which they had taken, murdered all the women and children, burnt all the treasures they possessed, and at last made away with themselves.¹⁶ In B.C. 209, Hasdrubal assembled a large army near Baccula, which was joined by many Iberians under his brother Mago, and by

¹⁵ It is however more than probable that he did not take that town till the year after, i. e. B.C. 210. See Liv.

xxvi. 41, &c., xxvii. 7.

¹⁶ Liv. xxviii. 22; Appian. *His.* p. 53.

Numidians under Masinissa. The whole hostile force consisted of 75,000 men and 36 elephants, and Scipio hesitated as to whether he should attack so formidable an army, for his own forces amounted to scarcely one-third of those of the enemy. Want of provisions at length obliged him to offer battle, and he gained the victory; but he could not prevent Masinissa from going to Gades; nor did Hasdrubal think it unsafe to set out for Italy in B.C. 208. Hasdrubal had previously formed connections with the Gauls, so that in marching through their country and across the Alps he met with no resistance. He reached the southern foot of the Alps in B.C. 207, having completed his march, it is said, in two months. Hannibal was unprepared for the arrival of his brother, though he had long been looking forward to it. Hasdrubal laid siege to Placentia, but was unsuccessful, and lost a great deal of time. Another unfortunate circumstance was, that the letters which he sent to his brother Hannibal fell into the hands of the Romans, who thus became acquainted with his whole plan of operation. The consul Livius Salinator afterwards encamped against him in the neighbourhood of the river Metaurus in Umbria, where he was soon joined by his colleague C. Claudius Nero, who had until then been operating against Hannibal. When Hasdrubal became aware of Nero's arrival, he attempted to retreat during the night across the Metaurus, but being deserted by his guides and unable to find a ford, he was attacked by the Romans while wandering along the river's bank. In the ensuing battle his whole army was routed and cut to pieces. A Roman cut off the head of Hasdrubal, and afterwards flung it into the camp of Hannibal, who, on seeing it and the captive Carthaginians, at once perceived that the fate of Carthage as well as of himself was sealed. The Carthaginian lion thenceforth confined himself to the territory of the Bruttians, who remained faithful to him. He maintained himself on the defensive; and being convinced that he should not be able to remain much longer in Italy, he erected a monument in the temple of Juno Lacinia (on mount

Lacinium, on the eastern coast of Bruttium), with an inscription giving an account of his Italian campaign. It was afterwards seen by Polybius, who made use of it for his narrative of the Hannibalian war.¹⁷

After the departure of Hasdrubal from Spain, the Carthaginians still had two armies in that province, but it soon became evident that Hasdrubal had been the soul of all their undertakings, and that Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, and Mago were not able to supply his place. They indeed continued the war against the Romans, but Scipio, in a succession of battles, gradually drove them back, and after their defeat at Baecula compelled them to take refuge at Gades. The Spaniards became aware that they were to be abandoned by the Carthaginians, and that the only object of the latter now was to extort from them money and the means of living. Hence they began to refuse obedience, and endeavoured to drive them from the Peninsula. Gades even shut its gates against Mago, and concluded a treaty with Rome. Hasdrubal sailed to Africa; and Mago led the remainder of his troops to the Balearian islands. Thence he afterwards crossed over to Liguria, with the view of establishing himself there and attacking the Romans in Etruria, which then began to show symptoms of a rebellious spirit;¹⁸ but his hopes were disappointed.

The Romans were now masters of Spain. Scipio remained there upwards of three years, engaged in chastising the towns which had been faithless to Rome. During this period an occurrence took place which is particularly remarkable, because it is the first perceptible symptom of the discontent which was gradually rising among the Italian allies of Rome. They were obliged to furnish a contingent to the Roman armies far surpassing in numbers that of the Romans themselves, and they appear to have begun to feel that they ought to be placed on an equality with the citizens of Rome. An insurrection broke out among the allies who served in Scipio's army: they chose an Umbrian and a Latin for their leaders, and gave them the title and ensigns of

¹⁷ Polyb. iii. 83.

¹⁸ Liv. xxx. 19.

Roman consuls. The affair was of a very serious nature, but the deep cunning of Scipio deceived the insurgents. He promised them their pay, and invited them to come to New Carthage; and in order to inspire them with confidence, he ordered the Roman garrison to quit the town before the mutineers entered. But while the latter were assembling in the market-place, the garrison returned and compelled the rebels to submit to the will of Scipio, who put thirty-five of the most guilty to death. The chastisement of some Spanish chiefs was the last act of Scipio in Spain.

But before returning to Rome he crossed over to Africa whither he was invited by Syphax, who had sometimes been at war with Carthage, and sometimes her ally, but was now in a sort of neutral position. When in B.C. 206 Scipio arrived in Africa he concluded a treaty with this potentate, which was the first step towards the realisation of Scipio's great plan. He had from the first been persuaded that the war with Carthage must be brought to a close in Africa itself. He was still pro-consul, and now went to Rome to offer himself as a candidate for the consulship, though he had not yet attained the legitimate age. But owing to the extraordinary popularity he enjoyed, the people, notwithstanding the jealous opposition of Fabius and his party,¹⁹ unanimously elected him consul for the year B.C. 205, along with P. Licinius Crassus. But after he had been made consul, and Sicily had been assigned to him as his province, with permission to cross over to Africa if he should think it desirable for the good of the republic, the same factious party of Fabius, supported by the senate, refused him the means, without which he could not carry his plans into effect: the people, on the other hand, not only of Rome, but of all Italy, flocked to his standard, and formed an army of volunteers; the towns of Etruria and Umbria distinguished themselves above all others by their enthusiasm for the young hero. A large fleet, and an army of 7000 volunteers, were thus soon assembled and followed Scipio to Sicily. Hannibal was still tarrying in Bruttium, but in this confinement he

¹⁹ Liv. xxviii. 40, &c.

resembled a lion surrounded by hounds; whoever attacked him paid dearly for it. From Sicily, Scipio made an attack on Locri, which was taken; but the avarice of one of his lieutenants, Q. Pleminius, gave rise to the charges against Scipio, that he neglected the discipline of his army, that he lived in luxury at Syracuse, that he assumed Greek manners, and spent his time in reading Greek authors. Commissioners were accordingly sent by the senate to examine the state of things in Sicily; but everything was found in the best order, and all suspicions were removed.

The taking of Locri was the only event of any consequence in the year of Scipio's consulship: it seems that he was chiefly engaged in making preparations for crossing over to Africa, which he did in the following year, B.C. 204, his friend and legate, C. Laelius, having proceeded thither before him. Scipio landed in the neighbourhood of Utica, with an army of 17,000 foot and several thousand horse.²⁰ It is surprising that Carthage, which a few years later appears in possession of a fleet of 500 ships, did not make any attempt either to meet the fleet of Scipio or to prevent his landing. This may be accounted for, however, either by the unwarlike spirit of the Carthaginians, who did not think of any danger until they saw it before their own eyes, or by supposing that there were disputes or treachery in the senate which rendered speedy measures of defence impracticable. Syphax being induced by his love of Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, to disregard his alliance with Scipio, had again joined the Carthaginians with his army. Masinissa, king of Numidia, on the other hand, who had also been in love with Sophonisba, but was deprived of her by Syphax, promised Scipio his support, but secretly, for he was at the time in alliance with Carthage.

After landing in Africa, Scipio was met by three armies, one

²⁰ The place where he landed and pitched his camp was known in after times by the name of *Castra Cor-*

neliana. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 24; Oro. iv. 22.

under Hasdrubal which had been hurriedly assembled, another under the command of Syphax, and a third under that of Masinissa. Scipio, therefore, was obliged to keep on the defensive; but Masinissa led the Carthaginians out to an undertaking which he had treacherously preconcerted with Scipio,²¹ who lay in ambush waiting for the enemy, and fell upon them as soon as they appeared. Masinissa then went over to the Romans. The utmost confusion prevailed among the Carthaginians, and a great number of them fell by the sword. After this, Syphax and Hasdrubal took the field against Scipio. Their tents were made of straw and branches, which in the hot climate of Africa soon became as dry as touch-wood. The Romans contrived to set them on fire, and amid the conflagration which ensued, the Carthaginians allowed themselves to be butchered like sheep. Syphax, like a true barbarian, now abandoned the cause of his allies, and withdrew to his own kingdom, where he was attacked by Masinissa and C. Laelius. He was defeated and taken prisoner, and a great part of his kingdom was given to Masinissa, who now married Sophonisba. But as Scipio demanded her surrender, because he mistrusted her, Masinissa poisoned her to prevent her falling into the hands of the Roman. Scipio had, in the meantime, made an attempt to blockade Utica, but without success.

Carthage had by this time arrived at the conviction, that, without the return of Hannibal, all her hopes were vain. In B.C. 202, having received the command to quit Italy, he unhesitatingly obeyed the summons of his country, and landed at Adrumetum. He went to meet Scipio on the river Bagradas, and having lost all hope of success, he had an interview with the great Roman, in which he recommended the peace for which negotiations had already commenced. The two heroes saw each other for the first time with silent admiration. Hannibal was more than ever convinced that peace was the only means of saving Carthage; and Scipio too was not unwilling to grant it, for he had reason to fear lest a successor should be sent from Rome to reap the

²¹ Appian. *De Rcp. Pun.* 13, &c.

fruits of his labours. The conditions which he had proposed were hard indeed, yet mild in comparison with those which Carthage was afterwards compelled to accept. A truce had been concluded, during which ambassadors were sent to Rome to obtain the sanction of the senate to the terms of the peace. But when the Carthaginians found that the forces of Hannibal were still considerable, they were vexed at the steps they had taken, and began to insult the Romans in every possible way, being resolved once more to try their fortune. The folly of the Carthaginian people thus broke off all negotiations, for as they had their general Hannibal among them they fancied themselves invincible. He, although he severely censured their childish belief, was obliged to give way to their enthusiasm. The war was now decided by the fatal battle of Zama, in B.C. 202. Hannibal's army consisted of 50,000 men and 80 elephants; that of Scipio of 24,000 men, whom he drew up in columns, leaving large intervals between them to enable the elephants to escape, which spaces were then to be filled up by the cavalry so as to prevent the return of the elephants. The plan succeeded admirably. The Carthaginians fought like lions, but Scipio's skill and presence of mind decided the victory. The greater part of the Carthaginian army was cut to pieces, and the remainder dispersed. Hannibal himself escaped with a few companions to Adrumetum, and thence to Carthage, where the senate, unable to continue the war, had already commenced fresh negotiations for peace. It was fortunate for Carthage that Scipio himself was anxious to bring the war to a close. Hannibal too advised his countrymen to submit to necessity. But the terms which Scipio now offered were much harder than those which he had proposed at first. Carthage was to retain its territory in Africa and its own constitution, but to deliver up all Roman deserters and captives without ransom, to surrender its whole fleet with the exception of ten triremes, and all elephants, none of which were thenceforth to be trained for purposes of war: Carthage, further, was not allowed to carry on any war without the sanction of Rome; it was obliged

to indemnify Masinissa for all the losses he had sustained, and to recognise him as king of Numidia; it had to pay to Rome 10,000 Euboean talents by instalments in fifty years, that is 200 annually. It was further commanded to give a large number of hostages, and to provide the Roman army in Africa with all that was necessary for its maintenance, until the peace should be ratified at Rome by the senate and people. Some of the Carthaginian nobles opposed these terms, and Hannibal in just indignation seized one of them and dragged him down from the tribune. This exasperated the whole party, and Hannibal escaped only by declaring that owing to his long absence from Carthage he had forgotten the manners and customs of his country. The peace was not ratified at Rome till the year B.C. 201; for the consul Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, the successor of Scipio, hoped to prolong the war, that he himself might have the glory of bringing it to a close. Scipio then returned with his army to Sicily, and thence to Rome, where he celebrated a magnificent triumph, adorned by Syphax, who ended his days as a prisoner at Alba.

Italy had suffered enormously during the sixteen years that Hannibal and his army were in the country; for the bloody battles which had been fought, the ravaging marches of the hostile troops, and the conquest and destruction of flourishing towns, had laid waste the country far and wide, while the levies of troops, both by the Romans and by their enemies, had almost depopulated whole districts of Italy. But still the Roman republic was far more powerful at the close of the war than she had been at the beginning. The Roman dominion in Italy was soon restored, and the people in the southern part of it were chastised for their faithlessness. Several colonies were established there; as much perhaps, for the purpose of providing for impoverished Romans, as for that of securing the possession of the country. Scipio's veterans were rewarded with assignments of land in Lucania and Apulia. The Gauls in the north of Italy likewise were reduced to obedience by the praetor L. Furius, in B.C. 200, and were kept in check by reinforcements sent to the

Roman colonies in those districts. But the internal distress of Rome, as well as of the other Italian towns, must have formed a strong contrast with this outward prosperity: the prices of all provisions and commodities had risen to an enormous height; and if, in addition, we consider the heavy claims that had been made upon the people, it may readily be inferred that the middle classes must have been in a state of complete exhaustion. This condition of affairs produced that wide gulf between the wealthy and the poor, of which we shall see the lamentable results about half a century later. Towards the end of the war, the republic had been under the necessity of raising a public loan, and the money was to be paid back to the creditors by three instalments;²² but the Macedonian war involved Rome in fresh difficulties, and she was obliged to pay her debts in lands.

At the close of the Hannibalian war, the Roman dominion extended over Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and a great part of Spain; even Carthage and Numidia were in a state of dependence on Rome. The annihilation of the Carthaginian fleet had made the Romans masters of the sea. They were thenceforth obliged to keep a navy for the purpose of maintaining the communication with their possessions out of Italy, and to convey troops, ammunition, and provisions to and fro; but the Romans never looked upon the navy as a thing of first-rate importance: the service in the fleet was at all times considered less honourable than that in the army; and the commerce which had been carried on by the Carthaginians, in all parts of the Mediterranean, was not kept up by the Romans. Rome seems to have now become conscious of her vocation to be the mistress of the world; for henceforth her great object was to conquer foreign countries, and to derive from them all the advantages she could. The simplicity and frugality of the good old times were fast disappearing, and, in their train, the virtues and noble sentiments of former ages; the gold that was carried to Rome from Sicily, Spain, and Carthage exercised a sad influence upon both the

²² Liv. xxix. 16.

public and the domestic life of the Romans, and engendered in the baser natures among them a desire for war, merely for the sake of plunder and rapine.

But, notwithstanding all this, Rome was now at the height of her political power and greatness, and remained there for a long time before the evils, the seeds of which had been sown, became visible; for the mighty council of the senate consisted of men trained in the hardships of war, who clung to the principles of the constitution with a tenacity which kept its spirit alive from generation to generation, in a manner to which our own country, England, affords us the most striking parallel. The highest offices of state were now no longer confined to a body of privileged patricians, but were accessible to all men who had distinguished themselves in war, or could show a long line of illustrious ancestors. We have already noticed, that an injurious principle had been introduced, inasmuch as wealth also had become one of the great recommendations to the high magistracies. In those families, who had a right to adorn their houses with the images of their ancestors, a warlike spirit was kept alive, and their members seized upon every opportunity of gaining military distinctions. Hence war followed upon war, and conquest upon conquest. The people themselves, on the other hand, often took up arms with great reluctance; for these victories and conquests contributed more to increase the lustre of the noble families and the senate, than to add to the happiness and prosperity of the thousands who had shed their blood in the wars. Another circumstance which compelled Rome to engage in war upon war was her dependence upon her allies in Italy, to furnish employment for whom it was necessary to keep up a succession of contests. Rome, further, like every other military republic, was the natural enemy of those among her neighbours who did not bow down to her supremacy; and who could resist the force of arms wielded by such experienced hands, which did not rest until their enemy lay prostrate? Who could resist a system of policy, which, without regard to right and justice, employed every

means that could be devised, cunning, fraud, flattery, and violence, for the purpose of ensnaring its victims?

The Hannibalian war had made the Roman name known far and wide, so that foreign princes became anxious to form connections or alliances with Rome. Hostile collisions, however, were sure to follow. And Rome, with all her martial spirit, could not have become the mistress of the world, had it not been for the nature and internal condition of the states, which came in contact with Rome, either as friends or as foes. It is a truth well established by both ancient and modern history, that states whose institutions have become obsolete, or are in opposition to the spirit of the age, or have lost their moral vigour and energy, gradually decay of themselves, or are overthrown by other powers which are in the full bloom of development. The states which had grown out of the vast monarchy of Alexander the Great, Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, as well as Greece itself, were in this predicament, and hence when they came in contact with all-absorbing Rome they were unable for any length of time to resist the power of her arms.

Ptolemaeus Philadelphus had concluded an alliance with Rome as early as B.C. 273:²³ in B.C. 201, the Roman senate was appointed guardian of young Ptolemaeus Epiphanes, in order to put an end to the disturbances and confusion in the kingdom of Egypt, which were occasioned and fostered by the vices of its rulers. Macedonia, which was hostile towards Egypt, had lost the vigour and energy by which it had risen; and Syria, which was now governed by Antiochus III. or the Great, was fast hastening towards the fate of all eastern monarchies; so that, notwithstanding its alliance with Macedonia, it was unable to resist the policy and arms of Rome when they began to be directed against it. The Greek republics were oppressed by the Macedonian kings, who aimed at the supremacy of Greece; and they were further weakened by internal dissensions and convulsions, no less than by the inroads of the Gallic hordes. Most of the

²³ Liv. *Epi.* 14; Eutrop. ii. 15. Vide p. 257.

Greeks were devoid of republican virtues, though proud of those of their ancestors, and the majority sought comfort and recreation by plunging into the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. The Achaeans, who had gained some insight into the evil consequences of the internal divisions of Greece, had established a confederacy, by which they hoped to restore order and peace among themselves; but they were opposed by another league, formed by the Aetolians, who were more distinguished for their warlike and predatory spirit than for their civil virtues. Both leagues had one object in common, the defence of Greece against the encroachments of Macedonia; but the difference of their nationalities soon produced mutual jealousy and enmity between them, which enabled the Romans to make use of the Aetolians against the Achaeans, who in their turn entered into an alliance with Macedonia. The kingdom of Pergamus, in Asia Minor, was then governed by Attalus I., who was an ally of Rome at the time when Rome and Macedonia were at war with each other. This state of affairs in the east rendered it possible for Rome to stir up wars in those countries whenever it suited her interests. The republic of Rhodes, whose navy, commerce, arts, and intellectual culture were in the most flourishing condition, was likewise allied with Rome, and proved of great service to her in her wars with the eastern powers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WARS AGAINST PHILIP OF MACEDONIA—C. FLAMINIVS PROCLAIMS THE
INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE—WARS AGAINST ANTIOCHUS, THE AETOL-
LIANS, GALATIANS, AND THE GAULS IN THE NORTH OF ITALY—
DEATH OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO.

THERE can be no doubt that Demetrius of Pharos, who at the beginning of the Hannibalian war had taken refuge at the court of Philip of Macedonia, had roused the king's apprehension of the growing power of Rome; and it was unquestionably this apprehension which led the Macedonian to enter into an alliance with the Aetolians; for the Romans, as we have seen, had already gained a firm footing on the eastern coast of the Adriatic by the subjugation of the Illyrians. In the spring of the year after the battle of Cannae, when Rome's power seemed to be completely broken, Philip also concluded a treaty with Hannibal, in which the latter agreed to give up to the king all the possessions of the Romans east of the Adriatic. But as the Macedonian ambassadors, with the document of the treaty, were on their way back to Macedonia, they fell into the hands of the Romans, who instead of being discouraged by this evidence of the additional power thus acquired by their conqueror, displayed a truly heroic spirit, and sent the praetor M. Valerius Laevinus with a fleet of 50 sail to Tarentum, whence he crossed over to Illyricum. The first Macedonian war was thus commenced in B.C. 215, and lasted till B.C. 205; but it was conducted without energy by the Romans as well as by Philip, the latter not exerting all the powers he had at his command, and the former being obliged to direct their main force against Carthage.

In the beginning of this war, the Romans took Oricum, and

Apollonia also fell into their hands, Philip who was besieging it being put to flight.¹ After this, the king made some progress in Illyricum, and conquered Atintania and the Ardyaeans, but was still unable to afford any assistance to Hannibal in Italy : by his mistrust, cruelty, and arbitrary proceedings, he lost the confidence of his allies, who, in consequence, were easily prevailed upon to join the Romans. When, therefore, in B.C. 211, Capua had been recovered by the Romans, the Aetolians deserted the cause of Philip, and entered into an alliance with Rome, in which it was stipulated, that all the places that might be conquered by their united forces should be treated in such a manner, that the towns and the soil should belong to the Aetolians, and the inhabitants with all their moveable property to the Romans. It was through the mediation of the Aetolians that the Romans also formed connections with king Attalus I. of Pergamus, and other princes and states. Greece was split into parties, but the conduct of the Aetolians drew so much odium on themselves as well as on the Romans, that Philip again began to be looked upon by the Greeks as their natural protector ; in which character he went from Illyricum to the assistance of the Achaeans, who were hard pressed by the Spartan Machanidas. The Romans in the meantime contrived to foster discord among the Greeks, with a view of availing themselves of any favourable opportunities which might occur for establishing their influence in Greece ; but their attempt to gain a footing in Peloponnesus failed, Philip maintaining himself so successfully against the Aetolians, that, unsupported as they were by the Romans, they were obliged to sue for peace, which was granted to them in B.C. 207, on rather humiliating terms. After this a Roman army of 10,000 men, and a fleet of 35 sail, landed at Dyrrachium ; but the Epirots were tired of the vexatious war, and brought about a peace between the Romans and Philip in B.C. 205. The Romans gave up Atintania, and allowed Philip to establish himself in Epirus.

But neither party had any honest intention in concluding

¹ Liv. xlv. 40.

this peace. The Romans, in particular, were only waiting for an opportunity of recovering what they thus gave up; while Philip, on the other hand, notwithstanding the peace, secretly supported the Carthaginians both with money and with troops: hence, in the battle of Zama, many Macedonians who served in the Carthaginian army were taken prisoners by the Romans. About the same time, Philip formed an alliance with King Antiochus of Syria, the object of which was to rob Egypt of her possessions on the coasts of Thrace and Asia. This led to a war with the Rhodians and Attalus, whose interest it was to protect the possessions of Egypt; but Philip and Antiochus gained their end. The former conquered the whole of the Thracian coast, so that his power and influence now extended from Thrace to the island of Crete.

Athens was at that time in a state of decay, and its inhabitants were impoverished, but it was allied with Rome. Some Acarnanians had impiously presumed to violate the mysteries of Demeter at Eleusis, and being discovered were put to death by the exasperated multitude. This induced the Acarnanians, and Philip their ally, to march against Athens, and take vengeance for the outrage. A body of Macedonians ravaged the territory of Athens, and laid siege to the city. The distressed Athenians implored the protection of Rome, which thus obtained a welcome pretext for renewing the war with Philip.

The senate, and the ambitious nobles at Rome, desired nothing so much as the renewal of hostilities; but the people, who were suffering severely from the consequences of the Hannibalian war, rejected the scheme of a fresh military undertaking. The ruling party, however, gained their object notwithstanding, and the second war against Macedonia was decided upon in B.C. 200: for an embassy, which had been sent to Philip to request him to abstain from hostilities towards Athens, had no effect; and the Roman people were made to believe that Philip, if he were not checked, might become a second Hannibal. This war, which lasted till B.C. 197, broke the power of Macedonia, and laid the foundation of the Roman dominion in the east. As it had been determined to attack the

enemy in his own country, the consul P. Sulpicius Galba, B.C. 200, led his army across the Adriatic; and having spent the winter at Apollonia, opened the campaign in the spring of the following year. Philip, who was at the time in Asia, hastened back to Europe, defeated the Athenians, and marched into Thessaly, where he maintained himself against the Athamanians, Dardanians, and Aetolians, who had again joined the Romans and invaded Thessaly. The Romans gained little or no advantage. Towards the end of the year, Sulpicius Galba was succeeded by Villius Tappulus, but he too was unable to make any progress. In B.C. 198, however, matters began to assume a different aspect, for T. Quinctius Flaminius, who was then consul, and had received the Macedonian war as his province, hastened at the beginning of the year into Greece. He was then scarcely thirty-three years old, but he was a skilful and vigorous commander, and a statesman who understood the art of deceiving all parties. The Macedonian fortresses on the frontier were strongly fortified, and their main camp was near Antigoneia, a position an attack on which would have been most perilous to the enemy. Flaminius saw that everything was hopeless in that district, and was on the point of marching away, when an Epirot chief of the name of Charopus sent him a guide, who led a corps of 4000 Romans round a dangerous mountain-pass into the rear of the Macedonians. As soon as they arrived at their destination, a signal was given, and the Macedonians were at once attacked in both front and rear. Philip perceiving that his retreat would soon be cut off, quitted the post, and marched with his army across the mountains into Thessaly, which was invaded by the Aetolians. Flaminius in the meantime penetrated farther into Epirus, where all the towns threw their gates open to him. He then proceeded to Phocis, made himself master of Elatea, and took up his winter quarters.

King Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Roman fleet, were in the Aegean sea. The Achaeans had been in alliance with Philip, and if at this moment he had consented to give up Corinth to them,

they would not have abandoned his cause ; but as it was, they now deserted him, and joined the Romans, even before the taking of Elatea, although they hated the Romans no less than the Aetolians, on account of the miseries which Laevinus had inflicted on the Greeks in the first war against Macedonia. Flamininus appeared before the gates of Thebes, and compelled the Boeotians also to enter into an alliance with Rome. Thus strengthened, the Romans gained possession of the whole of southern Thessaly, which now became the scene of the war. About the month of June, B.C. 197, the Romans and Macedonians met each other in the neighbourhood of Scotussa, a district which, from a line of small hills, had obtained the name of Cynoscephalae (Dogs'-heads). After some delay and hesitation on both sides, a battle ensued, in which the Macedonian phalanx was crushed by the more pliable legions of the Romans. The contest was decided, however, by the Aetolian cavalry:² 8000 Macedonians fell on the field of battle, and 5000 were taken prisoners. Philip, who had now lost all expectation of success in his military operations, fled to Larissa, and thence to Tempe, where he began to negotiate for peace. Flamininus, who feared lest his laurels should be snatched from him by a successor, and perceived the ill-feeling towards the Romans which prevailed among the Aetolians, hastened to conclude a peace on the following terms: Philip was to restore all the Greek towns to independence, and to withdraw his garrisons from them ; he was to deliver up his fleet, with the exception of five ships ; he was not to be allowed to keep more than 500 heavy-armed soldiers ; he was to pay 1000 talents, 500 at once, and 500 by ten annual instalments ; and, lastly, he was to give hostages, among whom was his own son Demetrius.

The object of Flamininus, in concluding this peace, was not to destroy Macedonia, but to establish in Greece a condition of things in which the powers of the several states should be evenly balanced. The Aetolians, on the other hand, wished that

² Polyb. xviii. 5.

Macedonia should be completely crushed ; and they insisted the more strongly upon the necessity for this, because they knew that the victory over the Macedonians had been mainly owing to themselves. The unfortunate consequences resulting to the Aetolians from this feeling became but too soon manifest. The object of Rome in the war against Philip was now gained, for the Macedonians were driven out of Greece, their power was broken, and they were reduced to a state from which Rome had nothing to fear. Various expectations had been entertained as to the manner in which Rome would make use of her victory in regard to Greece ; but whatever may have been the motives of her policy, Flamininus, at least, seems to have acted from a sincere love and admiration of the Greeks. At the Isthmian games, in B.C. 196, he proclaimed the freedom and independence of all the Greek cities and islands which had been under the dominion of Macedonia : the multitude, intoxicated with joy, saluted him as the restorer of their freedom ; and their loud and often repeated shouts of delight and applause made it evident, that among all the blessings of human life the people valued none higher than their freedom. When the festive games were over, immense crowds gathered round their liberator, garlands of flowers were showered upon him from all sides, and the pressure was so great that even his life was in danger.

Flamininus and his army remained in Peloponnesus for some years, partly for the purpose of observing the movements of the Aetolians and of Antiochus, and partly for the purpose of regulating, in conjunction with ten Roman commissioners, the affairs of Greece. Corinth was restored to the Achaeans, but the Romans kept possession of the fortresses of Acrocorinthus, Chalcis, and Demetrias, until matters with Antiochus should be settled. Thessaly became an independent republic : the Orestians, who inhabited a part of Macedonia, from which they had revolted, received a republican constitution. Euboea, Phocis, Ambracia, Phthiotis, and Athens, likewise became republics : and Elis, Messenia, and Laconia, independent states. Athens further

obtained the sovereignty of Delos, Paros, and Scyros. Some symptoms of the evil policy of Rome, however, appeared in the fact, that Eumenes, the son of Attalus, was left in possession of Aegina, and also received the towns of Oreum and Eretria: it was the same selfish and dishonest policy which, in B.C. 195, after war had been decreed against Nabis the cruel tyrant of Sparta, and after Flamininus had compelled him to surrender Argos, led the Romans to conclude a peace with him, by which he was allowed to retain his dominions, in order that the Achaeans might always have an enemy in their immediate neighbourhood. Greece thus could not enjoy any long and refreshing peace. It cannot be denied, for the subsequent history proves it incontestably, that Rome fostered dissensions among the Greeks, in order that it might have opportunities of acting as arbitrator among them: a Roman party also was gradually formed in many parts of Greece, which was busily engaged in furthering the schemes of Rome, the influence of which soon became visible throughout the country. In addition to this, the Romans knew well that there was no reason for fearing too great unanimity among the Greeks, or any hearty or permanent co-operation of the different states. In the summer of B.C. 194, Flamininus, having completed his regulations in Greece, returned to Rome in triumph.

Antiochus had formed an alliance with Philip as early as B.C. 202, in consequence of which he had made himself master of the possessions of Egypt in western Asia. He afterwards invaded Asia Minor; but at the time when Flamininus proclaimed the independence of Greece, it was demanded by the Romans that Antiochus too should restore freedom to all the Greek cities in Asia; but he replied that the Romans had no right to interfere in the affairs of Asia. After having spent the winter at Ephesus, he advanced in B.C. 196 as far as the Hellespont, and took possession of the Thracian Chersonesus, which he claimed on the ground of its having been conquered by one of his ancestors. He there fortified the deserted town of Lysimachia, an act which

still more provoked the jealousy of the Romans. They declared to him, several times, that every attempt on his part to make conquests in Europe would be looked upon as an act of hostility towards Rome.

While these things were going on in the east, Hannibal had been obliged to quit his country in B.C. 196,³ partly in consequence of the intrigues of Rome, and partly through the hostility of the party opposed to him and his family, which he had exasperated by the abolition of a number of abuses in the administration of his country. He had introduced a series of salutary reforms, by which he hoped to restore Carthage to strength and vigour; but his plans were thwarted, and he now took refuge in the kingdom of Antiochus, whom he endeavoured to inspire with courage to carry on the war against Rome with vigour and energy, and for that purpose to enter into an alliance with Egypt and Macedonia. It was fortunate for Rome that Antiochus was not able to appreciate the advice which the great Carthaginian gave him, and was even led to suspect his honesty. These circumstances, and the fact that the Romans were at that time engaged in Spain and against the Boians and Insubrians in the north of Italy, delayed the outbreak of the war for some years. In B.C. 193, the Aetolians, dissatisfied in the highest degree with the results of the war of the Romans against Philip, and disappointed in their hope of the rewards which they thought they had a right to expect,⁴ invited Antiochus to come over into Greece. They imagined that with the assistance of a king whose empire extended from the Hellespont to the frontiers of India, no power would be able to resist them. Antiochus himself was a haughty and presumptuous man, who by no means deserves the surname of Great with which history has honoured him; and his empire, though immense in extent, was as weak as that of the Persians had been of old. The Greek colonies in Asia also had become effeminate and unwarlike.

³ Corn. Nep. *Hannib.* 7. Livy, xxxiii. 45, places the flight of Hannibal one year later.
⁴ Polyb. xviii. 28.

In the same year, B.C. 192, in which Antiochus, on the invitation of the Aetolians, crossed over into Europe, and but a short time before his arrival in Greece, the Romans, under C. Flaminius, in conjunction with the Achaeans, and for their protection, carried on a war against Nabis of Sparta, who was defeated: the district of the Eleutherolacones was detached from Lacedaemon; and Nabis was to pay 400 talents by instalments of 50 talents in the course of eight years, and to restore Argos to the Achaeans. The feeling of the Greeks towards the Romans was, in many parts of the country, very hostile, although the Roman garrisons were now withdrawn from the three fortresses of Acrocorinthus, Chalcis, and Demetrias: all Greece was, in fact, divided into two parties, the one being against, and the other in favour of Rome; nay, there was scarcely one province in Greece in which the people were honestly attached to Rome, and all would, perhaps, have openly declared against her, had it not been repugnant to their feelings to make common cause with the Aetolians. Under such circumstances Antiochus landed at Demetrias in Thessaly with a small army, for he had been too impatient to wait for the arrival of his forces from the interior of Asia. From Demetrias he proceeded to Euboea, where he took possession of the fortified towns. In Boeotia, where the feeling against Rome was strongest, his arrival was hailed with the greatest enthusiasm. But both Antiochus and the Aetolians soon found themselves disappointed in their expectations; for the Aetolians had hoped that the king would land in Greece with an overwhelming army, and the king had anticipated that he should be supported by the Aetolians with greater forces than they had at their command: the hope of a general rise of the Greeks, which the Aetolians had also held out to Antiochus, was not realised, although the king penetrated into Thessaly and Acarnania. In B.C. 191, the consul M'. Acilius Glabrio advanced into Thessaly; and, having united his forces with those of Philip, proceeded southward. Antiochus and the Aetolians retreated to Thermopylae. The Aetolians occupied the heights; but no

sooner were they chased from their position by the legate M. Porcius Cato, than the whole army of Antiochus took to flight. The king made for Chalcis, where he had spent the preceding winter in sensual pleasures. But he soon quitted that place also, and returned to Asia Minor, where he gave orders for a general levy throughout his vast empire.

In consequence of the failure at Thermopylae, the Aetolians were obliged to sue for peace, which was willingly granted to them by the Romans, because they were anxious to secure themselves in their rear, that they might be able to prosecute the war against Antiochus in Asia without being disturbed by the hostilities of the Aetolians. Philip was accordingly ordered to abstain from hostilities against them, in order that he too might have no pretext for extending his influence or dominion in Greece. He, therefore, returned to Macedonia; and not taking any part in the war against Antiochus, made some conquests in Athamania and in the country of the Dolopians.

Antiochus thought himself perfectly safe in Asia, and it was only on the suggestion of Hannibal that he kept possession of the Thracian Chersonesus. Meantime, a Roman fleet, about half of which was furnished by the Rhodians, was cruising in the Aegean. Hannibal was intrusted with the command of a Phoenician fleet, but was unable to join that of Antiochus, which was commanded by Polyxenidas. The Romans, who were further assisted by king Eumenes of Pergamus, gained a victory over the fleet of Antiochus, and destroyed nearly the whole of it. Antiochus, who was thrown into the utmost consternation by this defeat, gave up the Chersonesus, and the fortresses of Lysimachia, Sestos, and Abydos, with all the ammunition and provisions which they contained, and retreated to Sardes, where he spent the winter. The Roman consuls of the year B.C. 190 were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Laelius. The former, a brother of the conqueror of Hannibal, though he had as yet given little proof of any extraordinary talent, obtained the command against Antiochus through the influence of his brother, who, in order to make up

for the deficiency of Lucius, accompanied him to Asia in the subordinate capacity of legate. The Scipios arrived in Asia with an army of about 20,000 men, while that of Antiochus consisted of 70,000: no sooner had the Romans landed, than they were met by the ambassadors of the king to sue for peace; but as the haughty Syrian refused to accept the terms proposed by Scipio, the matter was left to the decision of a battle, which was fought in the neighbourhood of Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus. The motley host of Antiochus, notwithstanding his elephants and the Macedonian phalanx, was unable to resist the Roman legions; and the latter gained a decisive victory. They were commanded by L. Scipio alone, his brother being either ill, or unwilling to take part in the contest, and Lucius thus gained for himself the honourable surname of Asiaticus. Antiochus fled to Syria, and sent ambassadors to the Roman consul to sue for peace, which was granted to him on the following terms, which, however, were not ratified at Rome till the year B.C. 188: Antiochus was to give up to Rome all his dominions in Asia Minor west of Mount Taurus; to abstain from interfering with the affairs of the Roman allies in Europe; to give up all his ships of war and to retain not more than ten merchant vessels; to keep no elephants; to raise no mercenaries in any of the countries allied with Rome; to pay down 2500 talents at once, and 12,000 more by instalments of 1000 a year; to deliver up Hannibal, Thoas, and other enemies of Rome who had taken refuge in his dominions; and lastly to give his younger son Antiochus as a hostage to the Romans. All these conditions were complied with; but Hannibal escaped, and continued for some years longer to be Rome's formidable enemy. When the king had consented to these terms, L. Scipio went into winter quarters at Magnesia, on the Maeander.

The power of the Syrian empire was thus broken for ever: it was weakened, not only by the loss of the countries which it had been obliged to give up, but by the relation of dependence into which it entered with Rome; for just as Carthage had

an ever-watchful and treacherous neighbour in Masinissa, so Antiochus was under the vigilant eye of Eumenes of Pergamus and the Rhodians, both of whom were always ready to further the ambitious ends of Rome. Eumenes was rewarded, for the services he had rendered to the Romans, with the Thracian Chersonesus, Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and the towns of Ephesus, Tralles, and Telmessus: a few of the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor were honoured with immunities, and an increase of their territories; and the Rhodians received Lycia and Caria as far as the river Maeander.⁵ As yet the Romans would rather give away kingdoms than rule over them: they were satisfied with the feeling that they were the conquerors, and had fought (such was their vaunting pretence) for the independence of their allies, and of the Greeks. In B.C. 189, the year after the conclusion of the peace, the consul Cn. Manlius Vulso succeeded Scipio in Asia, while his colleague, M. Fulvius, went into Aetolia, the western parts of the empire being now in a state of comparative peace. The Aetolians endeavoured to make amends for their conduct; for they had shown hostile feelings towards Rome ever since the battle of Cynoscephalae, when they were disappointed in not receiving the rewards which they had anticipated for having decided the contest between Rome and Macedonia;⁶ but it was in vain that they reminded Rome of the services which they had rendered to her in former times; it was not till they had sent three different embassies that peace was granted to them, at the time when M. Fulvius was besieging Ambracia. The Romans were then prevailed upon by the mediation of the Rhodians, and especially by the eloquence of the Athenian Leon. The terms of the peace were as follow: the Aetolians recognised the majesty of the Roman people; they were to regard the enemies of Rome as their own; they were not to allow an army of any enemy of the Roman allies to pass through their country; and they were to pay down at once 200 talents, and 300 more by annual instalments of 50.

⁵ Liv. xxxviii. 38, &c.; Polyb. *Excerpt. de Leg.* xxiv.

⁶ See p. 329.

While M. Fulvius was thus engaged in Aetolia, his colleague, Manlius Vulso, anxious to do something from which he might derive fame and wealth, made a campaign against the Galatians in Phrygia, a part of which country bore the name of Galatia, or Gallo-Graecia, where those Gallic tribes had been settled for nearly a century. During the period of their settlement in Asia, these Gauls had amassed immense wealth by their predatory excursions, and had almost become Hellenized, though they still remained very warlike. In alliance with Antiochus, they had attacked Eumenes; and even after the peace of Rome with Antiochus, they continued their hostilities. The war which Manlius Vulso carried on against them inflicted great sufferings upon the inhabitants of Asia Minor. After a severe defeat which the Galatians sustained near Mount Olympus, in Mysia, they were chased by their conquerors as far as the river Halys. They then sued for peace, which they obtained, on condition of their abstaining from predatory excursions, and, keeping quiet within their own territory. From this time forward the Galatians lived in perfect submission to Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who likewise dreaded an attack of the Romans, sent the sum of 200 talents along with his request for peace, which he thus obtained at a far cheaper price than he must otherwise have paid for it.

While the Romans had thus been extending their power in the east with gigantic strides, peace had been disturbed in the north of Italy by the Ligurians, Insubrians, and Boians, who had been stirred up by a Carthaginian of the name of Hamilcar. The war against them began as early as B.C. 200, and lasted for many years; but its history is very obscure. Many a small but bloody battle was fought; for the Ligurian tribes, although poor, defended themselves with such determination, that the Romans had no choice, but were obliged either to extirpate or expel them from their mountains. The Romans gained numerous victories, and many a triumph was celebrated; but it was not till B.C. 181 that the consuls, P. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Baebius Tamphilus

who marched against the Ligurians with an army of 50,000 men, compelled them to submit to Rome, when a portion of them, the Apuanian Ligurians, with their wives and children, were transplanted to Samnium. In the course of this war the colonies of Placentia and Cremona were entirely destroyed, and the towns which had been inhabited by the Boians experienced a similar fate, so that in after times scarcely their sites were known. The whole people of the Boians seems to have been extirpated, and their country was thenceforth occupied by the colonies of Bononia, Modena, Parma, Lucca, and others.

After the brilliant campaign of P. Scipio in Spain, the departure of Mago, and the surrender of Gades in B.C. 205, the dominion of Rome seemed to be finally established in Spain. The Romans kept a standing army there, which usually consisted of two legions, for the purpose of securing the submission of the Spaniards, attempts to shake off the Roman dominion still continuing to be made from time to time. Indibilis, a chief of the Ilargetes, and one of the most powerful men in Spain, who had before been in alliance with the Romans, revolted in B.C. 205, immediately after the departure of Scipio; but the insurgent was defeated in a pitched battle, and peace was restored for a time. Afterwards, when the Romans were engaged against the Ligurians and Macedonians, that is, subsequently to B.C. 197, the state of affairs in Spain again became unsettled, until order was restored in B.C. 195, by the consul M. Porcius Cato, who won the hearts and confidence of the Spaniards by the justice with which he acted towards them; but what he gained by his humanity and justice he also secured by his deep cunning. Most of the Spanish towns being strongly fortified, Cato is said to have sent circulars to the magistrates of a large number of towns, with orders not to open them before a certain day appointed by him. Each circular contained a command to raze to the ground the walls of the town to which it had been addressed, and threatened the disobedient with the severest punishments. As there was no time for the towns-people to communicate with one another, and as the inha-

bitants of each place believed that they only had received the command, all obeyed, and when they learned the truth it was too late, for the work of destruction was done.⁷ Thenceforth the Spaniards continued to live in peace, until they were provoked by the faithlessness, cruelty, and avarice of their Roman governors. In B.C. 181 a great war broke out, in which the Spaniards were joined by the Celtiberians; but though the Romans gained several victories, still the Spaniards were never completely reduced, till in B.C. 179, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the two great tribunes, concluded treaties of peace with some of the Spanish tribes, the terms of which were so honourable and fair, that the people, with the greatest willingness, laid down their arms. With that kindness and humanity which form so striking a feature in the character of the family of the Gracchi, he gave settlements and homes to the poor among the Spaniards, and conferred such substantial benefits upon them, that for many years his name was remembered among them with the deepest gratitude.

The establishment of a Roman colony at Aquileia, in Istria, provoked the Istrians to a determined resistance. They dreaded the loss of their independence, and in B.C. 178, a war with them broke out, which, however, did not last much longer than one year; for after three of their towns were destroyed, and their king had fallen, they submitted to Rome, in B.C. 177. About the same time Sardinia and Corsica revolted, and showed a desperate determination not to yield; but the Sardinians were subdued by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, and the immense number of prisoners that were sold as slaves is said to have given rise to the proverbial expression *Sardi venales*.

After the peace with Antiochus, Hannibal had escaped to Prusias, king of Bithynia, a cunning and greedy but cowardly prince, who was then at war with Eumenes, and whom Hannibal endeavoured to stir up to energetic measures. The Romans well knew that, so long as Hannibal was alive, it was in vain to hope for peace in the east; when, therefore, his influence became

⁷ Liv. xxxiv. 17; Appian, *De Reb. Hisp.* 41

known at Rome, ambassadors were sent into Asia, and among them C. Flaminius, to demand of Prusias his surrender. The timid king refused to deliver him up indeed, but told the ambassadors where they might seize him. When the Romans had surrounded his house, and he saw that escape was impossible, he took poison, which he had carried about him for some time, for he foresaw what would be his fate. Thus died one of the greatest men of all ages, B.C. 183.⁸

His conqueror, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, died about the same time. He was accused, in B.C. 187, by M. Porcius Cato, who hated the whole family of the Scipios because they were fond of Greek manners and the Greek mode of living, of having embezzled part of the money which had been paid by Antiochus; he was called upon to answer the charge before the senate, and to state why he had not rendered an account of the money that had been taken in the war against the Syrian king. The day appointed for this purpose was the anniversary of the battle of Zama: Scipio summoned the people to the Capitol, to offer thanks to Jupiter, and said that the day was ill suited for litigation. The multitude joyfully accompanied him, and his accusers did not afterwards renew their attacks. But Scipio soon left Rome, and died in his villa at Liternum, perhaps in the same year in which Hannibal died.⁹ The people for many generations believed that his spirit had soared up to the abodes of the gods, and that a serpent of supernatural size guarded the access to his tomb, which was shaded by a myrtle. Lucius Scipio was also involved in the charge which had been brought against his brother Publius. Lucius had been willing to defend himself by producing his account-books; but Publius snatched them from his hands, declaring that it was improper to annoy for a trifling sum a man who had conferred such benefits on the state. Lucius was never-

⁸ The year of his death however is uncertain, for some of the ancients placed it one or two years later. See Corn. Nep. *Hannib.* 13; Liv. xxxix. 56, comp. with 51.

⁹ Some place Scipio's death in A.C. 185, others in A.C. 187, others again in A.C. 183. See Liv. xxxix. 52; comp. xxxviii. 50, &c.; Cic. *De Senect.* 6

theless condemned, and his property confiscated. He bore his misfortune with truly Roman greatness and resignation. His innocence was afterwards established, and prosperity seemed once more to dawn upon him ; but he did not live to enjoy it long, for he died in B.C. 185. Two of the greatest Romans thus disappeared from the stage of history about the same time : the influence they had exercised upon their age was great for evil as for good, although the former did not show its fruits immediately. It is now time to cast a glance at the state of morality among the Romans, and at their progress in arts and literature.

CHAPTER XIX.

MORALITY AND MANNERS OF THE ROMANS—THE ARTS AND LITERATURE.

It is a general belief, among both ancient and modern writers, that after the victories over Macedonia and Antiochus, the love of luxuries, and all the vices that accompany avarice and rapacity, broke in upon the Romans with irresistible force. That at this time these vices began to manifest themselves in all their hideousness, is indeed true enough; but those victories were not the cause of the evil; they only afforded a favourable opportunity for developing that of which the causes lay much deeper. One of the main causes was the general demoralisation which had been brought about by the almost uninterrupted, cruel, and destructive wars. The poor had become utterly impoverished: a middle class scarcely existed at all, and the wealthy had amassed enormous riches, the spoils of conquered nations. Of the treasures conveyed to Rome we may form a notion from the fact, that P. Cornelius Scipio could speak of the sum of 36,000*l.*, which he was charged with having appropriated to himself, as a trifle.¹ The enormous wealth which some of the Romans had acquired suddenly, and without much labour, produced the same effects among them as money generally has upon persons who unexpectedly become rich, without being previously accustomed to the uses of money. Accordingly, the enjoyments which the Romans now sought, and in which they attempted to imitate their Greek neighbours, were of a coarse and vulgar kind: the ancient simplicity and frugality of their mode of living were

¹ Liv. xxxviii. 55; Gellius, iv. 18, vii. 19; Diodor. *Fragm. Vatic.* p. 78, ed. Dindorf.

abandoned, and they addicted themselves to disgusting gluttony and debauchery. A slave, who was a good cook, now fetched a higher price in the market than any other slave.² Splendid buildings began to be erected, and luxuries of every description found their way into Rome, supplanting the rustic simplicity of former times. As early as B.C. 215, the tribune C. Oppius had found it necessary to restrain the extravagant luxuries of the Roman women of rank, by an enactment forbidding any woman to wear more than half an ounce of gold, to wear any gay-coloured dress, to ride either at Rome or in any other town and its immediate vicinity in a carriage drawn by two horses, except on great religious occasions.³ Twenty years later, in B.C. 195, the women became very clamorous about this law, and demanded its repeal: it was in vain that Cato, then consul, in a speech addressed to the people, endeavoured to convince them of the salutary nature of the law; its abolition was at once effected by the exertions of the women. A general licentiousness and moral depravity, especially among females, became still more manifest about nine years later, when it was discovered that the orgies of Bacchus had been introduced into Rome from southern Italy, and were celebrated at night with the grossest violations of all decorum and morality. A strict inquiry was made into the matter: the guilty were punished, and a decree of the senate forbade, under the severest penalties, the solemnisation of these orgies, both at Rome and throughout Italy.⁴ Another example of the morality of these times was exhibited, in B.C. 192, by the consul L. Quinctius Flaminius, the brother of the conqueror of Macedonia. While he was encamped in Cisalpine Gaul, he had with him a Carthaginian youth, to whom he had become attached in a most unnatural manner, and who often lamented that he had never seen a gladiatorial exhibition. Flaminius soon found an opportunity of gratifying the brutal curiosity of the youth, for

² *Liv.* xxxix. 6.

³ *Liv.* xxxiv. 1.

⁴ *Liv.* xxxix. 18; *Valer. Maxim.* vi. 3 sec. 7. A brazen table contain-

ing the decree of the senate was discovered in 1640 at Bari, in southern Italy, and is at present preserved in the imperial museum of Vienna.

one day, while they were feasting in their tent, there came a noble Boian, who with his children took refuge in the consul's camp. Flaminius asked his contemptible favourite, whether he would like to see a Gaul dying, and scarcely had the youth answered in the affirmative, when Flaminius struck the Boian's head with his sword. When the unfortunate man staggered out of the tent to implore the mercy of others, Flaminius ran him through with his sword. No notice was taken of the occurrence, until the year B.C. 184, when Cato, in his censorship, most unsparingly attacked Flaminius for his brutal conduct on this and other occasions, and expelled him from the senate. It must not, however, be supposed that such moral depravity was as yet very general; for the cases which we have noticed are rather symptoms of what was quietly developing itself, than types of the general character of the age, since even fifty years later Polybius saw so much that was excellent in the character of the Romans that he placed them far above his own countrymen. Nevertheless, embezzlement of the public money, extortions in the provinces, and acts of wanton violence, now began to be of common occurrence.

Cato was at this time a singular phenomenon: he was a true representative of the good old times. It was now customary for Romans of rank and education to derive their manners and literary tastes from the Greeks; but Cato formed an exception to this rule, for he despised the Greeks as a corrupt and effeminate race, and it was not till he was far advanced in years that he made himself acquainted with their language and literature. He displayed the greatest activity in all departments of life, both public and private; and there is scarcely one in which he was not great. But all his exertions to stop the current of corruption, and to restore the times of which he himself was a living example, were useless, as isolated attempts under similar circumstances necessarily are. It has been supposed that his conduct was in a great measure mere affectation, but there is no evidence for such an opinion: he was an ancient Roman in the fullest sense of the

word, bent upon seeing the sovereignty of his country established everywhere; and his somewhat rough and uncouth manners formed a strange contrast with the foreign customs adopted by his contemporaries.

With regard to religion, superstition of a very gross kind was still one of the principal features in the character of the Romans, though it was at one time more prominent than at others. Even human sacrifices were not entirely abolished. The auguries and auspices, a welcome leading-string for the people in the hands of the high magistrates of the republic, continued to be observed as before, and exercised the greatest influence upon all public affairs; but the ancient piety and reverence for the gods gradually disappeared, and the sacrifices and festivals, which had formerly been celebrated in honour of the gods with rustic simplicity, were now regarded chiefly as amusements and shows for the multitude, and became more pompous as the people became more accustomed to splendour and magnificence. The higher and educated class began to show symptoms of scepticism, and a disbelief in the efficacy of the religious rites; and after this time we not unfrequently meet with instances of an open disregard of the ordinances of religion. The Greek worship had gradually become established at Rome as in the rest of Italy, and the ancient gods of the land were forgotten, or identified with those imported from abroad.

There is good reason for believing that the Romans, and Italians generally, were acquainted with the arts and literature of the Greeks, long before any conquests had been made beyond the Adriatic. This is evident from the works of art that have been and are still discovered in Umbria and Etruria, and from the remains of theatres, such as that of Tusculum, which, it is probable, was built long before the second Punic war, and which implies the performance of dramas of either Greek or Italian growth. But the first symptoms of the dawn of a Latin literature did not appear until about the time of the first Punic war. The first productions were translations almost servile, or imitations

of Greek models. A national literature, such as might be considered the spontaneous and peculiar growth of the Roman mind, was never developed at Rome; its elements, indeed, existed, but the predominant influence which Greek literature acquired among the Romans prevented their combination. The ancient Roman poetry, of which only a faint echo has reached our times, and its old-fashioned Saturnian metre, fell into oblivion from the time that Q. Ennius (born in B.C. 239) introduced the Greek hexameter into Latium. The influence exerted by the example of Ennius was supported by the strong predilection which all the illustrious Romans, as for example the Scipios, had for everything Greek, and the rapid increase of which the patriotic spirit of a Cato, who looked upon this foreign influence as dangerous to both public and private virtue, was unable to check. A new channel was thus opened for poetry among the Romans, and the ancient one was abandoned and forgotten.

The earliest Latin poet that we meet with is Livius Andronicus. He is said to have been a native of Tarentum, who was carried to Rome as a slave, but was afterwards emancipated. He made an abridgment of the Homeric *Odyssey* in the Saturnian metre, and composed tragedies, which, like the *Atellanae* or ancient national comedies of the Italians, were performed on scaffoldings in the Circus. These dramas, however, the first of which was produced at Rome in B.C. 240, were imitations of Greek models.⁵ Cn. Naevius, who served in the first Punic war, and seems to have been a poet of great talent, wrote comedies and tragedies of a similar kind, as well as a poem on the first Punic war in the ancient metre.⁶ He died in B.C. 203, in exile at Utica, because he had offended some Roman nobles, especially the family of the *Metelli*.⁷ Q. Ennius, who was born at Rudiae, near Tarentum, in B.C. 239, wrote tragedies and comedies, and a work in hexameter verse called *Annales*, in which he related the events of

⁵ Cicero, *Brut.* 18, *De Senect.* 14;
Gellius, xvii. 21.

⁶ Gellius, *l. c.*, v. 12.
⁷ Cicero, *Brut.* 15.

Roman history from the earliest times, but more particularly the war against Hannibal, which occupied the greater part of the poem. He was a Roman citizen, and lived on terms of intimacy with his most distinguished contemporaries. M. Accius Plautus, born at Sarsinae in Umbria in B.C. 227, gained the greatest eminence as a comic poet and actor: his twenty plays, still extant, are free imitations of the Greek comic writers; they abound in wit; his characters are drawn in a masterly manner; and the plot is always managed with the greatest skill and cleverness. Plautus has often been undervalued, but a sound and unbiassed critical examination has shown, and ever will show, that he was one of the few real poetical geniuses of whom Rome can boast. M. Pacuvius, a nephew of Ennius, was born at Tarentum, in B.C. 221: he likewise distinguished himself in dramatic poetry, in which he took Aeschylus and Sophocles for his models. Terentius, who was born in B.C. 195, and whose most active period accordingly belongs to a somewhat later time than that of which we are now speaking, was a worthy successor of Plautus. He is said to have been a Carthaginian slave, but to have been restored to freedom by his Roman master. It is certain that he became the intimate friend of P. Cornelius Scipio the younger, and of C. Laelius, and that he produced a number of comedies, which though inferior to those of Plautus in wit and originality, are refined and tasteful imitations of the works of Menander and other Greek poets. If to these names we add those of other poets whose productions may have been of less merit, and are now lost, such as Caecilius Statius, Afranius, L. Attius, and L. Pomponius, it must be owned that during the period after the first Punic war, poetry, and more especially the drama, was at Rome thriving most luxuriantly, while in Greece real poetry was fast dying away. But these splendid beginnings did not lead to any great results, for the Romans, generally speaking, remained mere imitators of the Greeks; their ordinary pursuits of war led them to admire the gladiatorial games of the Circus, more than the sublime conceptions

of the dramatic muse, whence tragedy never acquired any popularity among the Romans.

The earliest Latin prose writers were chroniclers or annalists, who related the history of their country, from year to year, with little regard to any internal connection among the events, and probably with still less attention to beauty of style in their narrations. The first we meet with is Q. Fabius Pictor, a Roman senator, who distinguished himself, in B.C. 225, in the war against the Gauls, and was sent as ambassador to Delphi in the second Punic war. He is frequently censured by Polybius for his partiality towards his native country. Many of his successors, such as L. Cincius Alimentus, Numerius Fabius Pictor, Albinus, Cn. Aufidius, wrote their annals in the Greek language, probably with the view of rendering them intelligible to the Greeks, and proving to them that the history of Rome was not unworthy of their attention. The first who raised the art of historical composition to something like the dignity which ought to characterise it, was the indefatigable M. Cato, who wrote a work entitled "Origines," containing a history of Rome and Italy, in which he gave an account of the origin of the various cities of Italy. It carried the history down to the year B.C. 150. This work, with those of the earlier chroniclers, is unfortunately lost; all of them that has come down to us consists of a few isolated fragments.

The cultivation of public oratory is inseparably connected with a free government: it was therefore practised at Rome from very early times; but the science of the art did not keep pace with its practical application to the purposes of public life, since it was to Greek rhetoricians that the Romans applied for the principles of oratory. These Greek rhetoricians were very popular at Rome, although they were regarded by the government, and by a few men of the old school, as persons who corrupted the stern virtues of the Romans. The same class of foreigners gave to the Romans a taste for philosophical speculation also; and when, in B.C. 155, the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome,

consisting of the three philosophers, Carneades, Diogenes, and Critolaus, their influence became so great with the young nobles, that Cato carried a decree ordering them forthwith to quit the city. But their removal could not prevent the study of philosophy; and the doctrines of the Stoics gradually acquired considerable influence over the best men of the republic, while those of the Epicureans found zealous advocates among persons of rank and wealth.

Legal knowledge and skill form one of the characteristics of the Romans, from the earliest down to the latest times. Jurisprudence was cultivated by all their statesmen, in connection with their offices in the state, the duties of which they could not have discharged without an accurate knowledge of legal and constitutional affairs; and every educated Roman youth learned by heart the laws of the twelve tables, the groundwork of the whole Roman law. The medical art seems to have been originally confined to surgery, and the practices of the priests of Aesculapius; but in B.C. 219, the Greek physician, Archagathus, came to Rome and there established the first medical shop (*medicina*), with baths and wards, to which the sick resorted for the purchase of their medicines.* The shops of the physicians, like those of the barbers, were the common resorts for loungers of every description, who there assembled and talked over the news of the day. Astronomy had been studied chiefly for superstitious purposes, but the most remarkable phenomena of the heavens seem to have been recorded from early times. The most ancient account of an eclipse of the moon being predicted with accuracy occurs in the year B.C. 168, just before the battle of Pydna. It was foretold by C. Sulpicius Gallus, a man very familiar with Greek learning and literature, who announced it in order that the soldiers might not be frightened by its occurrence.

The love of works of art had by this time greatly increased among the Romans; nevertheless, Rome cannot boast of having ever produced an artist that could be compared with any of the

* Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxix. 6.

great masters in Greece, except, perhaps, in the department of architecture. As Roman painters of some celebrity, we may mention Fabius Pictor, and the poet Pacuvius. The fondness of the Romans for the arts was chiefly displayed in their carrying to Rome and to their villas whatever they could collect in the conquered countries, which they deprived, not only of their freedom, but also of their ornaments. When we trace these robberies, in which the most splendid productions of Grecian art were dragged to Rome from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor, and then remember the barbarous conduct of some of the Roman conquerors, who, far from having any sense or appreciation of the precious treasures they were amassing, treated them in a manner worthy only of barbarians, mistaking tasteless pomp and gorgeous display for taste and refinement, we may indeed wonder at the overwhelming power of Rome, before which every other human power was obliged to bow; but we cannot help lamenting the fate of the nations that had to bear the yoke of such rulers; the only consolation is, the thought that without Rome's intervention, still fewer remnants of ancient art would have reached our time, and that this was the chosen way of Providence, through which a better state of things was gradually prepared.

The Romans never were a commercial nation, but as their population and dominion, and, along with them, their wants and luxuries also, increased, the number of merchants, and the extent of their transactions, must have increased in proportion. In the earliest times all commerce and trade had been left to the clients, slaves, and foreigners, as such occupations were thought degrading to a Roman citizen; but about the time of the second Punic war, and afterwards, persons even of the highest rank, more especially the equites, did not scruple to engage in extensive commercial enterprises. The equites were, for the most part, wealthy capitalists; they carried on usury in the provinces, where their profits were much larger than at Rome, because the rate of interest in the former was not regulated by any law: in like manner they purchased corn in distant countries and carried it to Rome,

where they sold it often at a very high price. Even Cato, who was otherwise a zealous upholder of the ancient Roman manners, is said to have carried on a lucrative trade in well-trained slaves. But, notwithstanding all this, trade, and more especially all retail trade, continued to be looked upon as unworthy of a Roman, and remained, on the whole, in the hands of the lower classes, especially of foreigners and slaves.

Agriculture, which had been the foundation of Rome's greatness, remained for a long time the only honourable occupation of free-born Romans; but by-and-by they were taught by their foreign conquests that it was easier to enrich themselves by the plunder of war than by toil and labour in the field. Hence the ancient pursuits were gradually abandoned to slaves, who now cultivated the extensive estates of their masters, and rendered it impossible for the small landowners, who had been a most useful and respectable body of men, to compete with them. This change in the mode of life was also one of the principal causes of the decline and corruption of manners, which ever since the time of the first Punic war had become more and more depraved. The numerous laws that were enacted after that war, for the purpose of enforcing a better moral conduct, are a sufficient proof that corruption was spreading, even if there were no other evidence. The manners of the people, indeed, became, in some measure, polished and refined by their intercourse with the Greeks, but that refinement was mere outward tinsel, for in spirit the Romans became only more barbarous, greedy, and cruel, by the succession of prosperous wars. At home, the same spirit was fostered by the frequent gladiatorial exhibitions, which were introduced in B.C. 264 and rapidly increasing in popularity, became an ordinary amusement at the burial of wealthy persons, even of women. Such funeral games were usually combined with feasting the people, a distribution of meat or corn being made among them.⁹ The new refinement manifested itself chiefly in the effeminacy of private life, in indulgence in Greek and Asiatic

⁹ Liv. xli. 28.

luxuries, in costliness of dresses, in the number and quality of slaves, in precious furniture and the luxuries of the table; in all which the Romans indulged as much as barbarians usually do when once they become acquainted with the manners of civilised life. On the other hand, avarice and prodigality, and cruelty towards conquered nations and slaves, increased no less among private persons than in the government; yet Livy says¹⁰ that all this was scarcely the first symptom of the future corruption.

¹⁰ xxxix. 6.

CHAPTER XX.

WARS AGAINST PERSEUS OF MACEDONIA AND GENTHIUS, KING OF ILLYRICUM
—AEMILIUS PAULUS IN GREECE AND EPIRUS—ROME'S CONDUCT TO-
WARDS EGYPT AND RHODES, AND HER RELATION TO OTHER STATES
—EVENTS DOWN TO THE BREAKING OUT OF THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

IN the meantime things had been going on in Greece which again brought Rome and Macedonia into hostile collision. As long as the Romans were engaged against Antiochus, and in want of assistance, they treated Philip of Macedonia with apparent liberality, though in fact they never trusted him; and he, on the other hand, being well aware of the nature of Roman policy, made great exertions to revive and increase the power of his kingdom. He was the more active in this respect, as he did not derive from the Syrian war the advantages which he had expected. In Thessaly and Athamania he made some conquests; and he increased his army beyond what was permitted by the terms of his peace with Rome. The Romans at first connived at these proceedings, but at the same time contrived in secret to prepare the way for his destruction. The Greek cities in Thrace, of which Philip had made himself master, and the timid Eumenes of Pergamus, sent embassies to Rome, in B.C. 182, to complain of the king's conduct. Their appearance was very welcome to the Romans, and commissioners were forthwith despatched to inquire into Philip's proceedings. They treated him in a very humiliating manner, and ordered him to evacuate all places beyond the ancient boundaries of his kingdom.¹ Philip, exasperated at this command, told the Romans, that as justice

¹ Liv. xxix. 23, &c.; Polyb. xxiii. 4.

could not be obtained from them he should be obliged to seek it by other means. The Roman senate now openly and gladly listened to any charges against the king, whom they regarded as an obstinate horse that must be compelled to obey by severer means than the bit. But in order to avert the danger which threatened to burst upon him before he was sufficiently prepared, Philip sent his younger son, Demetrius, a noble youth of very captivating manners, to effect a peaceable settlement of the disputes. Demetrius gained his end, but the Romans treacherously availed themselves of his presence to excite jealousy, envy, and hostility, between him and his elder brother Perseus, who was the son of Philip by a concubine. By the distinctions and favours shown to his brother, Perseus, a man of an angry and mistrustful disposition, was easily induced to bring calumnious accusations against him before his father. Philip, being thus deceived, was reluctantly prevailed upon to get rid of Demetrius, by causing him to be poisoned at Heraclea; but three years afterwards, in B.C. 179, he himself weighed down by grief for the loss of his son, died at the age of about 60 years: and his kingdom, stronger and more powerful than it had been for a long time, passed into the hands of Perseus.

The Roman senate recognised him as king, and renewed with him the treaty which had been concluded with his father. But Perseus hated the Romans as cordially as his father did. In talent he was much inferior to Philip: his besetting sin was avarice, and it was this which ultimately brought about his ruin. This vice did not at first appear in his character; he was even liberal and generous, and thereby succeeded in forming connections against the common enemy in Illyricum, Thrace, Syria, Bithynia, Epirus, and Thessaly. He negotiated moreover with Carthage, and intended to carry out a plan of his father's, to induce the Bastarnæ, a barbarous nation on the banks of the Danube, to invade Italy. Some of these connections were cemented by marriages; Perseus himself married a daughter of Seleucus the Fourth, and Prusias of Bithynia married a sister

of Perseus. The Greeks also began to look upon him as the man who was able to restore the Macedonian empire; and they were ready to assist him, if he would endeavour to drive the Romans from the countries east of the Adriatic, though as yet few ventured to declare openly for him, because their cities were closely watched by Roman emissaries, and, because in many places, such as Rhodes, the Roman party was more powerful than their adversaries. As Perseus was not allowed to keep a fleet, he made preparations for abandoning his maritime towns, and devoted all his attention to the increase of his finances, the strengthening of his land forces, and the filling of his arsenals with ammunition. If, with all his resources, Perseus had known how to keep the friends he had gained, and could have brought himself to part with the money which he had promised as subsidies to his allies, he might have succeeded in resisting the power of Rome for a long time. His failure in these respects made his fall inevitable.

Eumenes had, in the meantime, become alarmed at the growing power of Macedonia; and in B.C. 172 he went to Rome to direct the attention of the senate to the cause of his apprehension, while a Rhodian embassy endeavoured to represent Eumenes himself as aiming at the supremacy of all Asia. On his return from Rome an attack was made on his life in the neighbourhood of Delphi. As he was passing on a narrow foot-path along a precipice, some hidden persons rolled huge blocks of stone upon him from above. He was thrown down the precipice, and picked up almost lifeless, but he recovered, and returned to Asia by way of Corinth.² Perseus was suspected of having been the instigator of the attempt, but on being called upon to deliver up certain persons who enjoyed his especial favour and were believed to have been concerned in the affair, he not only asserted his innocence but refused to surrender his friends. These circumstances accelerated the outbreak of the war with Rome, which Perseus himself declared in B.C. 171. The Romans were not sufficiently prepared, and were taken by surprise; but still the

² Liv. xlii. 15; Appian, *De Reb. Maced.* p. 521, ed. Schweigh.

opportunity of overthrowing Macedonia, and of putting the countries east of the Adriatic on an entirely new footing, was highly welcome to them. The consul, P. Licinius Crassus, met Perseus and his army in Thessaly. The king showed great resolution, and refused the absolute submission which the consul demanded; for he relied upon the Greeks, nearly all of whom supported him, and were full of confidence in his success. Their insolence towards the Romans, in which they indulged on every occasion, was severely punished; many of the Greek maritime towns were destroyed, and their inhabitants sold as slaves. Rome's anticipations of this war, however, were not realised; instead of being able to put an end to it by a single campaign, as they had confidently hoped, it was protracted, and Perseus even gained some advantages over them: he might, in fact, have crushed them if he had been more active and circumspect. Eumenes seems to have despaired of the success of the Romans, for he entered into negotiations with Macedonia. The Bastarnæ had already set out on their expedition against Italy. Under these circumstances the Romans found it necessary to take more energetic measures, as the people began to be impatient of the protracted war. In B.C. 168, the aged L. Aemilius Paulus was raised to the consulship, and he, along with the prætor Cn. Octavius, set out without delay for his province of Macedonia. Near Pydna, on the 22d of June, was fought the decisive battle, which at once put an end to the kingdom of Macedonia. The contest was decided in a single hour: the infantry was cut to pieces, and the cavalry dispersed.

The defeated king, having lost all confidence, fled to the island of Samothrace, to seek an asylum in its inviolable sanctuary; but being overtaken by the prætor, Cn. Octavius, he surrendered. The unhappy king and his son afterwards adorned the triumph of Aemilius Paulus. Perseus died at Alba, where he was kept as a state prisoner; and his son is said to have earned his bread by practising the art of turning. L. Aemilius Paulus made a most cruel use of his victory. Macedonia was plundered, and ten

Roman commissioners were sent into the country to settle its affairs. It was declared free under the protectorate of Rome; but the terms imposed upon it were so hard, that this mock freedom ground down the people more effectually than slavery. The country was cut up into four districts, the inhabitants of one of which were not allowed to inter-marry with those of the others, or to acquire property in them; the gold and silver mines which had been worked vigorously ever since the time of Philip, were abandoned; the people were also prohibited from felling timber to build ships; so that the country gradually sank into a state of poverty and helplessness. Half the tribute which had been paid to the kings was thenceforth paid to Rome.

Genthius of Illyricum had provoked the Romans even before the outbreak of the war with Perseus, by the piracy which his subjects carried on in the Adriatic; but his alliance with Macedonia decided the outbreak of the third Illyrian war, especially as he had thrown into chains two Roman ambassadors whom he had taken prisoners in that part of Illyricum which was subject to Rome. The praetor, L. Anicius, undertook the command against him, and within thirty days the war was brought to a close. The country was cut up into three cantons, and governed in the same manner as Macedonia.

The cruelty of M. Aemilius Paulus, who is usually described as one of the noblest characters in Roman history, became manifest immediately after his victory over Perseus. From Macedonia he marched southward to settle the affairs of Greece. Everywhere, the party which espoused the cause of Rome received military reinforcements to crush their opponents. The Achaean league was required to pass a decree, that all who had supported Perseus should be put to death. The Achaeans reasonably demanded that the Romans should name the offenders; but this was refused, and the Romans insisted upon their demand: at length they condescended to make out a list of upwards of 1000 of the most illustrious Achaeans, who were to quit their country and to proceed to Italy, where their cause

was to be tried. One of these unfortunate men was Polybius the historian, who, however, by his talents and knowledge gained the friendship of the most distinguished Romans, and was thus placed in more favourable circumstances than his countrymen. On their arrival in Italy, they were not tried, as they had hoped to be, but were distributed among the towns of Etruria, and kept there as hostages for a period of sixteen years; and when in the seventeenth they were allowed to return to their country, their number had melted down to 300—a proof of the manner in which they had been treated by those who had promised to deal with them according to the principles of justice and equity.

Before L. Aemilius Paulus returned to Italy, he crowned all he had previously done, by punishing Epirus for what Italy had suffered from Pyrrhus more than a century before. Some of the Epirots had indeed ventured to take up arms against the Romans; but after the defeat of Perseus they remained perfectly submissive, and did not anticipate that the Romans would take vengeance upon them. Aemilius Paulus, however, in passing through their country on his return to Italy, took up his quarters among the Molossians, who were commanded, under penalty of death, to deliver up all their gold and silver. When this was done, and the defenceless people now fancied themselves in perfect safety, the soldiers on a sudden fell upon them. No less than 15,000 Epirots were massacred or sold into slavery, and seventy towns were destroyed. Such was the conduct of a man who is often cited as an example of mildness and humanity! It would have been cruel enough, in the course of a destructive war; but perpetrated, as it was, among a peaceful and unsuspecting people, it was a piece of unpardonable brutality.³

The conquest of Macedonia, the immense wealth which had been brought to Rome, and the annual tribute which the conquered had to pay, filled not only the public treasury, but the pockets of those who were at the head of affairs; and it is chiefly from this time that we must date the formation at Rome

³ Liv. xlv. 27—34.

of the fatal gulf between enormous wealth and absolute poverty. The well-stocked treasury rendered it thenceforth unnecessary to levy the poll-tax or *tributum* on Roman citizens.* The haughty and domineering spirit of Rome now no longer scrupled to display itself on every occasion; and it became more and more manifest, that it was her plan to subjugate all nations who were yet in the enjoyment of apparent freedom, or whom she had reason to fear. The first sign of this intention occurred in the time of the war against Perseus. Antiochus Epiphanes, in the belief that Rome being engaged elsewhere would not be able to defend her allies, had invaded Egypt, which was under the protectorate of Rome. The guardians of young Ptolemy VI. (Philometor) had claimed for their ward Phoenicia and Coelosyria, and Antiochus not only refused to comply with their demand, but occupied Pelusium with a strong garrison. But as Ptolemy's brother, Ptolemy Physcon, was in the meantime raised to the throne by the Alexandrians, and protested against Antiochus remaining in possession of Cyprus and Pelusium, Antiochus in B.C. 168 again entered Egypt. The two brothers now applied for and obtained the assistance of Rome; and a Roman embassy, which was forthwith despatched to Egypt, met Antiochus not far from Alexandria. Popillius Laenas, one of the ambassadors, required the king to quit Egypt; and as Antiochus gave an evasive answer, Popillius drew a circle round him, and demanding a positive reply before he stepped beyond it, compelled him to leave the country. Words of a Roman, who spoke as if the world belonged to him, thus accomplished what otherwise could have been effected only by force of arms.

The same haughty contempt was shown towards all those who had openly or secretly espoused the cause of Perseus. The first against whom the Romans intended to direct their arms were the Rhodians, who for the last 140 years had been allied to Rome. When the Rhodians saw that it was impossible to escape from the vengeance of their former allies, they sent ambassadors,

* Plin. xxxiii. 17; comp. Liv. xlv. 40; Vell. Pat. i. 9.

whom the haughty senate refused even to listen to. Those Rhodians who had secretly supported Perseus made away with themselves or took to flight. At length, however, the Rhodians were pardoned; but they had to submit to the hardest conditions: they were deprived of the honour of being Roman allies; they were required to give up their possessions in Lycia and Caria, to cease levying on vessels that passed through their sea, the toll from which they had derived most of their wealth, and to recognise the supremacy of Rome.

Eumenes of Pergamus intended to go to Rome and pay in person his homage to the senate; but he was forbidden to travel, because he was suspected of having been secretly allied with Perseus. Other rulers recognised the supremacy of Rome without hesitation. Among these were Prusias of Bithynia, who degraded himself so far as even to call himself the freedman of Rome, and to kiss the threshold of the Roman curia; Masinissa, who governed his kingdom in the name of Rome; Seleucus Nicator of Syria, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and the two kings of Egypt. In the last of these countries, Philometor and the contemptible Physcon had again become involved in disputes; and as Physcon, contrary to all fairness, had obtained the favour of Rome, in B.C. 162, the kingdom was divided between them; but the division was so arranged by the Roman senate as to keep alive the seeds of discord, whereby the two brothers necessarily weakened each other. In like manner, means were devised of breaking the power of Syria; for Demetrius, the heir to the throne, was kept at Rome, where he lived as a hostage; and Antiochus V. (Eupator) though only nine years old, was declared king in B.C. 164, in order that the senate might act as his guardian, and thus govern the weakened kingdom according to the interests of Rome. After this, Roman ambassadors caused the Syrian fleet to be destroyed, and the elephants trained for war to be mutilated or killed, so that the kingdom of Syria became perfectly powerless. All these princes, moreover, were strictly watched by Roman emissaries, so that nothing could be

done or attempted without the knowledge of Rome, which had thus thrown its net over them. By these means the senate obtained information about all the states which, sooner or later, were to be subjugated by its overwhelming power. There were only two powers, Carthage and the Achaean confederacy, which seemed to be an obstacle in the way of Roman policy, but their destruction had long been in contemplation and was secretly preparing.

The period between the victory over Macedonia and the third Punic war (B.C. 149) is very barren, and presents scarcely any event of general interest. All we know is, that the Romans at that time began to attack the Gauls in the Alps, that they gradually made themselves masters of the coast of Liguria as far as Spain, that they subdued the Dalmatians, and made themselves complete masters of Corsica. In Spain the war still continued, and was conducted with great vigour, against the Celtiberians. The Romans there acquired one tract of land after another, as there was no national bond among the Spanish tribes, all of which would have willingly recognised the supremacy of Rome, had she been inclined to make peace on tolerable terms; but what she wanted was absolute submission, and her conduct was such that no one could trust her. In this manner, war broke out afresh each time that a new commander arrived in Spain; and before that country had a really great man capable of avenging the wrongs it was suffering, two tragic catastrophes occurred in Africa and Greece: Carthage was destroyed, and Greece lost its freedom.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE—FINAL
SUBJUGATION OF MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF
CORINTH.

THE peace which had been concluded with Carthage in B.C. 201 lasted for a period of upwards of fifty years, during which the Carthaginians did not give the Romans a single cause of complaint; but the relation subsisting between the two republics and Masinissa proved to be a fruitful source of annoyance to Carthage; and the injustice of the Romans, who were to act as mediators, at length drove the Carthaginians to despair; of which their last and fatal struggle was the result. Masinissa, in the neighbouring country of Numidia, not only acted as a watchful spy over what was going on at Carthage, but was, it would seem, secretly authorised to harass and annoy his neighbours in any way without fear of being called to account by the Romans. In B.C. 182 he took possession of the rich district of Emporia, about the Lesser Syrtis, which Syphax had given up to Carthage. The Carthaginians, not being permitted to carry on war without the sanction of Rome, brought complaints against him before the Roman senate. After many deliberations, ambassadors were indeed sent to Africa to investigate the matter, but with secret instructions to favour Masinissa, and strictly to watch the movements of the Carthaginians, who were finally obliged in B.C. 174 not only to give up that tract of country, with many flourishing towns, but to pay to Masinissa the sum of 500 talents. Cato, who had been one of the ambassadors, and whose ambition had not been sufficiently flattered by the people of Carthage, looked

with envy and hatred upon the African republic, which was still great and prosperous; and the resolution was soon ripened in his mind to exert all his powers to bring about the destruction of a state, which, though outwardly flourishing, was already in a condition of inward decay, and would perhaps have soon perished of its own disease.¹ That republic, in which the democratical party appears to have gained the upper hand, was distracted by internal discord; and although the number of real patriots must have been very great, yet many citizens seem to have been in the pay of Rome or of Masinissa, and these were zealously engaged in furthering the objects of the enemy. The patriots at length carried a decree, by which forty senators were sent into exile as traitors to their country. The exiles fled to Masinissa, whose cause they had supported, and with whom they found a cordial welcome. At last, about B.C. 152, the Carthaginians, tired of their forbearance, and of their fruitless solicitation of Rome's mediation, took up arms to defend their own rights against the Numidian aggressor. Masinissa was at this time more powerful than the Carthaginians, whose armies still consisted of mercenaries. Though upwards of ninety years old, he led his own forces into the field; and having to fight against an unskilful Carthaginian general, he completely defeated his enemies, and compelled them to accept a humiliating peace, and to receive back the exiles. All this was done in the presence of Roman ambassadors, who merely acted the part of idle spectators.

But the time had now come for Rome to carry out her long-cherished plan; for her suspicion, that it was Masinissa's intention to make himself master of Carthage, may not have been without some foundation. Cato, in the Roman senate, incessantly urged the necessity of destroying the rival republic, which had once sent a Hannibal into Italy; and he concluded all the speeches he delivered at this time with these words: "*ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse delendam.*" P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica was wiser than Cato, and opposed his plan, because he justly thought

¹ Appian. *Pun.* 69.

that so long as Rome had to be on her guard against a rival republic, his fellow citizens would be under a useful restraint, and be prevented from abandoning themselves to frivolous and reckless passions and haughty insolence. He was convinced that it would be a misfortune for Rome to be deprived of a neighbour who could inspire her with fear; and he well knew that it was in the struggles with that mighty rival that Rome had acquired her greatness and strength. It may also be that he was influenced by a feeling of humanity for the unfortunate Carthaginians; but however this may have been, Cato's opinion prevailed, being more in accordance with the spirit and policy of Rome. The Roman ambassadors, on their return from Africa, gave a most glowing account of the prosperity of the Carthaginians, who had long been making preparations for the conflict with Masinissa, which they foresaw was inevitable. The senate took the Carthaginians to account for their conduct towards Masinissa; desponding and broken-hearted, they sent envoys to Rome, where they were ambiguously required to make reparation to Rome, but were at the same time assured that nothing should be done against them.

But, notwithstanding this assurance, and under the pretext that the Carthaginians had broken the peace of their own accord, the consuls M'. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus, in B.C. 149, assembled an army of 8000 foot and 4000 horse in Sicily. There other Carthaginian ambassadors were expected, and when they appeared the consuls declared, that as Carthage was divided into parties, Rome must have some security: they accordingly demanded that 300 members of the most distinguished families should be delivered up as hostages. The demand was complied with; and when the submission of Carthage was in this manner secured, the consuls conveyed their forces over in a large fleet, and landed at Utica, which, from despair, had already thrown itself into the arms of Rome. There Carthaginian ambassadors again appeared before the consuls, who now declared themselves ready to treat with them on any point that had not been settled before; but the ambassadors were told, that, as a further security

for the maintenance of peace, Carthage must deliver up all her arms and military engines. This command, hard as it was, was obeyed. Roman commissioners were sent into the city, who carried away 2000 catapults and 200,000 suits of armour; and the Carthaginians now naturally thought that Rome would be perfectly satisfied. But when, after this, the consuls further demanded that the city of Carthage should be razed to the ground, and that its inhabitants should build for themselves another town at a distance of several miles from the sea-coast, the exasperation of the Carthaginians rose to such a pitch, that all the gates of the city were instantly shut, and all the Romans and Italians who happened to be within the walls were put to death. Despair gave the people courage, and all resolved to fight to the last rather than yield to so treacherous and infamous an enemy; the senators declared that they would perish with Carthage.

The people, being seized with an almost frantic madness, contrived in every possible way to supply the means of defence in the place of the arms of which they had been so treacherously deprived; and every one, without difference of rank, age, or sex, endeavoured to do his best in defending and protecting the devoted city. There were still 70,000 inhabitants who made the most desperate efforts, and were worthy of a better fate. The Romans had not anticipated so determined a resistance to their last demand, and imagined that the city might be taken without any difficulty. But they were mistaken: the consuls were not skilful commanders, and several assaults upon the strong and lofty walls of the city were energetically repulsed. The Carthaginians themselves made several sallies, and on one occasion the Romans were saved only by the prudence and resolution of P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Aemilius Paulus, who served in the army as a tribune of the soldiers. Hasdrubal, a Carthaginian general who lived in exile, and with an army of fellow-exiles conducted the war, independently of Carthage, against Masinissa, was now recalled and intrusted with the command of the Carthaginian forces outside the city, where

Phameas commanded the light cavalry. Both of them performed very brilliant feats against the Romans during their foraging excursions into the interior of the country; but Phameas afterwards turned traitor, and went over to the enemy. The consul of the year B.C. 148, L. Calpurnius Piso, and the praetor L. Mancinus, were not more successful than their predecessors; and this circumstance increased the confidence and enthusiasm of the besieged, who still kept up their communication with the sea. Masinissa, in the meantime, withdrew his forces, as he began to fear the Romans; but he died in the same year, leaving his kingdom to his son Micipsa. Scipio, who had been appointed executor of his will, now increased the Roman army by the Numidian cavalry. In this memorable year Cato also died, at the age of 85; and in Macedonia a pretender arose, under the name of Philip, who claimed the throne, found many followers, and defeated the Roman generals; soon after which the Achaeans also took up arms against Rome.

All these events contributed to increase the hope of the Carthaginians that they might yet be successful; but the Romans also became aware that their failure was owing only to the inactivity and inability of their commanders. They accordingly raised P. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Aemilius Paulus, to the consulship for the year B.C. 147, though he had not yet attained the legitimate consular age, and assigned to him Africa as his province. He was afterwards, like the conqueror of Hannibal, honoured by the surname of Africanus. He is usually praised as one of the greatest Romans, and he fully deserves the praise bestowed upon him as far as his generalship is concerned; but his greatness is, nevertheless, over-estimated, for it is evident that he was but too well aware of his eminence, and that he made a show of his great qualities. He was the affectionate friend of Laelius, the pupil and admirer of Polybius, and the patron of Terence and Panaetius; but he never displayed that lofty greatness of soul which we admire in the elder Scipio. As a politician, he was consistent throughout his life, and an unflinching

conservative in the strictest sense of the word: he was bent on upholding the state of things which existed in his days, even though he might clearly see that it was based on injustice, and must lead to ruin. After his arrival in Africa, his first object was to restore discipline among the troops, and to cut off the supplies which had till then been introduced into Carthage from the sea. He then compelled Hasdrubal to retreat, and made himself master of Megara, a suburb of Carthage: on his attempting to stop up the mouth of the harbour, the Carthaginians set about digging a new entrance, and secretly built a fleet of 500 sail. The appearance of this fleet produced the greatest consternation among the Romans, and had the Carthaginians possessed sufficient resolution to attack the enemy's fleet, they might have destroyed it completely. On one occasion, a band of Carthaginians, who had devoted themselves to death, made a sally from the city and set the Roman engines and towers on fire; but the Romans soon restored what was destroyed, and carried on the siege with fresh vigour until the approaching winter put an end to their operations.

Scipio employed this interval in taking the town of Nepheris, from which Carthage had obtained many of its provisions. The command of the army was continued to him for the year B.C. 146, in the spring of which he renewed the attacks upon the city. The inhabitants had by this time been reduced to a most frightful state of famine, during which Hasdrubal, who had assumed the supreme power, introduced what may be termed a reign of terror. At length the Romans succeeded by night in taking possession of the harbour of Cothon, and in scaling the last of the three walls by which Carthage, which was situated on a peninsula, was protected on the land side. The enemy was now within the city, and the struggle which ensued was one of the most heart-rending conceivable. From the harbour three streets, lined with houses of six stories each, led to the citadel of Bozra or Byrsa, whither Hasdrubal had withdrawn. The contest was carried on in all the streets and houses for six days, and the

houses were conquered one by one, by breaking through the walls from room to room and from house to house. At the same time the struggle went on upon the flat roofs of the houses as well as in the streets, and the cries and moanings of the wounded and dying, mixed with the shouts of the combatants, rendered the scene one of extreme horror. The famine in the city was so great, that the living appeased their hunger with the dead bodies of their fellow-citizens. By unparalleled exertions the Romans at length reached Byrsa, the highest point of which was occupied by a temple of Aesculapius. Scipio then ordered the three streets to be set on fire, and in a short time the whole city was in a blaze. On the seventh day some Carthaginians came from the citadel to Scipio, entreating him to spare the lives of the citizens. This request was granted; but he refused to pardon 900 Roman deserters who had taken refuge in the citadel. 50,000 men and women, carrying olive branches in their hands, immediately came forward, and were sold as slaves by the conqueror. Hasdrubal, with the Roman deserters, then took possession of the temple of Aesculapius, but here his courage failed him: he fled to the conqueror, and implored his mercy; while the deserters set fire to the temple, and perished in the flames. Hasdrubal's wife, braver than her husband, and indignant at his cowardly conduct, threw herself with her children into the flames.

The destruction of Carthage was now complete: the scenes of terror and despair which Scipio had witnessed are said to have drawn tears into his eyes, and stirred up in his mind gloomy forebodings of the fate which awaited his own native city.² The Roman senate passed a decree, that every building in Carthage should be razed to the ground: the territory of Utica was increased by the annexation of a part of the Carthaginian

² He repeated to his friend Polybius, who was present, the following two lines from the Iliad (iv. 164):—

*Ἔσσεται ἡμαρ, ὅτ' ἐν ποτ' ἀλώη' Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πριάμος καὶ λαὸς εὐμμελίῳ Πριάμοιο.*

dominion; and the republic of Carthage became a Roman province under the name of Africa, which like other provinces was governed by a Roman proconsul or praetor. Scipio celebrated a magnificent triumph on his return to Rome. A state had thus perished in which Rome lost what could never be restored to her—a noble rival. Instead of the commercial fleets which had hitherto visited all parts of the Mediterranean, there were now no ships except transports, which carried to Rome provisions and slaves, or wild beasts to amuse and brutalise the populace, and pirate boats, which increased in proportion with the conquests of Rome. The site of ancient Carthage was cursed; and when afterwards the noble C. Sempronius Gracchus founded a colony there, he established it, at some distance from the site of the old city, under the name of Junonia; but the new town soon assumed the name of Carthage, and prospered so well, that towards the end of the second century of our era it became the seat of a Christian bishop. About the middle of the fifth century it became the capital of the kingdom of the Vandals; and in A.D. 698 it was taken and destroyed by the Arabs. At present the site of ancient Carthage is discernible only by heaps of ruins.

The insurrection in Macedonia, to which we referred above, had by this time been quelled. The inhabitants of that country too soon discovered that the freedom which Rome had given to them was worse than slavery; and it was owing to this feeling that they allowed themselves to be duped by a person of the name of Andiscus, a Thracian by birth, and a runaway gladiator, who in B.C. 149, came forward in Thrace and giving himself out to be a son of the late king Perseus, called himself Philip. The discontented people of Macedonia, after a short resistance, submitted to him in the hope that he would deliver them from the yoke of Rome. He entered into connection with Carthage, defeated the praetor P. Juventius Thalna, who was sent against him, and invaded Thessaly. The whole affair became more serious than could have been expected; but in B.C.

148, Q. Caecilius Metellus was sent against him as praetor, and after several skirmishes a decisive battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Pydna, in which the impostor was completely defeated. Andriscus fled to Thrace, but being delivered up to the Romans by a Thracian chief, he adorned the triumph of Metellus, who, from his Macedonian victory, obtained the surname of Macedonicus. In B.C. 143 another pretender arose in Macedonia, who likewise declared himself to be a son of Perseus,³ but he was defeated by the quaestor L. Tremellius. After these insurrections Macedonia lost its nominal freedom, and was constituted a Roman province.

The time had now come when Greece also was to be deprived of the last shadow of its freedom. On the advice of Cato and Scipio, the three hundred survivors of the Achaean hostages had been allowed, in B.C. 151, to return to their country. Some of them were old men, but all of them were burning with an implacable hatred of the Romans. Had the Achaeans made common cause with Andriscus, they might have entertained a reasonable hope of being able to resist the enemy; but that opportunity was neglected, and now they were led to believe by their senseless leaders, Critolaus and Diaeus, that, single-handed as they were, they might expel the Romans from their country. The long peace which they had enjoyed had been spent in idleness and in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures, so that they were altogether unprepared for the evil days which now overtook them; yet they were fool-hardy enough to venture upon a contest with a power before which none had hitherto been able to stand. The Romans, who had long formed their plans, were waiting only for a favourable opportunity to carry them into effect. This was offered in the struggle between the Achaean confederacy and Sparta, which wanted to make itself independent of the league. When Sparta was attacked by the Achaeans, it appealed to the Romans, who, being at the time engaged in the subjugation of

³ Some call him Alexander, and Liv., *Epit.* 53; Eutrop. iv. 15; Zonar. others the second Pseudo-Philip; see ix. 28; Varro, *De Re Rust.* ii. 4.

Carthage, acted with great caution; but as soon as they perceived that the fall of Carthage was inevitable, they spoke in a different tone, and under the pretext of a desire to prevent further disturbances within the confederacy, arising from the different elements of which it was composed, they demanded that those places which had not been united with the confederacy at the close of the war with Perseus should be separated from it. Those places were Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near Mount Oeta, and Orchomenos in Arcadia. When this demand was announced to the assembly of the Achaeans at Corinth, the Roman ambassadors were attacked, insulted, and driven out of the theatre. The demand was indeed a glaring injustice, but the Achaeans ought to have yielded to a positive necessity. The Romans, who were still engaged in the contest with Carthage, brooked the insolence, and only demanded reparation for it. Several embassies passed between Achaia and Rome, but as the enraged and mad party of Diaeus and Critolaus wished for war, the Roman ambassadors sent by Q. Caecilius Metellus were again insulted, and war was at once declared against Rome and Sparta. Metellus accordingly, after having reduced Macedonia, entered Greece in B.C. 147. Critolaus had advanced northward as far as Thessaly, probably in the hope of being able to form connections with the Pseudo-Philip; but the pretender was defeated before the Achaeans reached Thermopylae. When Critolaus heard of the approach of Metellus, he retreated into Locris, where he was overtaken by the Romans, and his army was dispersed like chaff. Critolaus himself was never heard of afterwards: he probably perished in the marshes on the sea-coast. All Greece was in the greatest consternation.

In the meantime a Roman fleet landed a body of troops on the western coast of Peloponnesus, which ravaged the country in a barbarous manner; and as Metellus advanced southward, the inhabitants of Thebes quitted their city and fled into the mountains. But the Roman general used his victory with great moderation, for in his heart he pitied the Greeks, and would

willingly have spared them, if their own insolent conduct had permitted him. When he reached Megara, L. Mummius, who had been elected consul for the year B.C. 146, hastened to take the command against the Achaeans. Mummius had no sympathies with the Greeks; he was a man without education, and all he desired was laurels for himself, and treasures for Rome. Diaeus was now commander of the Achaeans: having enlisted all the slave population, capable of bearing arms, to the amount of 12,000, he assembled his army in the neighbourhood of Corinth, fancying that he should be able to defend the isthmus. All proposals of peace had been treated by him with the utmost contempt and recklessness. But in the valley of Leucopetra the Achaeans were so completely defeated, that it was impossible for them to face the enemy again. The army in its flight past Corinth alarmed the inhabitants of that city so much, that they also took refuge in the neighbouring hills. Diaeus himself fled to Megalopolis, where he killed his wife, and burnt himself with his whole household. On the third day after the battle, Mummius entered Corinth, which was filled with the most splendid works of Grecian art. The Romans indulged in unrestrained plunder, and then reduced the town to a heap of ashes. The remaining part of the male population was put to the sword, while the females and children were sold as slaves. Thebes and Chalcis experienced the same fate. All the costly treasures accumulated at Corinth, which had not been destroyed by the conquerors, were shipped for Rome; and the rudeness and ignorance of Mummius are strikingly illustrated by his telling the sailors, that, if any of the works of art should be lost or damaged during the voyage, they would have to restore them at their own expense.

The good days of Greece were now passed for ever; and though afterwards some of the Roman emperors treated the country with kindness and reverence for its past greatness, still it never recovered its ancient splendour. Those Greeks who had taken no part in the war were restored to nominal freedom,

but all national ties between them were destroyed ; the territory of Corinth became Roman domain land ; and Greece was formed into a Roman province under the name of Achaia. Polybius on this occasion had to perform the sad duty of acting the part of a mediator between the conquerors and his unfortunate countrymen, for whom he contrived to obtain several favours, and whom he tried to accustom to the new order of things. Mummius was honoured with a triumph and the surname of Achaicus. The fall of Carthage took place in July, that of Corinth in September, B.C. 146.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE WARS IN SPAIN—VIRIATHUS—NUMANTIA—INSURRECTION OF THE
SLAVES IN SICILY—THE KINGDOM OF PERGAMUS.

ROME had found it comparatively easy to conquer two of the wealthiest republics of antiquity; but that it was not so easy to subdue nations flourishing by agriculture and animated by a strong love of their country and freedom, was a lesson which she learned in the protracted war against the tribes of Spain, who maintained their independence as their most precious good with the most resolute determination against their oppressors. Rome's unjust proceedings became every day more glaring and intolerable. In B.C. 179, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, by his kindness and fairness, had made the Celtiberians the friends of Rome, but he had forbidden them to build any more towns in their country. Some years after, when the inhabitants of Segeda had obliged the citizens of some smaller Celtiberian towns to relinquish their homes and settle at Segeda, and when for this reason they wished to enlarge the extent of their own city, the Roman senate, referring to their treaty with Gracchus, interfered. The Segedans refused to obey: they also declined to send any reinforcements to the Roman armies, and to pay their usual tribute. A fresh war accordingly broke out in B.C. 153. The consuls, M. Fulvius Nobilior and, in the year following, M. Claudius Marcellus, fought against the Celtiberians with varying success. Marcellus was a noble-minded man, and in his heart he respected the people who were struggling for nothing but their independence. He therefore endeavoured to obtain a peace for them on fair terms; but the haughty senate at Rome refused to treat with them except

on condition of their absolute submission. Marcellus then contrived to gain their confidence, and instead of using force, prevailed upon them by persuasion to conclude a peace with Rome on terms which in their circumstances were quite reasonable. But after his departure from Spain, L. Licinius Lucullus, and still more the praetor Ser. Sulpicius Galba, after having suffered a severe defeat, called forth by their avarice and cruelty a general insurrection in Lusitania; for although after some resistance the Lusitanians south of the river Tagus voluntarily submitted and assembled without their arms, Galba ordered them all to be massacred. Among the few who escaped on that fearful day was Viriathus, destined one day to become the avenger of his country's wrongs. Cato brought an accusation against Galba for this act of wanton cruelty, and the man would have been condemned to death had he not implored the mercy of the Roman people.

Viriathus, a Lusitanian, is said to have been at first a shepherd, then a robber, and in the end he became a general, who, according to the judgment even of his enemies, showed in the field of battle not only the greatest courage, but the most eminent talent and skill. He rallied around him as many of his countrymen as he could, and with them he waged war against the Romans for a period of eight years.¹ Being himself accustomed to a free life in the mountains, being robust, hardened, adroit, always cheerful, and dreading no danger, he was beloved by his countrymen; he knew how to manage them, and to keep alive in them the desire to defend their freedom. It would be of great interest to relate with what skill he wore out the Roman armies, how he was present everywhere with his light cavalry, how he dispersed his enemies and then conquered them one by one; but we must confine ourselves to the principal events. Q. Fabius Maximus

¹ Appian, *Hispan*, 60, &c.; Liv. Epit. 52, and Florus, ii. 17, state that he carried on the war for fourteen years; but as he did not commence hostilities til a.c. 148, and as he was

murdered in a.c. 140, these writers include the time that he fought among the Lusitanians against Lucullus and Galba, that is, they begin their calculation in a.c. 153.

Aemilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus both experienced his valour, prudence, and skill. In B.C. 141, Servilianus concluded a peace with him, in which Viriathus was recognised as the friend and ally of Rome, and the Lusitanians were left in possession of their country. The war thus seemed to be concluded, but the Romans could not get over the feeling that they had treated Viriathus too much as their equal; and the very next year, B.C. 140, the consul Q. Servilius Caepio faithlessly violated the peace and renewed the war. While Decimus Junius Brutus was engaged in another part of Spain, Viriathus was induced to enter into fresh negotiations for a treaty; but Caepio secretly hired some Lusitanian assassins, who entered the tent of their leader, and, finding him asleep, cut his throat, and then returned to the Roman camp to receive their blood-money.

After the murder of Viriathus, the Lusitanians were no longer able to hold out against their enemies: they had lost their head, and were without confidence in themselves. In B.C. 138, the consul D. Junius Brutus subdued the whole of Lusitania; and in the peace which he concluded with the conquered people, he assigned to those who had served under Viriathus the town and district of Valentia, on the south-eastern coast of Spain, where, owing to the extreme mildness of the climate, they entirely lost their warlike spirit. Brutus was the first Roman that crossed the river Minius (Minho) and entered the territory of the Gallaeci, whence he derived the surname of Gallaicus: he celebrated his triumph in B.C. 132.

A more determined resistance was offered to the Romans by the city of Numantia, in the country of the Arevaci. This city, the ornament of Spain, has gained the admiration of all ages for the heroic manner in which its citizens asserted their liberty to the last. It was situated on an eminence, surrounded by rocks and forests, on the bank of the river Durus (Douro), and ditches and mounds protected the approach from the plain.²

² Ruins of the ancient town are still visible in the neighbourhood of Sorin, on the right bank of the river Douro.

The war against Numantia began in B.C. 143, and was carried on successively by Caecilius Metellus, and Q. Pompeius, who as proprætor had been unfortunate against Viriathus. He laid siege to Numantia, but in B.C. 140 his position became so desperate that he was obliged to conclude a peace with the Numantines, which, however, from fear of the senate, he afterwards denied; whereupon the war was resumed. In B.C. 137 the consul C. Hostilius Mancinus also fought without success: he was driven from his camp, and his army was placed in so perilous a situation that he was obliged to submit to a very humiliating peace, and even that he could not have obtained but for the mediation of young Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was then serving in the army as quaestor, and in whom the Numantines had confidence from the recollection of the noble conduct of his father. The Romans obtained safe departure on condition that Numantia should remain free and independent, and be treated as a friend of Rome. When this peace was laid before the senate to receive its sanction, the senate with one accord declared it invalid, and decreed that Mancinus should be delivered up to the enemy, in order to annul the peace legally. But the Numantines acted in a nobler spirit than the Romans: they refused to accept the person of the consul, maintaining that the breach of public confidence could not be atoned for by the sacrifice of the consul. Gracchus escaped sharing the fate of Mancinus only through his great popularity with the people of Rome: it is not improbable that the shameful and unjust conduct of the Roman aristocracy on this occasion made a deep impression upon his noble mind, and roused his holy indignation.

After this, some years passed away without the Romans gaining any great advantages, and it now became evident that the war could not be brought to a close unless Rome made greater exertions and placed her armies under the command of the ablest man she possessed. Scipio Africanus, the destroyer of Carthage, was accordingly again elected to the consulship for the year B.C. 134, and forthwith went to Numantia to crush that noble people

also. The first thing he did was to render the army, which had become desponding and disorganised, fit for active service. He received reinforcements from Jugurtha, the grandson of Masi-nissa, and set about constructing a fourfold line of fortifications round the city, in order to effect by hunger what had been in vain attempted by the sword. All endeavours of the Numantines to break through these fortifications failed. On one occasion, however, some Numantines succeeded in forcing their way to the neighbouring town of Lutia. Their valour excited universal admiration, and all Lutia offered them assistance. Scipio, who had followed the Numantines, then committed an outrage which would be pardoned only in a savage; he ordered the hands of 400 citizens of Lutia to be cut off, because they were ready to support Numantia.³ The besieged were suffering from frightful famine, having for some time been feeding on the corpses of their fellow-citizens, and Scipio now called upon them to surrender at discretion. The Numantines begged for a truce of three days, that they might consider what course to take. The request was granted, and the time was spent by the most distinguished of the Numantines in destroying their wives and children. The slaughter was so great, that when on the third day the gates were thrown open, only a small number, whose features hardly resembled those of human beings, came out and surrendered to the enemy. The city of Numantia was destroyed in B.C. 133, and its territory distributed among the neighbouring tribes. The districts conquered by D. Brutus and Scipio received the constitution of a Roman province, and Spain being exhausted by protracted and bloody wars remained quiet for a time; but about the year B.C. 100, new insurrections broke out, and in B.C. 98, the consul T. Didius had again to fight against the Celtiberians: it was under him that Sertorius first became acquainted with Spain and the Spaniards.⁴

During this period of incessant foreign warfare, Italy was outwardly in the enjoyment of perfect peace, and increasing in

³ Appian. *Hispan.* 94.

⁴ Plutarch, *Sertor.* 3; Gellius, ii. 27.

wealth and population. But Scipio, who, notwithstanding his high conservative principles, saw that things could not go on much longer as they were, in his censorship, B.C. 143, ordered that, after the general purification, public prayers should be offered up, not as had been done until then, for the increase of the republic, but for its preservation. A scourge, however, came upon the Romans from a quarter whence they had least expected it. By the conquests which Rome had made in Africa, Macedonia, Greece, and Spain, the number of slaves in all parts of the empire had increased to an enormous amount, and they were sold in the markets for a mere trifle. The free population of Sicily had been extremely reduced in the wars with Carthage, of which it had been the scene, and afterwards by famine and plagues; and the large tracts of domain land in the occupation of wealthy Romans or Sicilians, were for the most part used as pastures, on which whole bands of slaves tended the flocks of their masters. Among these slaves who were treated with harshness and cruelty, Eunus, a Syrian, himself a slave, acquired great influence by his religious enthusiasm and other artifices. He associated himself with Cleon, a Cilician, and in B.C. 134 at Enna gave the signal for a general insurrection of the slaves, which soon spread over the whole of the island, and in a short time about 70,000 slaves had rallied round these two leaders. Eunus even assumed the diadem, and called himself King Antiochus. Humanity when insulted, and when its most sacred rights are trampled on, always, sooner or later, takes terrible vengeance on its oppressors; and such was the case in Sicily, which in all parts exhibited the most frightful scenes of horror and murderous fury: all free men who could not make their escape were massacred, and several Roman armies were defeated by the infuriated hordes. But as the undertakings of the separate leaders were generally conducted without a regular plan, and as the insurgents did not know how to make the best use of their victories, the consul, P. Rupilius, in B.C. 132, took Tauromenium, and compelled the slaves to retreat towards Enna, where he

defeated them. Upwards of 20,000 of them were put to the sword, and many were nailed on crosses along the high roads in order to terrify those who were yet in arms. The life of Eunus, who fell into the hands of the conquerors, was spared, but he died in a prison at Morgantia.

About this time, in B.C. 133, died Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus, with whom the dynasty of the Pergamenian princes became extinct. Although the last of them was one of the worst specimens of eastern despots, whose greatest delight was in preparing poison and putting his nearest relatives to death, still his kingdom enjoyed a high degree of prosperity through the industry of his subjects, who were among the foremost at that time in the cultivation of the arts, sciences and learning. In his will, Attalus bequeathed his kingdom and all his treasures to the Roman people. They had long been in the habit of looking upon his kingdom as their property, and the will by which it was made over to them had probably been drawn up by the imbecile king in compliance with the command of the Romans; a fact which is clearly alluded to by the ancients themselves.⁵ The wealth which now poured in upon Rome marks more distinctly than even the conquest of Macedonia the beginning of that degenerate condition in which we find the Romans in the history of the last century of the republic; ⁶ for now all the luxuries and with them all the vices of the east invaded Italy like an epidemic disease. Soon after the death of Attalus, Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes, the father of Attalus, came forward, refusing to recognise the will of Attalus, and claiming the kingdom as his lawful inheritance. He found many supporters among the people of Pergamus, and placed himself at the head of a general insurrection of the Lydians and Ionians. The war which now ensued lasted longer than any one could have anticipated, for the consul P. Licinius Crassus, who, in B.C. 131, was sent against the insurgents, with a very strong army, was more anxious to enrich

⁵ See Horat. *Carm.* ii. 18, 5; Sallust, *Fragm.* p. 189, ed. Bipont.

⁶ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 11.

himself than to subdue the enemy. After the expiration of his consulship he fell into the hands of the enemy and was killed ; but his successor, M. Perperna, succeeded in bringing the war to a close. Aristonicus was taken prisoner at Stratonicea, and carried to Rome in triumph, where he was strangled in prison. Perperna died immediately after his victory, and the conquest of Asia was completed in B.C. 129 by his successor, M'. Aquillius. Mithridates V., king of Pontus, who had assisted the Romans in the war against Aristonicus, now received Phrygia as a reward, and the remainder of the kingdom of Pergamus became a Roman province under the name of Asia. This conquest in the east, besides the vices and luxuries with which it made the Romans acquainted, also contained the seeds of new wars which they afterwards had to wage against the king of Pontus.

Within the last 120 years, Rome, by her successive and victorious wars, had established her dominion in nearly all the countries on the Mediterranean: Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the minor islands round the coast of Italy, were acquired in the first two Punic wars ; and the whole territory of Carthage was the prize gained in the third and last struggle with her Punic rival. Macedonia and Illyricum, together with Thessaly and Epirus, and Greece (embracing Peloponnesus and Greece proper) had likewise become Roman provinces. After the departure of the Carthaginians, Spain also fell under the dominion of Rome, although the brave and patriotic Celtiberians, the Lusitanians and other tribes continued boldly to maintain their independence against the tyrannical oppression of Rome, and were not entirely reduced even after the destruction of Numantia, though the country was constituted a Roman province. The most recent acquisition of Rome was the province of Asia. Her dominion in the north of Italy was now more firmly established than ever, the warlike tribes on the banks of the Po having, after many a useless struggle, been obliged to submit ; and the Romans had even ventured to attack the Gauls in the Alps.

CHAPTER XXIII.

INTERNAL CONDITION OF ROME, AND HER RELATION TO FOREIGN NATIONS.

THE constitution of the Roman republic, which had attained its perfect development previously to the outbreak of the second Punic war, had for a time been secured in its healthful working by the virtue and patriotism of the citizens, by their reverence for the laws, and for the sanctity of oaths. But when these virtues disappeared; when the acquisition of wealth became the sole and absorbing object of their exertions; when faith was violated, and religion neglected and despised; then the constitution, although not a particle of it had been changed, was found wholly inadequate to its purposes, and instead of a blessing, became the source of great misfortunes; for it is not the mere form of a constitution that makes a nation happy; that depends upon the spirit and character of the nation itself. Rome was in the singular position of a state with a constitution framed and intended for a single city, which city yet had aimed at, and gradually acquired the dominion of the world, without allowing those whom it conquered to share either in the good or the evil of its constitution, but keeping them in the relation of subjects to a sovereign. The Roman senate, a body of men of the greatest firmness, prudence, and cunning, was ever increasing its power and influence, and foreign nations and kings had to obey its commands; while on the other hand the people, now no longer the ancient plebeian commonalty, strove to obtain and enjoy more and more of the advantages acquired in long and bloody wars. The larger the body of Roman citizens became, the more their influence upon all public matters increased. But

there was among them a class which threatened sooner or later to become most dangerous to the safety of the state: these were the poor, and the freedmen, with their children; for the class of freedmen was limited to the four city tribes, and it was at all times easy to bribe them and to use them as tools for the worst purposes. The poor had sunk into the most abject poverty; and Polybius¹ showed his clear insight into political matters, when he predicted, that the constitution of Rome would be destroyed by her own people. The tribuneship had entirely changed from its original character, for shortly after the time at which we have now arrived, the tribunes, by virtue of their office, obtained the rank of senators, according to a law of C. Atinius, which, however, does not seem to have long remained in force. They acted in many cases like real despots; there are instances in which they threw both the consuls into prison, because, at a levy of troops, they refused to comply with their wishes. At another time, a censor was ordered to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, and was saved only by the interference of other tribunes. Similar wild acts of the tribunes are not unfrequent during this period. It seems to have been about the year B.C. 167 that an attempt was made to devise some check upon the power of the tribunes; for it was enacted by the Aelian and Fufian law that the assemblies convoked by the tribunes should, like the *comitia centuriata*, be liable to be dissolved by signs in the heavens, such as thunder and lightning. As the observation and interpretation of these signs belonged to the augurs, they thus obtained a veto upon the transactions of the tribunes, just as the tribunes had a veto on those of the government. It is only to be regretted that the Romans here, for a good purpose, made use of a means in which they themselves had ceased to have any faith. The enlisting of soldiers was, at this period, often a source of vehement contention, and the consuls at levies often committed acts of injustice and favouritism. This led to a law, passed in B.C. 152, which enacted that thenceforth

¹ VI. 56.

the soldiers should be drawn by lot,² and that every tribune should have the right of exempting ten of the men thus drawn from being drafted for the legions.

The distinction between patricians and plebeians had long ceased to be of any political importance; and while the number of patrician families was decreasing at a rapid rate, that of illustrious plebeians was constantly increasing; another distinction, however, had gradually been formed between what were called the *illustres* or *optimates*, that is, the nobles, and the common or obscure people (*obscuri*), between whom, however, there was not the slightest legal inequality; for the distinction being founded upon nothing but feeling and custom, was not in any way recognised by the law. How much the number of patricians must have been reduced, and how little the people at this time heeded the distinction between patricians and plebeians, may be inferred from the fact, that in B.C. 131, both the censors were plebeians, without there having been any contest or dispute about it. The class of persons who had gradually stepped into the place of the old patrician aristocracy consisted mainly of wealthy and distinguished plebeian families, whose title to the high offices, originally founded upon personal merit and ability, had by custom and practice become hereditary. They, therefore, now formed a new aristocracy, and in their turn were as exclusive and as oppressive to the people as the patricians had been to the plebeians. Their great rallying point was the senate, in which, ever since the time of the Hannibalian war, the number of plebeians had far exceeded that of the patricians. Persons belonging to families of which no member had as yet filled any of the great offices of the state, who aspired to the highest honours of the republic, were termed *novi homines*, or upstarts, in contradistinction to those whose ancestors had been invested with these offices; and owing to the jealous exclusiveness of the illustrious families, a *novus homo* rarely succeeded in raising himself to the consulship. Besides the free population in Rome

² Appian, *Hispan.* 49.

and Italy, there were now large numbers of slaves, who were employed in works which had formerly been performed by free men: in consequence of this the citizens became idle, neglected agriculture, and indulged in vice and debauchery; while a large class of free men was deprived of the means of gaining a subsistence.

The constitution having reached its complete development, the legislative enactments had, for a long time past, been chiefly of a disciplinarian character: these laws, which were repeatedly enacted and enforced, were intended to check the growing love of luxuries in the dress and mode of living of the Romans.³ Thus the Orchian law, in B.C. 181, limited the number of persons who were allowed to meet at repasts;⁴ and the Fannian law, in B.C. 161, limited the expenditure to be incurred at banquets. This latter law was afterwards reinforced, and more strictly defined, by the Didian and Licinian laws.⁵ But these and many other enactments which interfered with the practices of private life could not stop the rapid progress of the current. In order to prevent the high offices of the republic from falling into the hands of young and inexperienced persons, some restrictive regulations⁶ seem to have existed as early as the time of the Hannibalian war; but in B.C. 180, the tribune L. Villius carried a law⁷ defining the lowest age at which a person should be eligible to the several magistracies: this law enacted that a candidate for the quaestorship should be at least thirty-one years old; for the aedileship, thirty-seven; for the praetorship, forty; and for the consulship, forty-three.⁸ It had also been found necessary to suppress the practice of bribing judges with presents; and we find that as early as B.C. 204, the tribune M. Cincius Alimentus carried a law⁹ forbidding that custom.

The increase of the population of the city, and the larger

³ *Leges sumptuariae*.

⁴ Macrob. *Satur.* ii. 13.

⁵ Macrob. *l. c.*; Gellius, ii. 24;
xv. 8

⁶ *Leges annales*.

⁷ Liv. xxv. 2.

⁸ Liv. xl. 44; Cicero, *De Off.* ii. 17.

⁹ *Lex Cincia muneralis*, see Cicero
De Senect. 4; Tacit. *Annal.* xi. 5;
Festus, s. v. *muneralis*.

extent of the republic, rendered it necessary for the administration to be altered and modified according to circumstances. The jurisdiction within the city had been exercised by the praetor and popular courts: in B.C. 243, a second praetor was appointed, either to administer justice to the many strangers settled at Rome,¹⁰ or, as some believe, to command the army of reserve in Italy when the consuls were engaged abroad. The jurisdiction of these praetors, however, extended only to civil cases and minor offences; those which affected the well-being of the state, and all criminal cases, being tried by the people, who for this purpose elected *quaestores parricidii*. After the publication of the Flavian table the patricians had devised several new legal formulae, which they kept secret, until, in B.C. 202, the jurist Sex. Aelius Catus made them known to the people, and thus offered them every facility for acquiring legal knowledge. But as the laws became more and more numerous and complicated, the litigant parties began to employ patrons or advocates to plead their causes. This custom had become very general after the year B.C. 253, when the illustrious Tib. Coruncanius was the first plebeian pontifex maximus. At the time at which we have now arrived, legal disputes were indeed so frequent, that the praetor alone could not get through the business; and accordingly assistants were given to him under the title of *centumviri*, three of whom were chosen from each of the thirty-five tribes, so that the whole body amounted to 105. Out of this body the praetor nominated for each particular case the *judices* who formed, at least after the time of the Gracchi, a sort of jury.

The great power which the Roman governors possessed in the provinces, and the temptations to enrich themselves at the expense of the provincials, to which they were exposed, led to a law being carried in B.C. 149, by the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso,¹¹ for the appointment of a commission, before which the provincials might bring an action against any governor who had been guilty of extortion during his administration. Laws with the same or

¹⁰ *Praetor peregrinus.*

¹¹ *Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis.*

similar objects, such as to prevent bribery at elections,¹² high treason against the republic,¹³ and peculation,¹⁴ were afterwards repeatedly enacted, but generally with little effect; for the love of money and power deadened every other feeling, and the judges, generally speaking, were not much better than those whose acts of injustice they were called upon to punish. The provinces, with the exception of those in which Greek was spoken, were gradually Romanised by the armies which were kept there, and by the introduction of the Latin language.

The duties of a city police were performed as before under the direction of the plebeian aediles; and the censors, in many cases, were very active, not only to preserve the ancient mode of life, but to embellish the city with various useful and ornamental works. Thus in B.C. 174, the censors ordered the streets of Rome to be paved, and the roads outside the city to be covered with gravel: aqueducts, bridges, temples, and other public buildings were constructed to add to the splendour of the sovereign city; but it is a remarkable fact, that P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, when in B.C. 184 the censors had commenced building a theatre for the performance of dramatic compositions, in order to check the growing love of pleasure and idle amusements, caused all the building materials that had been brought together to be sold by public auction, and a decree of the senate forbade the erection of any building in which the people should witness the plays in a sitting attitude, either within the city or at a distance of less than one mile from it.¹⁵ As the number of slaves rendered the city rather unsafe at night, watchmen were appointed, whose duties began at sun-set, and who were under the superintendence of a commission called the *quinqueviri*. This office had been instituted soon after the war with Pyrrhus.

The more Rome had come into contact with foreign powers,

¹² *Leges de ambitu.*

¹³ *De maiestate.*

¹⁴ *De peculatu.*

¹⁵ Liv. *Epit.* 48; Vell. Pat. i. 15;
Val. Max. ii. 4, sec. 2.

and the more complicated were her relations with them, the greater opportunity had she of developing her dangerous policy, the only objects of which were her own aggrandisement and the destruction of other states. The Roman ambassadors who were sent to Africa, Greece, and Asia, were the most dangerous enemies of those countries, though they often went under the pretext of establishing peace and friendship. They contrived to find out the weak points of a state, and the means of overthrowing it; to sow the seeds of confusion and discord, and of future wars, which might be commenced as soon as the interests of Rome should make them desirable. The stronger among the foreign states and princes were disarmed and disabled by all the intrigues that cunning and fraud could devise, while the weaker were made friends of, and often allowed the enjoyment of apparent freedom until it suited the purpose of Rome to subdue them: all her allies were closely watched and made to bear burdens as heavy as could have been imposed if they had been subjects. Nations and kings too weak to inspire Rome with fear were often treated haughtily and despotically, in order to provoke their resentment, and thus to obtain a specious pretext for attacking and subduing them. That vaunted disinterestedness and generosity which the Romans sometimes showed towards others was therefore nothing else than the dictate of a subtle and cunning policy, which never scrupled to make small or momentary sacrifices for the purpose of afterwards gaining greater advantages. In this manner Rome gradually threw the net of her policy over all nations, often without their being aware of it until it was too late. It would be erroneous to believe that Rome was hurried on to the dominion of the world by a sort of fatality of which she herself was unconscious: all her steps and movements were well matured and calculated before-hand; one victory led her to another; and the more cautiously she acted, the better she succeeded. Her work was facilitated by the circumstance that the powers against which she fought were in a state of weakness and decay.

The many and important conquests which Rome had made beyond the boundaries of Italy naturally increased the revenues of the republic. Before these new resources had been opened to her, the almost uninterrupted succession of wars had often drained the public treasury, and rendered it necessary to have recourse to public loans of money to meet the unavoidable expenditure; but such momentary embarrassments and difficulties had no evil effects upon the state, which was not, like Carthage, dependent solely upon a well-stocked treasury, but upon the vigour, energy, and virtue of its citizens. On two occasions, about the end of the first and in the course of the second Punic war, the state had been under the necessity of artificially raising the ordinary value of its coinage, as a means of paying its debts,¹⁶ of receiving the voluntary contributions of the people, and of renewing the salt monopoly; but even these things did not affect the financial administration of the senate; and the entire social life of the Romans was characterised by a love of strict order and honesty. The generals, on the whole, conscientiously delivered up to the treasury the booty which they had acquired in foreign countries, though isolated instances of peculation are now and then mentioned. It was not till after the conquest of Macedonia that the republic became really wealthy, in consequence of which the poll-tax was taken off from the Roman citizens. Besides the large sums which were occasionally carried to Rome after victories and conquests, the state derived a regular revenue from the tribute of its allies and the provinces, whose inhabitants were burdened with a heavy property tax, and with many ordinary as well as extraordinary payments and services to the governors and their often numerous retinue; from the tithes¹⁷ and rents of the public domain in Italy and the provinces, where many wealthy persons held their estates as tenants of the Roman republic; from tolls,¹⁸ and from the rent of salt-works, mines, and pasture lands. The twentieth part of the value of slaves when manumitted also formed an important source of revenue,

¹⁶ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 13.

¹⁷ *Decumae.*

¹⁸ *Portoria.*

as the manumission of slaves was a matter of very frequent occurrence.

Rome's navy, notwithstanding her wars with Carthage and Antiochus, never rose to a flourishing condition; for the service of the navy was thought degrading to a citizen, and the marines were taken only from the lower classes or from the Greek maritime towns of Italy. It was her allies, and especially the Rhodians, who provided Rome with fleets when they were wanted, for the fleets of Syria, Macedonia, Illyricum and Carthage were destroyed. In her land-forces, in the art of besieging, and in the engines and instruments necessary for it, on the other hand, she had by this time reached a very high degree of perfection, as the Romans always adopted from their enemies that which appeared to them useful or likely to improve their own system. Rome had now outwardly attained the highest degree of prosperity, and nothing seemed able to check her in her victorious progress towards the supremacy of the world: but already a fatal disease was secretly working her ruin; it had eaten deeply into the substance of the state: this was the cancer of poverty, on the one hand, and of avarice, extravagance, cruelty, treachery, and licentiousness, on the other. The time for applying suitable remedies had been allowed to pass away, and the noble-minded men, who now came forward to put their hands to the work of reform, fell victims to their own schemes, or were crushed under the influence of vice and tyranny.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TIBERIUS AND CAIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, THEIR LEGISLATION AND
DESTRUCTION.

WE have hitherto accompanied the Romans in their victorious career abroad, and seen how by the success of their arms, supported by a firm and cunning policy, they subdued the nations all around the Mediterranean, and reached a power before which every other state that ventured to compete with them was crumbled into dust; but henceforward our attention will be mainly engaged by the violent internal shocks and convulsions which the republic had to suffer in consequence of the state of things described in the preceding chapter. From these internal convulsions there arose a series of the most fearful of all wars, those of citizens against citizens, which destroyed the vital energies of the state, leading finally to the overthrow of the republican government, and to the establishment of a monarchy under which the empire eked out its miserable existence for a period of about 500 years.

For a long time no portion of the domain-land of the republic had been distributed among the citizens; and as, during the incessant wars, many of the small landed proprietors had been obliged to neglect their farms, and finally to sell them to their wealthier neighbours, the former had sunk deeper and deeper into poverty, while the wealth of the latter had been increasing at an enormous rate. This state of things seems to have been worst in Etruria.

During the long internal peace which Rome had enjoyed, the

power of the senate gradually became so firmly established and so vast, that the assemblies of the people were, in many respects, little more than tools in the hands of the aristocracy or the *optimates*. The elections of the high magistrates were anything but free, since the illustrious families were in the exclusive possession of the most important and lucrative offices. These *optimates*, as they were called, accumulated their wealth in the provinces, and at home amused and corrupted the people by distributions of money or food, by games, spectacles, and bribes. In purchasing the estates of the small landed proprietors, to whom the republic originally owed her greatness, they had acquired immense tracts of land which were cultivated by bands of slaves, while a large class of reduced freemen, without a home or bread, were wandering about in the country with their wives and children, not having a foot of land which they could claim as their own, though they were told that they were the lords of the earth!¹ At Rome itself things were no better: a numerous populace had gradually been formed, which, without property or industry, threatened sooner or later to become most dangerous to the safety of the state, as they might be used, by any one who chose to buy them, for the worst of purposes. Many undoubtedly saw the abyss at the verge of which the republic had arrived, but no one had the courage to interfere. At length there arose two illustrious plebeians, who were resolved to ameliorate the condition of the lower classes and thereby to save the republic from ruin. These were the two brothers Tiberius and Caius Sempronius Gracchus, sons of that Tib. Gracchus who had distinguished himself in Spain by his justice and humanity, and of Cornelia, the daughter of the elder Scipio, a woman renowned above all others in Roman history for her intellect, her affection, her greatness of soul and the refinement of her manners. Sempronia, the sister of the two Gracchi, was married to the younger Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage. Their birth alone entitled them to look forward to the greatest honours

¹ Plut. Tib. Gracch. 9.

which the republic could bestow ; and the education which they had received principally at the hands of their excellent mother gave them another claim ; but the circumstances of the time in which they lived pointed out to them the part they had to act in the history of their country.

Tib. Sempronius Gracchus was nine years older than his brother Caius : his mind had been trained by Cornelia, and improved by intercourse with Greek philosophers and rhetoricians ; and like most other Roman nobles he had learnt much in the practical school of the camp, for he had served in the last war against Carthage, and in that against Numantia he had saved the lives of 20,000 Roman citizens by a treaty which he prevailed upon the Spaniards to conclude. It is said that on his march to Spain, as he passed through the fertile country of Etruria, his just indignation was roused by the sight of numberless slaves in chains, who cultivated the extensive estates of the wealthy aristocrats, while thousands of free citizens were pining in poverty. His generous and noble soul was seized with a deep sympathy for suffering humanity, which led him, after his return from Spain, to try the only remedy that seemed yet practicable. Seventy years before this period, Q. Laelius is said to have perceived the evil, and to have thought of attempting a cure, but he gave up the idea in despair.

The Licinian agrarian law had limited the domain-land to be occupied by one person to 500 jugera, and had ordained that all who were thus tenants of the republic should pay a small annual rent ; but how little this law was observed even in the lifetime of the law-giver and by himself, we have already had occasion to remark : as the law itself still existed, having never been repealed, the neglect of it was an abuse which any one had a right to denounce and to remove. Tiberius Gracchus determined to renew the Licinian law. All those who possessed more of the public land than the law permitted were concerned in the matter ; they were the aristocracy, and they resolved to make a most determined opposition to any plan for driving them from their

possessions. The object of Gracchus was, by taking away the surplus from the present occupants and distributing it among the poor, to afford the latter the means of living, and thus to change them from an impoverished and idle populace into industrious husbandmen. He did not allow himself to be intimidated by the threats of his opponents: his humanity, affability, and kindness, his straightforward and upright conduct, and his generous interference with the Numantines, had secured him the greatest popularity at Rome; and when he presented himself as a candidate for the tribuneship, he was elected without any difficulty, for the year B.C. 133.

His plans were well known, and many of the most distinguished men of the time, such as Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and P. Mucius Scaevola the great jurist, although they knew that they themselves would be losers by his scheme, were generous enough to support him with all their influence. Encouraged by these and other friends, Gracchus brought forward a bill enforcing the Licinian law, with these modifications: that any man who had two sons might have 250 jugera beyond his own 500, for each of them; that the distribution of the surplus and unassigned public land in equal portions among the poor should be conducted by a permanent college of three men (*triumviri*); and that the lots assigned should not be transferable by purchase or sale. The abstract legality of this measure no one can dispute, for the state was the real owner of all public land, and those who occupied it were in fact nothing but tenants-at-will of the state. But the abuse and violation of the Licinian law had so long been connived at, that people had got into the habit of looking upon their possession of public land as if it had been their own property; and accordingly many had laid out large sums of money upon such land, or had erected buildings upon it, while others had *bona fide* purchased tracts at their full value, for no one seems to have thought that the state would ever reclaim its property. Now with regard to buildings, the law of Gracchus contained a clause enacting that they should be valued, and that

those who had erected them should receive their value in money from the public treasury. Had there been a similar clause to indemnify those who had purchased public land at its real value, all reasonable demands would have been satisfied, though it would not by any means have allayed the opposition; but unfortunately this point was neglected.

The senatorial or aristocratic party offered a desperate resistance to the bill, and had recourse to the most disgraceful means to defeat Gracchus; he was called a demagogue, a rioter, and a mutineer; and a sort of conspiracy, headed by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Q. Pompeius, was entered into against him. His opponents succeeded in gaining over to their side one of his colleagues, M. Octavius, who was prevailed upon to put his veto on the bill. As Octavius would have been a loser by the measure, Gracchus offered to make good the loss out of his own means, if Octavius would give up his opposition. This offer was refused, and Gracchus now implored and entreated him, but intimated at the same time, that if Octavius persisted he should be obliged to proceed to extremities, and propose to the people to deprive him of his office of tribune. As Octavius still persevered, his deposition was put to the vote, and carried. This act of Gracchus has often been censured very severely, because it was unprecedented in the history of Rome; but the necessity of the case compelled Gracchus to act as he did; and after all, the citizens of a republic surely have the right to deprive a man of his office if he does not discharge his duties to their satisfaction. However, the antagonists of Gracchus had now got a handle against him, and they branded the deposition of Octavius as a violation of the constitution.

After this, the agrarian law was carried without opposition, and a permanent triumvirate was appointed, consisting of the two Gracchi and Appius Claudius. The people were enthusiastic in their attachment to and admiration of Gracchus, but in the senate he was insulted in the grossest manner, and the aristocracy set all their engines at work to thwart and obstruct him in

carrying the law into effect. About this time, messengers arrived in Rome with the will of Attalus, who had just died, and had left his treasures and kingdom to the Roman people. Gracchus availed himself of this opportunity to bring in a bill^a to the effect that the money which had been bequeathed to the people should be distributed among those who received assignments of land, in order to enable them to purchase cattle, and the implements necessary for husbandry; or, according to others, that the money should be distributed among those for whom no land could be provided. He is further said to have proposed, or at least to have contemplated proposing, several other measures designed to limit the power of the senate, to secure the right of appeal from the senate to the people, and to shorten the time that citizens were obliged to serve in the army.

But his opponents gradually succeeded, by calumnies and misrepresentations, in making the fickle populace look upon their benefactor with suspicion and mistrust; and even the absurd report that he was aiming at kingly power found credence among them. Gracchus began to see that if he were not protected by his sacred character as tribune, his life would be in the greatest danger; and he accordingly offered himself as a candidate for the tribuneship for the following year. It was unfortunate for him that the election took place at the time when the country-people were occupied with the harvest, and could not come to Rome, so that the most respectable part of the electors were unable to attend. The first two tribes had already voted in his favour, when the opposition party stepped in, and declared the proceedings to be illegal. A want of firmness in the tribune who presided at the election, and the ensuing disputes, occupied the rest of the day, and the business was to be resumed on the following morning. Gracchus, who knew that the optimates were planning his destruction, went about with his child, imploring the protection of the people; and a large crowd conducted him home, watching

^a Livy, *Epit.* 58, says that he only promised to bring forward this bill.

about his house all night. In the morning he himself was doubtful whether he should go to the assembly or not ; but his friends urged him not to despair. The people were assembled in the open space, or area, in front of the Capitol, while the senate was holding its meeting in the neighbouring temple of Fides, whence the proceedings of the assembly could be observed. As the election was going on, Gracchus was informed by a friend, that as the consuls refused to use force against the people, the senators themselves were preparing to come to the assembly and kill him. The people, on hearing that his life was in danger, made preparation to repel force by force. P. Scipio Nasica, a wealthy and vehement aristocrat, seized this moment, and called upon the senators to follow him and save the republic. The senators, led by Nasica, and armed with sticks, clubs, and the legs of the benches on which they had been sitting, rushed among the people, and knocked down or killed all who opposed them. Gracchus himself was slain in the tumult, and his body, along with those of 300 others, was thrown into the Tiber. Many of his friends were afterwards sent into exile, or put to death, by the infuriated optimates, in most instances without any judicial verdict. The sacred head of the popular party had thus fallen in the noblest contest in which a statesman could be engaged, in a contest for the protection of the poor and the oppressed ; but his agrarian law was still in force, and the triumvirs continued their operations, M. Fulvius Flaccus being appointed in the place of Tib. Gracchus. Scipio Nasica went to Pergamus, in order to escape from the fury and indignation of the people, and never saw his country again.

The spirit of the murdered Tiberius survived in the college of the tribunes, who through him had become aware of the greatness of their power ; but the less noble-minded among them were driven to excess and ambitious efforts, which could lead to no good. In B.C. 132, Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, returned from Spain : he approved of the murder of his brother-in-law, and placed himself at the head of the senatorial

party.³ In B.C. 131, C. Papirius Carbo, a friend of Tib. Gracchus, and a man of great ability, but turbulent and unprincipled, being tribune, brought forward a rogation enacting that the people should have the right to re-elect the same person to the tribuneship as often as they pleased; but Scipio successfully opposed the scheme. After the death of Appius Claudius, Carbo was appointed his successor in the triumvirate. One day, in B.C. 129, Scipio vigorously opposed the proceedings of the triumvirs, and in the evening went home to prepare for a fresh attack upon them the next day; but in the morning he was found dead in his bed, and it is not improbable that there was some foundation for the report that he had been murdered by Carbo. Many persons were suspected, but the senate did not dare to investigate the matter—a proof of the frightful state of things. However, the popular party gained fresh strength every day, for Carbo carried a law, that thenceforth the people should vote upon legislative measures by means of tablets;⁴ and C. Atinius Labeo, who had been ejected from the senate by the censor Metellus, carried a plebiscitum, that the tribunes should have the right to convene the senate and vote in it.⁵

The question whether the Roman franchise should not be granted to the Italian allies had been mooted even in the time of Tib. Gracchus; but instead of promoting this plan, which would have conferred incalculable blessings on Rome, the tribune M. Junius Pennus, in B.C. 126, carried a law by which all the aliens resident at Rome were ordered to quit the city.⁶ Caius Gracchus opposed him, but in vain. This act occasioned the

³ Even when he was in Spain and received intelligence of the murder of Tib. Gracchus, he expressed his approval of it in the Homeric line, (*Odys.* i. 47)

ὡς ἀπόλοιο καὶ ἄλλος, ὅτις τοιαῦτά γε βέβοι.

Cicero and other ancient writers, being

biased by aristocratic prejudices, speak in similar terms of the murder of the two Gracchi.

⁴ Cicero, *De Leg.* iii. 16. This measure was equivalent to the establishment of what in this country is called "vote by ballot."

⁵ See above, p. 383.

⁶ Cicero, *De Off.* iii. 11, *Brut.* 28.

greatest exasperation in Italy; and when, in the following year, the proposal of M. Fulvius Flaccus, a man of honest intentions but of impetuous temper, who was then consul, that all the Italians who desired it should receive the Roman franchise, was rejected, several Italian towns seem to have risen, to demand with arms in their hands what Rome so obstinately refused. Fregellae, which seems to have been foremost among the claimants, was taken and destroyed by the praetor L. Opimius. In order to prevent any further attempts of the kind, the senate had recourse to an expedient which is not uncommon in republics: the leaders of the popular party were sent away from the city; C. Gracchus being, in B.C. 126, sent to Sardinia as quaestor to the consul L. Orestes; and Flaccus into Gaul, to support the Massilians against the Salluvii, a Celtic people on the banks of the Rhone, who had invaded the territory of Massilia. Flaccus succeeded in defeating them, and this was the beginning of the Roman dominion in southern Gaul. The war there was continued for several years against the Allobroges and Arverni: in B.C. 122 the proconsul C. Sextius Calvinus founded the town of Aquae Sextiae (Aix); and in the following year, Q. Fabius Maximus made the southern part of Gaul a Roman province, whence, that part of France bears to this day, the name of Provence. In order to secure the Roman dominion in Gaul, the consul Q. Marcius, in B.C. 118, founded the colony of Narbo Marcius, the modern Narbonne.

But to return to the affairs of Rome itself; by the removal of the popular leaders the optimates gained only a short respite, and the temporary delay of a movement the progress of which it was impossible to prevent. C. Gracchus, like his brother, had been trained for public life; but he possessed more talent and skill as a politician and an orator: although more vehement than Tiberius, he had the same noble and disinterested patriotism, and his impressive eloquence gained for him the greatest popularity. But the murder of his brother having destroyed all his hopes, and to some extent paralyzed his energy, he would

willingly have kept aloof from all participation in public affairs, had he not been urged on by the spirit of his brother, who is said to have appeared to him in his dreams, and by the shameful conduct of the optimates, which even the meekest of men could not have borne. They contrived means to keep him in Sardinia as long as possible; but after the lapse of two years he suddenly appeared in Rome, B.C. 124, without having asked leave of Orestes. He defended his conduct, and was acquitted; but his opponents neglected no opportunity of annoying him with calumnies and charges which had not a shadow of truth, and only placed his innocence in a more conspicuous light. Notwithstanding the opposition of the whole body of optimates he was elected tribune for the year B.C. 123.

His first measures were directed against the murderers and enemies of his brother; and he accordingly proposed that any person who had been deprived by the people of one office should not be eligible to another; but this bill he afterwards withdrew at the request of his mother. His second rogation was, that any one who had put to death or sent into exile a Roman citizen, without a formal trial, should be liable to a public prosecution. After these preliminary measures, he renewed the agrarian law of his brother, the carrying of which into effect had been obstructed in every possible way. After this, he proposed a comprehensive series of laws, some of which were carried, and all of which were intended to raise the lower classes, to remove abuses, and to limit the power of the senate. One of them ordained that the soldiers, besides receiving pay, should also be equipped by the state; and that no one should be obliged to serve in the army before the completion of his seventeenth year; another enacted that public granaries should be established, from which at certain times the poor were to receive corn at a very low price.⁷ A third was devised to establish that the order in which the centuries were to vote in the *comitia* should be determined by

⁷ This law remained in force till about B.C. 74, when it was supplanted by another similar *lex rumentaria*. Cicero, *Brut.* 62, *De Off.* ii. 21.

lot.⁸ A fourth forbade the putting of a Roman citizen to death, except by the command of the people themselves. These enactments secured to C. Gracchus the highest possible degree of popularity, and he was re-elected tribune for B.C. 122, without any difficulty.

He entered upon the second period of his legislative activity⁹ with a reform of certain courts of justice,¹⁰ in which all cases of mal-administration were tried, and which had hitherto been composed of senators exclusively. Justice had been administered there with the most barefaced partiality, and the judges had allowed themselves to be bribed to an almost incredible extent. This evil was felt most severely by the provincials, when they had occasion to complain of Roman governors who had been guilty of extortion or oppression; for the judges in such cases were men of the same class, and often in the same predicament, as the accused: at any rate they had the same interests; and the spoils of the provinces filled the pockets not only of the governors, but also of their judges. The right possessed by the provincials of bringing an action against a governor for extortion, was in fact rather a misfortune for them than an advantage. C. Gracchus endeavoured to put a stop to this abuse by enacting, that thenceforth the courts which investigated such cases should be composed of equites,¹¹ or the wealthy capitalists, who formed a sort of middle class between the aristocracy and the people, and who seemed to be a desirable equipoise to the senators. By this law he gained over to his plans the wealthiest and most respectable citizens, and gave a serious blow to the power of the senate. The equites seem thenceforth to have supplied, at least to some extent, the place of the popular courts also, for after

⁸ It is more than doubtful whether this law was ever carried or even proposed.

⁹ We here assign certain measures to his second tribuneship, but it must be observed that our authorities do not distinguish the time at which the several laws were brought forward.

¹⁰ The *judicia publica*.

¹¹ Appian, *De Bell. Civ.* i. 22; Voll. Pat. ii. 6; Cicero, *in Verr.* i. 16. According to Plutarch (*C. Gracch.* 5), the *judicia* were composed of 300 equites and 300 senators, but according to Livy (*Epit.* 60) of 600 equites and 300 senators.

this time the latter are mentioned very rarely. This judicial law of C. Gracchus, which remained in force down to the legislation of Sulla, shows more clearly than anything else that he was not a demagogue, a name by which he has so frequently been designated. Another law, which likewise abolished a great abuse, enacted that every year, previously to the election of the consuls, the senate should determine the provinces which were to be assigned to them.

By far the most important attempt of C. Gracchus, though unfortunately an unsuccessful one, was to confer the Roman franchise upon all the Italians;¹² or, according to others, on the Latins directly,¹³ and on the other allies only on condition that they would support him in carrying out his reforms. His object in this measure was to introduce a better element into the Roman population, and thus to produce a regeneration of the republic; and what he intended to do was no more than what the allies themselves had already and justly demanded, but which Rome refused to grant, until at a somewhat later time, one of the most dangerous and destructive wars she was ever engaged in compelled her to do so. We cannot here enumerate all the measures which C. Gracchus actually brought forward, or intended to propose: suffice it to say, that his comprehensive mind overlooked no branch of the administration in which useful and salutary reforms could be introduced; and at the time that he was engaged in these important labours, he superintended in person, and with the greatest strictness, the making or repairing of roads, bridges, and other public works: he also conducted the distribution of public land, and founded several colonies in Italy in which the Latins and Italians were allowed to take part.

While C. Gracchus was thus quietly proceeding with his great work, the senate had recourse to a peculiar but disgraceful kind of stratagem. M. Livius Drusus, a man distinguished for his wealth and eloquence, and a colleague of Gracchus in the

¹² Plut. *C. Gracch.* 5; Vell. Pat. ii. 6.

¹³ Appian, *De Bell. Civ.* i. 23.

tribuneship, was prevailed upon to try to outbid him in the proposal of popular measures, and thereby to undermine his popularity. The plan succeeded; for the populace then, as at other times, were not concerned about motives and consequences, and followed the man who offered them the greatest momentary advantages. Livius Drusus abolished the tithes upon the lands distributed among the poor, and proposed to found twelve colonies, each consisting of 3000 Roman citizens. It seems to have been about this time that Gracchus set out to found a colony near the site of ancient Carthage. He returned to Rome after an absence of only seventy days, about the time that the consuls for the next year were to be elected. L. Opimius whose suit had been rejected the year before through the influence of Gracchus, now offered himself again, and being made consul for B.C. 121, became as might have been expected, the most active and zealous opponent of Gracchus. When the latter offered himself a third time as a candidate for the tribuneship, he found himself deceived in his expectations: the people did not elect him. But he still remained one of the triumvirs.

Being now divested of his sacred character of tribune, the senatorial party showed their intentions more and more unreservedly. Opimius having assembled the people with a view to abolish the laws of Gracchus, a tumult arose, and the senate issued a proclamation investing the consuls with dictatorial power. The confusion soon became general, and Gracchus, with his friend Fulvius Flaccus, escaped to the Aventine, where Flaccus had hastily assembled as many armed friends and slaves as he could, to defend himself and his party against the attacks of their opponents. Flaccus sent his son to the senate to negotiate for a truce, but the young man was thrown into prison and afterwards murdered. The senatorial party then made the attack, and Flaccus was slain. Gracchus, who did all he could to avoid civil bloodshed, took to flight, and escaped to the sacred grove of the Furies, on the other side of the Tiber; but being overtaken by his pursuers, he desired a faithful slave who

accompanied him to kill him. A proclamation having been made promising that if any one would bring the head of Flaccus, or Gracchus, he should receive its weight in gold, one Septimuleius cut off the head of the latter, and having increased its weight by pouring molten lead into it, brought it to Opimius to receive the reward. The number of the slain in this affray is said to have amounted to 3000, the bodies of whom, together with those of the popular leaders, were ordered by Opimius to be thrown into the Tiber. All the friends of Gracchus who fell into the hands of their enemies were thrown into prison and there strangled; when the optimates were satiated with blood, they committed the blasphemous mockery of dedicating a temple to Concord. Some of those who belonged to the party of Gracchus became renegades: among them we find C. Papirius Carbo, who, when raised to the consulship, in B.C. 120, defended Opimius against the tribune Q. Decius, who brought an action against him for having put to death Roman citizens without a trial. Carbo became the favourite of the aristocracy, but he found a formidable opponent in L. Licinius Crassus, whose sister Licinia had been married to C. Gracchus, and who drove Carbo to despair and suicide. This was the first important blow which the victorious party received; but Crassus himself afterwards changed, and became one of their champions.

The blessings which the Gracchi had so ardently desired to confer upon their country were not realised: the agrarian law was not observed; and the wealthy optimates continued, as before, to purchase the lands of their poorer neighbours, or to drive them from their farms; while the equites, being greatly intimidated by the outrages of the aristocracy, showed at first little independence, and were found in the end to be as accessible to bribery and corruption as the senators had been. Things, in fact, went on much in the same way as they had done before, until they were brought to a crisis in the war against Jugurtha.

CHAPTER XXV.

FOREIGN WARS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE GRACCHI—THE JUGURTHINE WAR—C. MARIUS AND L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

WE have already mentioned the conquests which the Romans made in Gaul during this period: we must here add that the Balearian islands were subdued by Q. Metellus, in B.C. 123;¹ and the Dalmatians, who henceforth appear as subjects of Rome, by his brother L. Metellus, in B.C. 117.² But a far more important war was that against the usurper Jugurtha, king of Numidia, of which we have a masterly account by Sallust. It derives its importance, not so much from the great efforts which were made on both sides, as from the circumstance that it shows the moral degradation into which the Romans had sunk; for here we clearly see that no crime or treachery, either in war or in peace, was thought disgraceful if it only yielded gain and profit, and how at Rome everything could be accomplished by money. The corruption of the senate as well as of the people, and of the commanders as well of the soldiers, was displayed openly and without shame.

Micipsa, the son of Masinissa, had been king of all Numidia; that is, of the country between Morocco and Tripolis. Before his death, in B.C. 118, he gave his kingdom to his two sons, Hiempsal and Adherbal, and to his adopted son Jugurtha; and the three princes were to govern their kingdom as colleagues. Jugurtha, as a highly talented and captivating youth, had attracted Micipsa's attention at an early age; but when the king discovered that the youth far excelled his own sons, he was prompted by a feeling of jealousy and fear to send him with an

¹ Liv. *Epit.* 60; Oroa. v. 13.² Liv. *Epit.* 62.

army to Spain, to assist Scipio in his war against the Numantines, hoping that the young man would never return to Numidia. In Spain, Jugurtha gained the friendship of Scipio, and when he went back to Africa, Scipio gave him a recommendatory letter to Micipsa, who not only became reconciled to him, but in his will placed him on an equality with his own sons. Jugurtha had become acquainted with the venality of the Romans, some of whom are said to have even stimulated him to bring about a revolution and place himself alone on the throne of Numidia. The three princes could not possibly continue to rule together in peace and concord. Hiempsal, being proud and ferocious, provoked Jugurtha, who took revenge by causing him to be murdered, in B.C. 117. Jugurtha also made an attempt upon the life of Adherbal, but it failed, and Adherbal hastened to Rome to implore the protection of the senate. The Romans were at first inclined to investigate the matter, but the ten commissioners, among whom L. Opimius was the most conspicuous, were so overwhelmed with the golden bribes of Jugurtha that they decided everything according to his wishes. The kingdom was now divided between the two princes, and in such a manner that the best part was assigned to Jugurtha; but this did not satisfy him: new quarrels arose, and Adherbal was besieged in his capital of Cirta, and killed, in B.C. 112. It was in vain that Roman ambassadors again took him to account, for he bribed or deceived them in the most audacious manner. The tribune, C. Memmius, now showed his noble indignation at these disgraceful proceedings in Numidia, and by revealing the scandalous conduct of the Roman ambassadors compelled the senate to decree war against Jugurtha in B.C. 111. The consul, L. Calpurnius Bestia, and his legate, M. Aemilius Scaurus, who had previously been one of the ambassadors, accordingly led an army into Africa. The war was for a time conducted honestly, but the Romans, seeing that they might derive greater advantages by negotiations than by arms, concluded a peace with the enemy, who nominally submitted to them. The whole transaction, however, was a mere farce, for the Roman commanders were

induced by bribes to let Jugurtha violate the terms of the peace in any way he pleased.

When these things became known at Rome, they excited the greatest exasperation among those in whom the sense of honour had not yet become extinct. The bold and eloquent tribune, C. Memmius, again exposed the whole revolting system, and Jugurtha was summoned to Rome to account for his conduct. He came, but even now he might have escaped punishment, had he not had the audacity to murder Massiva, a grandson of Masinissa, who was staying at Rome. Immediately afterwards, Jugurtha quitted Rome with these words, "Oh, the venal city! it will perish as soon as it can find a purchaser."⁵ Future ages saw the truth of this prediction, for in A.D. 193, Didius Julianus literally purchased the sovereignty of the Roman empire. The senate now annulled all transactions with Jugurtha, and, in B.C. 110, sent the consul, Sp. Postumius Albinus, with an army to Africa. He conducted the war in a careless and slovenly manner; and the time for the consular election having arrived, he went to Rome to attend the comitia, leaving the command of the army in the hands of his brother Aulus, who allowed himself to be imposed upon by the cunning Numidian in such a manner that he was surrounded by the enemy, lost his camp, and was compelled to submit to a most humiliating peace. The senate, however, refused to ratify it.

At this time of misfortune and internal discord between the senate and people, Q. Caecilius Metellus, who was made consul for the year B.C. 109, undertook the command against Jugurtha. He conducted the war for two years in a manner which deserves the highest praise; for he was above the vices of his age, incorruptible, disinterested, and not less great as a statesman than as a general. His virtues, however, were obscured by his overwhelming aristocratic pride, and by his contempt of the people. This trait in his character brought great misery on his country,

⁵ *Urbem venalem, et mature perituram, si emptorem invenerit.* Sallust, *Jug.* 38.

since but for it C. Marius would probably not have been irritated and provoked by him to that degree which rendered him so dangerous an enemy to the ruling party. When Metellus went to Africa he took with him C. Marius as his legate. He was a man of humble origin, but of a strong, most energetic, and ambitious mind: he was unable to brook the insolence of the optimates, who set all their energies at work to keep him down. He was a native of Arpinum, and had about him all the rustic severity of the early Romans: despising the education and accomplishments which in his time were the distinguishing features of Romans of rank, he was unsurpassed, or rather unequalled, as a commander and a tactician. In his early life he is said to have been a common labourer, and to have afterwards served as a common soldier in the army. But his extraordinary talents did not remain unnoticed; for without any family connection or influence he rose from one office to another, and acquired considerable property. He was very superstitious, and the prophecies of a Syrian woman, named Martha, had inspired him with the strongest conviction that he was destined by fate to obtain the highest honours in the republic. But the nobles hated the ambitious upstart, who even in his tribuneship, B.C. 119, had exerted himself to check their power and influence. In the camp of Metellus he signalised himself above all others; and in B.C. 108, he resolved upon offering himself as a candidate for the consulship. Metellus not only opposed the scheme, but ridiculed his ambition in a most provoking manner. This conduct was more than Marius could bear; he never forgot it afterwards; and without asking for leave of absence, he went to Rome and sued for the consulship. He was received by the people with great enthusiasm: as a real demagogue he flattered them on every occasion, and delighted to appear among the populace as one of their equals. By these means he gained the consulship for B.C. 107, with the commission to bring the war against Jugurtha to a close. Metellus fancied that it was already terminated, and with great reluctance surrendered the command to Marius.

But Jugurtha strengthened himself by entering into an alliance with Bocchus, his father-in-law, king of Mauritania. Marius, in forming his army, set the old custom at naught, and enlisted large numbers of the poorer classes who had never before served in the legions : the nobles did not object to this innovation, because it relieved them from the necessity of serving in the army ; but they were blind to its consequences, for they do not seem to have perceived how dangerous arms might become in the hands of such people, who greedy after booty did not think of serving their country, but attached themselves to the general who could reward their services most liberally. Marius was eminently successful against Jugurtha, yet it was not till his second campaign, in B.C. 106, that the war came to a close.

L. Cornelius Sulla, who had accompanied Marius as his quaestor to Africa, had nothing in common with him except his ambition : he belonged to a patrician family, and was a talented, refined, and accomplished man of the world. Marius had reduced Jugurtha so far, that his only hope now was in Bocchus ; but Sulla, by his cunning, gained over the Mauritanian king to the Roman cause, and induced him to join in a plan to deliver Jugurtha into the hands of his enemies. The scheme succeeded, and Jugurtha, in chains, was surrendered to Sulla, who directly brought him to the camp of Marius. He was afterwards carried to Rome in triumph, and starved to death in a prison. The war against Jugurtha was thus brought to a close by Sulla, whose fame still further stimulated the jealousy and hatred with which Marius regarded not only him, but the whole party of the optimates.

During this period, Rome had been at war for several years with the Scordisci, a Thracian people, against whom they fought with varying success, until, in B.C. 112, M. Livius Drusus drove them back into their own country, and forbade them to cross the river Danube. But conjointly with the Triballi, they afterwards again invaded Macedonia, whence they were finally expelled in B.C. 107 by the proconsul M. Minucius.

CHAPTER XXVI.

WAR AGAINST THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES—SECOND SERVILE WAR IN SICILY—DISTURBANCES AT ROME BY THE TRIBUNE L. APPULIUS SATURNINUS—ACQUISITION OF CYRENE.

NOTHING could have happened more fortunately for Rome than the termination of the Jugurthine war at this time, for the republic required the talents and skill of Marius in a war compared with which that against Jugurtha was little and insignificant, for swarms of barbarians were threatening to invade Italy from the north. About B.C. 113 the Cimbri, probably a Celtic tribe, had been driven from their homes in the south-east of Europe by the Sarmatians, who were pressing westward. They appeared first in Noricum, to the north-east of the Adriatic, and on the banks of the Danube. Noricum was inhabited by Celts who were under the protection of Rome, and it seems to have been there that they were joined by the Teutones, who were undoubtedly Germans; but the latter were detained in the east of Europe, and some years elapsed before they appeared in the western parts with the Cimbri. The Romans sent an army under the consul Cn. Papirius Carbo to protect the passes of the Alps. The Cimbri had promised not to commit any hostilities against the friends of Rome; but they were, nevertheless, treacherously attacked by the consul in the neighbourhood of Noreia. His conduct received its merited punishment, for he was completely defeated. The Cimbri, however, who seem to have fought alone on that occasion, did not follow up their victory by invading Italy, but turned towards Helvetia, where they were joined by the Tigurini and Ambrones. They then threw themselves upon Gaul like an immense horde of nomades, their women and children

being carried in a large number of wagons. The Belgae alone were brave and powerful enough to resist them. Thence the barbarians again turned southward, towards the Roman province of Gaul, where they were met, in B.C. 109, by the consul M. Junius Silanus. The Cimbri sent an embassy to his camp and thence to Rome, praying that the Romans would assign them a country to live in, and promising to assist them whenever it might be required. As their petition was rejected, they attacked Silanus and defeated him. In B.C. 107, the consul L. Cassius Longinus, was equally unfortunate in the neighbourhood of the lake of Geneva, where he lost his army and his life. Defeat thus followed after defeat, and the Romans were unable to protect the Gauls, most of whose towns were taken and destroyed by the invaders. In B.C. 105, the proconsul Q. Servilius Caepio undertook the command of an army in Gaul. He ordered the town of Tolosa, which was very rich and had gone over to the Cimbri, to be plundered, and he there made immense booty. Another army, under the consul Cn. Manlius Maximus, occupied the country on the left of the river Rhone: he was unable to unite his forces with those of Caepio, who, from jealousy, and a desire not to share his laurels with the consul, kept his camp at a distance. At length, however, when the legate M. Aurelius Scaurus had been taken and killed by the chief Boiorix, Caepio approached the Rhone. A battle was then fought, in which Rome suffered a severer defeat than any she had yet sustained in this war. The two consular armies were completely annihilated: 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp followers are said to have been slain. Caepio himself, to whose conduct the calamity was justly ascribed, escaped with ten men across the Rhone. The Roman people deprived him of his imperium, and many years afterwards condemned him to death and confiscated his property. The Cimbri destroyed all the booty they took, and hung the captive Romans on trees; but as their only object was to establish themselves somewhere they did not follow up their victory.

All Italy, however, trembled as in the days of Hannibal, for it

was expected that this formidable host would forthwith come down upon Italy. No one ventured to offer himself for the consulship, and C. Marius was again the only man to whom the whole republic looked with confidence: even his political opponents, seeing that the very existence of the republic was at stake, supported his elevation; and though he had not yet returned from Numidia, he was, in his absence, raised to the consulship for the year B.C. 104. The same dignity was conferred upon him in the three following years. In the meantime, fortunately for Italy, the Cimbri after their victory did not cross the Alps, but went to Spain, which they traversed for a few years, committing as great ravages as the Vandals did at a much later time. The Celtiberians however successfully resisted them in their towns. In B.C. 102 the Cimbri returned to Gaul, where, in the meantime, the Teutones also had arrived, and both seem now to have resolved upon invading Italy.

Marius, after being raised to the consulship, devoted nearly all his time to making preparations for the war. He created and trained an entirely new army, which, for the most part, consisted of the populace, and the veterans whom he had brought back from Africa. When the Cimbri returned to Gaul he was already there with his new army, and had exercised his men on the very ground on which they were to meet the enemy. He accustomed his soldiers to the greatest hardships, under which many perished, but the survivors were excellent soldiers. The Cimbri marched towards Noricum to invade Italy from that quarter, and the consul Q. Lutatius Catulus was sent in the direction of Trent to meet them. The Teutones remained in Gaul; Marius, we know not why, retreated before them, and they passing by his camp jeered and mocked the Romans. But when they arrived on the river Argenteus, they found that Marius had already reached its banks by a different road. He pitched his camp, perhaps intentionally, in such a manner that the soldiers could not go out to provide themselves with water except under arms. The skirmishes to which this circumstance

gave rise led to a decisive battle in the neighbourhood of Aquae Sextiae (Aix), which lasted for two days. The skill and foresight of Marius, and the hot summer days which the barbarians were unable to endure, caused their complete defeat on the second day. They retreated to their wagons, but could not maintain their ground, and the whole nation was literally annihilated, for the survivors made away with themselves. Their king was taken prisoner. Just as Marius was offering up a sacrifice to testify his gratitude to the gods for this victory, messengers arrived from Rome to inform him that he had been elected consul for the fifth time, for B.C. 101.

Half the danger was now removed; but just at this time the Cimbri were descending from the Raetian Alps into the valley of the Adige. They poured in upon the country like a torrent, and Lutatius Catulus, being unable to resist them, was obliged to retreat even beyond the Po, and leave the towns north of the river to their fate. The Cimbri now spread over the plains of Lombardy, ravaging the country in a frightful manner. Marius, who had heard of the perilous position of his late colleague, hastened from Gaul to Italy, and joined his army to that of Catulus. In a place called the Campi Raudii, near either to Verona or to Vercellae, he drew up his forces in battle array. The front lines of the Cimbri are said to have been bound together with chains so as to form an impregnable wall, while Marius placed his lines in such a position that the sun and the wind were against the barbarians. The great battle was fought on the 80th of July, B.C. 101: the fate of the Cimbri was the same as that of the Teutones; 14,000 are said to have fallen on the field of battle, and 60,000 to have been taken prisoners, who were afterwards sold as slaves. A small band of the Cimbri and Teutones, the only survivors of the barbarians, had taken up their abode on the Meuse, in the neighbourhood of Namur, where half a century later they were found by Julius Caesar.¹ Marius celebrated his victories in a most magnificent triumph.

¹ Caesar, *De Bell. Gall.* ii. 29.

By bribes, which he distributed among the people, he now gained the consulship for the sixth time, an honour never before, perhaps, conferred on any Roman. The height on which he now stood made him giddy and overbearing, and it would have been better for his fame as well as for his country if he had died on the day of his triumph.

At the time when Marius was engaged in Gaul against the Teutones, a second servile war broke out in Sicily. Some symptoms of the danger arising from too large a slave population had before been manifested in Campania; but in B.C. 102 the avarice of the praetor, P. Licinius Nerva, brought the matter to a crisis in Sicily. He manumitted all the slaves in the island who were natives of a Roman province, but compelled those who were born in other countries to remain in their wretched condition. The latter, therefore, attempted to break their chains by force. The frightful and destructive war which now broke out lasted for nearly four years, from B.C. 102 to B.C. 99. Two praetorian armies under L. Lucullus and P. Servilius Casca were successively defeated by the slaves, among whom Tryphon and afterwards Athenion were proclaimed kings. In B.C. 101, the consul M'. Aquillius was sent to Sicily to quell the insurrection. He fought with great success, and continued his command during the following year also, but was unable to bring the war to a close until B.C. 99, when Satyrus the last leader of the slaves, had fallen.

Marius, who, on account of his recent great victories, was called the third founder of Rome, now went beyond the bounds both of law and of sacred customs. His irritable temperament was constantly provoked by the aristocracy, which is the only thing that can be said in his excuse. Even immediately after the battle against the Cimbri, he of his own authority gave the Roman franchise to 1000 of the inhabitants of Camerinum in Umbria, to reward them for their bravery, declaring that in the din of war the laws could not be heard. On his return to Rome the popular party had gained considerable strength. In B.C. 104

the tribune L. Cassius Longinus had carried several laws with the view of curtailing the power of the senate; and in the same year Cn. Domitius enacted that all vacancies in the priestly colleges should be filled up by the lesser half of the people, that is, by seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes, whereas before this time each priestly college had itself filled up the vacancies that occurred in it. It is a peculiar sign of these times that whoever aspired to the great offices of the republic generally began his career by courting the favour of the multitude, but, when he had gained his object, joined the party of the optimates. Marius, in order to strengthen himself in his sixth consulship, formed connexions with two most turbulent and unprincipled demagogues, the tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus and the praetor C. Servilius Glaucia. Saturninus belonged to a noble plebeian family, but was one of the worst knaves that Rome ever produced, and comparable only to such beings as Catiline and Robespierre. For misconduct he had been deprived of the *quaestura Ostiensis*, an office connected with the providing of corn for the Roman granaries. Notwithstanding the justice of his deposition, he afterwards contrived to gain the tribuneship; and in B.C. 101 he offered himself again as a candidate for that office, in order to have an opportunity, with the assistance of his friend Marius, of taking vengeance on the senate. A person of the name of A. Nonius was his competitor, but Saturninus incited the people so much against him, that the man was murdered in the forum by the populace in broad daylight. After having got the tribuneship by violence, he entered upon an extensive system of legislation, beginning with an agrarian law, which he carried by main force, and which enacted that the lands recently conquered in Gaul and other countries should be divided among the people, and that each veteran of Marius should receive one thousand jugera in Africa. He further demanded that the senate should pledge itself by an oath to observe this law, even before it had been passed by the assembly, and that any senator refusing to take the oath should be excluded

from the senate and pay a fine of twenty talents. Metellus Numidicus was the only senator who had courage enough to refuse, and he went into voluntary exile. A second law decreed the foundation of a certain number of colonies, and Marius was to have the right of conferring the Roman franchise upon three individuals in each colony; a third had for its object to win the populace by the distribution of corn.

These and several other legislative measures were brought forward by Saturninus, and the year passed away amid the greatest atrocities. When the time for the elections drew near, he endeavoured to obtain for himself the tribuneship a third time, and for his associate, Servilius Glaucia, the consulship. C. Memmius, who came forward as a competitor of Glaucia, was murdered at the instigation of Saturninus. This and many other excesses of his party at length induced Marius to renounce his connexion with Saturninus, and to protect the republic against his mad and furious proceedings. The consequence was that neither Saturninus nor Glaucia was elected; but the disturbances were so great that the senate called upon Marius to save the republic, which he honestly did. He forthwith called the citizens to arms, and Saturninus and his associates were besieged on the Capitoline hill where they had taken refuge. After some time the want of water compelled them to surrender at discretion. Saturninus, Glaucia, and all their accomplices, were put to death by the command of Marius. This act of justice reconciled the minds of all to Marius, who was further generous enough to allow Metellus to be recalled from exile. He then retired to the station of a private person, and went to Asia. The year B.C. 100 is further remarkable as the one in which C. Julius Caesar was born, on the 12th of July.

After these disturbances there followed a period of recovery, though not of peace; for the sources of the disease were not removed, as every one must have seen, though the great mass of the people lived on heedlessly and carelessly. The two questions which had now become of the utmost importance, and

some settlement of which could not be evaded, were those relating to the courts of justice, in which cases of a public character were tried, and to the franchise or emancipation of the Italian allies. With regard to the former, it has been already observed that the equites, who now formed those courts, were become as corrupt as the senators had been before. The publicani, or farmers of the public revenues in the provinces, generally belonged to the class of the equites, and they and their agents extorted from the provincials the most exorbitant sums, which they did with the greater impunity, as all the actions brought against them for extortion were decided by their own colleagues at Rome, and, as a matter of course, always in their favour. Moreover there had sprung up, among the equites, a jealousy and a bitter hatred of the senate and of the governors of provinces, some of whom, such as Q. Mucius Scaevola and P. Rutilius, were honest enough to protect the provincials against the avarice of the publicani, who acted like privileged robbers. All attempts of the provincials to obtain justice were of no avail. At length, in B.C. 91, the eloquent and talented tribune, M. Livius Drusus, devised a plan for remedying the evil by a law which ordained that 300 equites should be chosen into the senate, and that out of the body of 600, half of whom were senators and half equites, the judices or jury for each case should be taken. But this measure was as offensive to the senate as to the equites; for the former thought it degrading that they should thus be put on an equality with the equites; and the latter, in addition to being deprived of a privilege of which they had before possessed the exclusive enjoyment, had reason to fear an investigation into their scandalous proceedings. Drusus thus gained no thanks for his trouble. He contemplated, and perhaps even carried, several other measures, in one of which he demanded the franchise for the Italians; but before his tribuneship came to its close, he was assassinated in his own house, and the senate repealed all his laws. Every one at Rome saw the necessity of emancipating the Italians, and at

times the Romans were willing to make the concession; but as soon as private interests and feelings were consulted, they again shrunk back. The refusal of the senate, and more especially the murder of Livius Drusus, was a signal for the Italians to demand by force of arms what they could not obtain in a constitutional way.

Before proceeding to give an account of the war to which these circumstances gave rise, let us cast a glance at the foreign relations of Rome at this time. Notwithstanding her internal shocks and convulsions, the policy of Rome in reference to foreign countries continued to be the same as before: Roman ambassadors were watchful everywhere, especially in Asia, where they interfered in the disputes between nations and kings. Thus Sulla, who was sent, in B.C. 92, to receive an embassy of Arsaces, king of the Parthians (it was the first transaction in which Rome had been engaged with the Parthians), restored Ariobarzanes who had been expelled from his kingdom of Cappadocia, and drove his opponent Gordias from the country. In B.C. 96, Ptolemaeus Apion, the last king of Cyrenaica in Africa, died, and, probably not without some secret employment of influence by the Romans themselves, bequeathed his flourishing kingdom to the senate and people of Rome. The senate, however, was liberal enough to allow the Cyrenaeans, at least for a time, the enjoyment of freedom and independence.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR.

THE contest which now broke out in Italy brought greater sufferings upon the country than any of the previous wars, even that of Hannibal scarcely excepted. Rome herself had fully deserved the calamities with which she was visited, by refusing to grant in proper time what was fairly demanded and could not justly be withheld. In early times she had followed the system of gradually extending the franchise, as a reward, to neighbouring places which had rendered her good service, and in this manner the thirty-five local tribes had been made up. But that system ceased about the end of the first Punic war: had it been continued, matters would never have come to the point at which we now find them; and Rome and Italy would have been spared a war in which the flower of their population perished.

Many Italians resided at Rome, and, though not legally, yet gradually and silently had been allowed to live and act as Roman citizens. All at once, in B.C. 95, just at the time when the Italians demanded to be emancipated, the consul L. Licinius Crassus, and the pontifex maximus, Q. Mucius Scaevola, carried a law ordering all those who had usurped the privileges of Roman citizens to cease exercising them, and to conduct themselves as citizens of the communities to which they respectively belonged—that is, as aliens resident at Rome.¹ The feelings which this law excited may easily be imagined. Three years later, Livius Drusus undertook the dangerous part of a mediator between Rome and the Italians: the enthusiasm of the latter for him was so great, that they swore an oath of allegiance to him, in which

¹ *Ascon. in Cornel.* p. 67, ed. Orelli; Cicero, *De Off.* iii. 11, *pro Balb.* 21, 24.

they pledged themselves to obey him unconditionally, and promised to induce others to do the same.² His greatest opponent was the consul, L. Marcius Philippus, who, by constantly irritating him, drove him to extremes. The assassination of Drusus, which we mentioned above, threw the Italians into a state of the greatest excitement: all their hopes were blighted, and there was no one left to whom they could look up with confidence. The ill-will against them was very general at Rome, where they were looked upon as rebels; but the better part of the population, including the senate, saw the necessity of concession, and may be said to have adopted the views of Livius Drusus: the equites on the contrary, from their hatred of the senate, did not scruple to make common cause with the rabble, who thought it a disgrace that the Italians should be placed on an equality with themselves: and instead of trying to avert the storm, they did their utmost to raise it. They made use of the tribune, Q. Varius, who, in spite of the intercession of his colleagues, carried by main force, (for the populace appeared in the forum in arms,) a law by which a commission was appointed to inquire who had had any communication with the allies touching their emancipation. This enactment occasioned a great many law-suits; and several distinguished senators were condemned. But the Italians had, in the meantime, made their preparations, and were already in arms. This war, usually called the Social or Marsic war, broke out in B.C. 90, and lasted till B.C. 88.

The Italian nations, which had gradually formed themselves into a confederacy, determined either to gain the franchise, or to raze Rome to the ground and establish a republic embracing the whole peninsula, were the Piceni, Vestinians, Marrucinians, Marsians, Pelignians, Samnites, Frentanians, Hirpinians, Lucanians, and Apulians. The Latins, the Latin colonies throughout Italy, the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Campanians, fortunately for Rome, did not join the confederacy, but remained quiet. The

² Diodor. *Excerpt. Vat.*, p. 128, ed. Dindorf.

deputies of the revolted nations held a meeting at Asculum, whither the praetor Servilius Caepio and his legate Fonteius went to remonstrate with them, and to persuade them to disperse and keep the peace; but both the praetor and his legate were murdered in the theatre at Asculum; and the exasperation of the people rose to such a pitch, that all the Romans who happened to be in the place were put to death. The same hostile feeling existed everywhere, though it was not everywhere accompanied by the same atrocities as at Asculum. The confederates declared that all Italy should form one republic, with Corfinium for its capital under the name of Italica, and that Rome should be destroyed. The new republic was to have a senate of 500 members, two annual consuls, and twelve praetors. The first consuls were Silo Popsædus, a Marsian, one of the principal instigators of the war, and C. Papius Mutilus, a Samnite, who, like all his countrymen, cherished a most implacable hatred of the Romans. The commanders on both sides were equally great; so also were the exertions which they made, and the passions by which they were animated.

The Roman consuls of the year B.C. 90, L. Julius Caesar and P. Rutilius Lupus, who took the field against the Italians, were unfortunate, and the advantage was decidedly with the allies. Rutilius Lupus fell in a battle against the Marsians, but the legates Sulla and Marius were more successful, and the latter put the Marsians to flight. The only thing, in fact, which saved Rome was that the Latin colonies remained faithful to her; and in order to secure the continuance of their attachment, the Romans granted the franchise to all the Latins by the celebrated Julian law, which was proposed and carried by the consul, L. Julius Caesar. This law applied to all Latium and to all the Latin colonies both within and without Italy; but it had no reference, as some have supposed, to any of the other Italian allies. This prudent concession greatly increased the Roman armies, which in point of numbers seem now to have surpassed the forces of the allies. These colonies, scattered as they were all over Italy and forming strong garrisons, separated the enemy's

territories, and obliged the Italians to leave troops behind them in all parts, whereby their strength was broken.

In order to comprehend the operations of this war, it is necessary to divide Italy into three great sections, each of which was the scene of a distinct war. The first, or southern part, extended as far as the river Liris in Campania; the second or middle portion extended from the river Liris to the frontiers of Picenum; and the northern consisted of Picenum itself. The consul Cn. Pompeius Strabo, B.C. 89, was the first Roman who gained any decisive advantages: he defeated the Marsians and Vestinians, and met an army of the confederates, 70,000 in number, in a great battle at Asculum, where he completely overcame them. The town was taken by storm and destroyed, and the fate of its inhabitants was dreadful. Pompeius Strabo then advanced southward, and some of the allies submitted to him. The Roman army in the south was commanded by L. Julius Caesar and was opposed to that of C. Papius Mutilus, who, after the conquest of several towns, transferred the war into Campania, where it became concentrated about Acerræ. But there the Romans gained no great advantages. The army in central Italy, under the command of Marius and Sulla, who subdued some tribes and took Stabiae, was opposed by that of Popædus Silo, who fell in the battle of Teanum, in the third year of the war, B.C. 88. The Italians appear to have been but loosely united together, and one nation after another concluded with Rome a separate peace for itself, either because they could not agree among themselves, or because they were jealous of one another. Thus the Vestinians and Pelignians submitted to Pompeius, and the Marsians also sued for peace, so that in the end only the Samnites and some Lucanians remained in arms. The Umbrians and Etruscans, who had begun to stir, were easily pacified, and forthwith received the Roman franchise. The Samnites, however, continued the war with the same vigour and perseverance as in former times, and refused to listen to any proposal of peace: they remained in arms, and afterwards, in the civil war between Sulla and Marius, joined the latter. The dangerous enmity

between these two powerful rivals, and the hostile proceedings of Mithridates in the east, made the Romans anxious to bring the war to a close; they accordingly promised the franchise to all those who laid down their arms. The war was thus concluded. The accounts of it which have come down to us are very meagre and unsatisfactory; but we may judge of its character from the result, for Velleius Paterculus tells us that in it Italy lost no less than 300,000 of her sons, and many flourishing towns were changed into heaps of ruins.

In the second year of the war, B.C. 89, M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo had carried a law granting the franchise to the citizens of all confederate towns in Italy, who being at the time domiciled in Italy should send in their names to the praetor within sixty days; and in the same year Pompeius Strabo carried another law, which conferred the Latin franchise upon all the inhabitants of the country between the Alps and the Po. The Transpadani thus stepped into the relation in which the Latins had hitherto been, and persons who were invested with a magistracy in any of their towns thereby acquired the privileges of Roman citizens. The great question now was, in what manner should the new citizens be incorporated with the Roman state? Were they to be distributed among the thirty-five existing tribes? or were they to be formed into new and separate tribes? The former plan was proposed, but rejected, because it would have been unfair towards the old tribes, whose members would have been surpassed in numbers by the new citizens, and who would accordingly have been outvoted by them on every occasion. The new citizens, therefore, were formed into new tribes, the number of which is uncertain; some say ten, others eight, and some historians conjecture that their number was fifteen; so that the total number of tribes now would have amounted to fifty. The new tribes were not allowed to vote in the assembly till the thirty-five old ones had given their votes, so that in reality the influence of the new citizens was not very great.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FIRST WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES—CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MARIUS
AND SULLA—SULLA'S DICTATORSHIP, LEGISLATION, AND ABDICATION
—SECOND WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES.

MITHRIDATES VI., surnamed Eupator, whose father had rendered the Romans considerable assistance in their war against the pretender Aristonicus, was now king of Pontus, in the north-east of Asia Minor. He was a man of great mind, and one of the ablest generals of antiquity. When he was yet very young, the Romans deprived him of Phrygia, which, it was said, they had given to his father as a reward for his services, but which he had in reality purchased at Rome with his own money. The young king made no remonstrance at the time, but quietly strengthened himself, and extended his kingdom as far as he could without coming into contact with the Romans. The latter did not interfere with his proceedings, because they were engaged in Italy with their own allies; but they, nevertheless, kept a sharp eye upon all his doings. About the end of the Social war, the last member of the royal family of Cappadocia died, and Mithridates gave the kingdom to Ariarathes, one of his own kinsmen: thereupon the Romans stirred up Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, to attack Mithridates; but Nicomedes was defeated, and Mithridates placed the brother of the defeated king on the throne of Bithynia. The Romans now openly interfered, and addressed Mithridates in a tone which implied that he had committed an unjustifiable offence. They forthwith raised three armies in Asia Minor, which were formed of the effeminate and unwarlike inhabitants of that country. They were unable to cope with the well-disciplined troops of the king, and were

defeated. Mithridates now advanced westward, meeting with scarcely any resistance; for the king having himself received a Greek education was everywhere welcomed by the Greeks as their deliverer from the oppressive yoke of the Romans. On one day no less than 80,000 Romans and Italians, who were living in the various towns of Asia Minor, are said to have been put to death by the command of Mithridates; immediately after which, in B.C. 88, his general Archelaus, led a large army into Macedonia and Greece, where most of the important towns, and among them Thebes and Athens, threw their gates open to him with the same readiness as the Asiatic Greeks had displayed in welcoming Mithridates himself.

The massacre of the Romans called for vengeance; and as Italy itself was threatened by the invasion of Greece, the senate determined to give the command in the impending war to L. Cornelius Sulla, who had greatly distinguished himself in the Social war by his prudence as well as by his courage, and who had gained the favour of the people by splendid games and donations. C. Marius, the deliverer of Italy, and once the idol of the people, was now a man of seventy, and seemed to be forgotten. But his ambition, his hatred of the aristocratic party, and his jealousy of Sulla were as active as ever; and being anxious to gain laurels in so great a war as that against Mithridates, he resolved to try whether he could not deprive Sulla of the command with which he had been intrusted. With this view, he entered into a connection with the bold and cunning tribune, P. Sulpicius, who surrounded by a body of 3000 gladiators, whom he used to call his anti-senate, carried a law by which the new citizens and the libertini were distributed among the thirty-five old tribes.¹ By the overwhelming influence which they thus obtained in the comitia, and by violence, another law was passed, appointing C. Marius commander in the war against Mithridates.² This was an act of glaring injustice, which

¹ Liv. *Epit.* 77; Appian, *De Bell. Civ.* i. 55.

² Livy and Appian, *l. c.*; Vell. Pat. ii. 18.

naturally exasperated Sulla in the highest degree. While these things were happening at Rome, Sulla was stationed with an army at Nola, in Campania, to act against the Samnites, who still held out, and with whom he was anxious to bring the war to a close previously to setting out for Greece. When he was apprised of the proceedings of Marius and Sulpicius, he at once marched with six of his legions against Rome, where no one was prepared to meet him, for nobody had expected that he would act in so resolute a manner. When he appeared, the gates were immediately closed against him; but both the gates and the walls had been allowed to decay, as the possibility of an enemy appearing before them had not been thought of since the days of Hannibal, and accordingly Sulla, without much difficulty, entered the city with two legions. He and his soldiers were received with showers of stones and other missiles, which were thrown down upon them from the roofs of the houses. But he succeeded in putting his enemies to flight, and marching down to the forum made a very generous use of his victory; for after the Marian party was driven out of the city, only Marius and his son, with P. Sulpicius and nine other ringleaders of their party, were outlawed, the rest of the people being spared. Marius fled first to Ostia, and thence along the sea-coast to Minturnae, where having been found concealed in the marshes, he was thrown into prison. No one, however, had the courage to put him to death, and the magistrates of Minturnae, therefore, sent a public slave into the prison to kill him; but as the barbarian approached the hoary warrior his courage failed him, and the Minturnians, moved by compassion, put Marius on board a boat which carried him over to Africa, where he remained quiet for a time, anxiously watching the course of events at Rome.

Sulla was so far from taking any further vengeance during the short time he spent at Rome, that he even allowed L. Cornelius Cinna, a partisan of Marius, to be elected to the consulship for the year B.C. 87, along with his own friend, Cn. Octavius. It may be that Sulla was deceived in the character and sentiments

of Cinna, but it is also possible that he permitted his appointment with the view of sowing the seeds of new discord, of which he hoped to receive the benefit after his return from the Mithridatic war. In B.C. 87, soon after the new consuls had entered upon their office, Sulla, as proconsul, went with his army to Greece; while Q. Pompeius Rufus, who had been Sulla's colleague in the consulship, received Italy as his province, with orders to conduct the war against the Samnites, to counteract Cinna, and to co-operate with Cn. Octavius. Cn. Pompeius, the father of Pompey the Great, who was at this time commanding an army in Apulia against the Samnites, now received orders from the senate to give up his army to Q. Pompeius Rufus; but instead of doing this, he secretly incited the troops against him, so that while Q. Pompeius was administering the military oath to the soldiers he was murdered by them. Cn. Pompeius, as if he had been innocent, pretended to investigate the matter, but of course soon allowed it quietly to drop, and retained the command against the Samnites, who through the absence of Sulla gained some breathing-time.

On Sulla's arrival in Græce, Boeotia submitted to him as easily as it had before submitted to the Pontian general: he then entered Attica, sending a part of his army to lay siege to the city of Athens, while he with the main body of his troops began to blockade Piræus, within the walls of which Archelaus retreated on the approach of Sulla. The besieged defended themselves with great skill and resolution, and the Romans could make no impression upon them, until the spring of the year B.C. 86, when Sulla used all the means at his command. Athens was blockaded and all its communications were cut off, so that the famine in the city reached a fearful height. The city was at length taken by assault; and soon after this Archelaus, despairing of success, escaped from Piræus, leaving the place to its own fate. The famished Athenians were pardoned for their ancestors' sake, Sulla being a great admirer of Greek art and literature; but their city was plundered, and many of

its most precious treasures were sent to Rome: among them was the library of Apellico, which is said to have contained the only complete copy of Aristotle's works. After the greater part of Piræus had been destroyed by fire, Sulla set out in pursuit of Archelaus, who had in the mean time collected the scattered forces of Mithridates in the north of Greece. In the neighbourhood of Chaeronea, in Boeotia, Archelaus was completely defeated in B.C. 85: he then fled to Chalcis in Euboea, whither Sulla, who had no fleet, was unable to follow him. When Mithridates was informed of his reverses in Greece, he sent strong reinforcements, and Archelaus thus strengthened returned to Boeotia to wipe off the disgrace of his former defeat. In the neighbourhood of Orchomenos the hostile armies again met, and a second battle was fought, in which Sulla's undaunted personal courage alone decided the victory. To prevent the enemy from again escaping to Chalcis, Sulla attempted to cut off his retreat, but Archelaus nevertheless succeeded in crossing the Euripus. Mithridates, who had himself to sustain hard struggles with the Romans in Asia, began to lose confidence, and ordered Archelaus to negotiate for peace and to conclude it on any terms he could. Sulla accepted the proposals the more willingly, as during his absence things had taken place at Rome which rendered it most desirable for him to bring the war to a close. The negotiations, however, were protracted for a long time, during which Sulla undertook a successful expedition against some barbarians in Thrace who had infested the Roman province of Macedonia; and peace was not finally concluded and signed by Mithridates till B.C. 84, when Sulla had an interview with the king at Dardanus in Troas. Mithridates surrendered his whole fleet, restored all the Roman prisoners and deserters, withdrew his garrisons from all places in Greece, paid all the expenses of the war, and was confined to his own kingdom of Pontus. Thus Mithridates, after having made enormous exertions, was reduced to the position which he had occupied before the outbreak of the war. Owing to the disturbances at Rome, or more probably to the

dishonesty of the senate, the peace with Sulla was never formally sanctioned.

In B.C. 87, immediately after entering upon his consulship, Cinna had come forward as the head of the Marian party at Rome, and carried a law enacting that the persons outlawed by Sulla should be recalled. In order to win the favour of the new citizens, he promised to carry into effect the law of Sulpicius, according to which they and the libertini were to be distributed among the 35 old tribes. Great numbers of the new citizens accordingly flocked to Rome to support his measures; but his colleague Cn. Octavius came forward against him, and a fierce struggle arose within the city, in which Cinna was defeated and driven beyond the walls. The senate then issued a proclamation declaring that Cinna had forfeited his consular dignity. A Roman army was still stationed in the neighbourhood of Nola to check the Samnites, and thither Cinna now repaired. The soldiers who had, only the year before, been led by Sulla against Rome, and were then made aware that the fate of the republic was really in their hands, took up his cause, and requested him to take the consular ensigns and lead them to Rome. Meantime Marius and his fellow-exiles, who were recalled, landed in Etruria, and began to collect an army, in which every one was enlisted who was ready to fight for Marius, freedmen as well as citizens; even slaves were promised their freedom if they would join his standard. After his return from exile, the aged captain had the sympathy of the greater part of the people, and numbers took up arms for him. Foremost among them were Papirius Carbo, who joined the army of Cinna, and Q. Sertorius, who commanded an army by himself. Sertorius was the best and noblest of all the men engaged in this struggle: he joined the Marian party only on account of his abhorrence of the ruling faction, for he had no share in the tyrannical sentiments of his party. The city was defended by Cn. Octavius and Cn. Pompeius, who had been called away from Apulia; but as they were attacked by three armies at once, there was little hope of their

success. Cn. Pompeius, who had rendered himself odious to every one, died of an epidemic disease³ which broke out at the time and carried off thousands on both sides. Many of the Latin towns were taken and destroyed by the army under Cinna, and Rome being completely surrounded began to suffer from famine. The senate was at last obliged to negotiate, and to submit to all the terms that Marius prescribed. Cinna was accordingly re-instated in his consular dignity, and the gates were thrown open on the understanding that no blood should be shed; but no sooner had the rebels entered the city than famished and unhappy Rome became the scene of the most frightful outrages, of plunder, murder, and violence of every kind. All whom Marius marked as his victims, were cut down and no mercy was shown. All of the Sullanian party who were unable to escape were put to death, or made away with themselves in order that they might not fall into the hands of their enemies; many also fell by the hands of the infuriated multitude and slaves, who massacred indiscriminately. Among the illustrious victims, in whose blood Marius quenched his thirst for five days, we may mention the consul Cn. Octavius, the orator M. Antonius, C. Julius Caesar, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, one of the most estimable men of his age: the flamen Dialis, L. Cornelius Merula, who had been made consul in Cinna's place, bled himself to death in the vestibule of the Capitoline temple. The butchery was carried to so enormous an extent by a band of liberated slaves whom Marius kept for the purpose of despatching his enemies, that even Cinna could bear it no longer, and on the advice of Sertorius ordered all these ruffians to be put to death.

After these scenes of terror, Marius caused himself to be made consul for the seventh, and Cinna for the second time. Marius always believed that he was destined by fate to be invested with the consulship seven times; for when he was yet a child, an eagle's nest with seven young ones had fallen from a tree into his lap, and some soothsayer had told him that the seven

³ Some state that he was killed by a flash of lightning.

young eagles were a sign that he should be consul seven times. But a few days after he had entered on his seventh consulship he died, on the 13th of January, B.C. 86. He was succeeded by L. Valerius Flaccus, who was forthwith commissioned to undertake the command of the war against Mithridates. That against the Samnites had been concluded the year before by Q. Metellus, who at the time when Cinna was marching towards Rome, had been ordered by the senate to make peace with them on whatever terms he could. Peace therefore was concluded on condition that the Samnites should receive the Roman franchise.

All Italy was now in the hands of Cinna. L. Valerius Flaccus, after his elevation to the consulship, proceeded to Asia to take the command against Mithridates out of the hands of Sulla; but as he was unpopular among his own soldiers, on account of his cruelty and avarice, many of his men deserted to Sulla, and he himself was murdered at Nicomedia by his own legate C. Flavius Fimbria, who now placed himself at the head of the army and traversed Asia. Fimbria defeated several of the generals of Mithridates, and among them the king's own son, and then took possession of Pergamus. Pium, which had declared in favour of Sulla, was next taken and destroyed, and Fimbria maintained himself in its neighbourhood until the arrival of Sulla in Asia, who concluded peace with the king of Pontus, in B.C. 84. When his affairs with Mithridates were settled, Sulla set out against Fimbria, who was encamped near Thyatira. He surrounded the enemy's camp, and gained over his whole army; whereupon Fimbria in despair put an end to his own existence. When the field was thus cleared of enemies, Sulla set about regulating the affairs of Asia. The cities in which the Romans had been murdered by the command of Mithridates, he punished most severely: they were compelled to pay down at once 20,000 talents, the raising of which threw them completely into the merciless hands of the insatiable Roman capitalists and usurers, who utterly exhausted the resources of the country; in which proceedings they were assisted by the Roman soldiers. Asia

was so much crushed by this blow, that nearly a whole century elapsed before it recovered from it. But Sulla wanted money, and was little concerned about the means by which he procured it. It must, however, be owned that during his war in Greece and Asia he had shown a greatness of character of which few men were capable in those times; he quietly discharged his duties towards the republic before he thought of taking vengeance on his personal enemies, who in his absence destroyed his house, killed his friends, and drove his family into exile. His duties towards the republic now being discharged, he prepared for his return to Italy. His army consisted of no more than 30,000 men, while that of his enemies amounted to almost seven times that number, and contained soldiers of such excellence as the Samnites. But Sulla had confidence in himself and his good fortune, and with that he ventured upon his bold undertaking.

At the beginning of the year B.C. 83, he returned through Thessaly and Macedonia to Dyrrhachium, and thence to Brundisium and Campania. The consuls of this year were L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Julius Norbanus. Cinna, who had the year before been invested with his fourth consulship, had been murdered by his own soldiers at Ariminum, where he was assembling an army for the purpose of attacking Sulla in Greece; and Carbo, his colleague, remained sole consul during the remainder of the year. The actual leaders of the Marian party were Carbo, Norbanus, and C. Marius the younger, who had all the vices of his father without any of his redeeming virtues. Had these men known how to act, Sulla could not possibly have succeeded; but they were not fit to be at the head of a powerful party. Sertorius, the only man of great ability, soon afterwards went to Spain, where he commenced a fresh war under his own auspices and conducted it on his own responsibility. The new citizens had by this time become disgusted with the conduct of their rulers, who with the titles of republican magistrates acted like tyrants and despots. These circumstances facilitated the progress of Sulla; all the regiments composed of new citizens,

whom he promised not to deprive of their newly acquired privileges, went over to him. He found Norbanus encamped in the neighbourhood of Capua, and defeated him. He then turned against Scipio, whose whole army deserted to him, and at last Scipio himself also declared in his favour. While Sulla was thus gaining a firm footing in Southern Italy, many of his supporters took up arms in other parts of the country, among whom were Metellus Pius, Cn. Pompey in Picenum, and M. Lucullus; and his party was victorious everywhere. At Rome, the Capitoline temple was destroyed by fire through the carelessness of its keepers.

In B.C. 82, the second year of the war, C. Marius the younger was consul with Papirius Carbo, who had the command in the north of Italy against Metellus, Pompey, and Lucullus, while Marius was stationed with his army on the frontier of Latium. In the vicinity of Sacriportus, Marius was attacked by Sulla and beaten, and many of his troops deserted to the conqueror, while Marius himself escaped to Praeneste, a large and strongly fortified town. Sulla followed him and blockaded the place, but soon left the management of the siege to Lucretius Ofella, and went to take possession of Rome, which was yet in the hands of the Marian party. Under the guidance of the praetor, L. Junius Damasippus, the democrats at Rome had cruelly massacred many of those who were favourable to Sulla, or were believed to be so; at the time of the battle of Sacriportus, Damasippus killed in the Curia Hostilia the great jurist and chief pontiff Mucius Scaevola, with C. Carbo, the brother of the consul, and many other distinguished senators. The perpetrators of these horrors now fled, and Sulla entered the city. The consul Carbo, who had an army in Etruria, in vain endeavoured to relieve Praeneste: another attempt was made by the Samnite general Pontius Telesinus, but failing in this, he turned towards Rome, which he hoped to take by surprise. Sulla was informed in time of his movements, and a battle was fought on the 1st of November under the very walls of Rome, near the Colline gate.

The Samnites fought with the courage of despair, but after a whole day's struggle they were defeated so completely that Pontius Telesinus made away with himself. In him Marius lost his last hope: he attempted to escape from Praeneste by a subterraneous passage, but being discovered he killed himself; and Carbo, being left alone, abandoned his army and fled to Sicily. Sulla now saw Italy cleared of all his enemies, and only a few towns continued to offer him any resistance.

The manner in which Sulla made use of his victory filled Rome and Italy with horrors more appalling than any they had yet witnessed. In the battle of the Colline gate 8000 Samnites had been taken prisoners, all of whom were by his command massacred in the Circus. After the death of Marius, Praeneste was obliged to surrender at discretion to Lucretius Ofella, and all persons who were found in the place, with the exception of the Roman citizens, were put to the sword. The Etruscan towns which had supported Carbo surrendered one after another, and most of them were razed to the ground. But the bloodshed at Rome, where Sulla acted as a perfect tyrant, was still more frightful. He devised a new and unprecedented means of getting rid of his enemies: he set on foot a proscription; that is, he drew up a list of all those whom he wished to be put to death, and set it up in public. Any one might with impunity kill those whose names were in the list, for whose heads indeed rewards were offered. Their estates were confiscated and sold; and in order to secure himself against their sons, Sulla got a law passed by which the descendants of the proscribed were for ever to be excluded from all the offices of the republic. This cruel law remained in force down to the time of C. Julius Caesar. It is said that no less than 1600 equites were among the proscribed who lost their lives. A spirit of revenge and avarice drove the inhuman victors from one crime to another, till Q. Catulus found it necessary to ask Sulla whether he meant to spare any human being at all, and to remind him, that if he went on in the same way, there would in the end be no one left to rule over. Catiline

was one of the monsters who in those days obtained notoriety for murder and assassination, and he thus acquired a taste for the crimes which he afterwards committed when he planned the destruction of his own country.

Rome had not seen a dictator for the last 120 years, but the interrex L. Valerius Flaccus now carried a decree by which all the past acts of Sulla were sanctioned, and Sulla himself was appointed dictator with unlimited power for an indefinite period, that he might reform the constitution and the law. Invested with such powers he began, in B.C. 81, his course of legislation, having previously made some alterations of minor importance. First of all, he was anxious to show his gratitude to those to whom he owed the position he now occupied. Accordingly twenty-three legions had colonies assigned to them in Italy; that is, these legions were discharged from service, and each legion was constituted as the body of citizens of a certain town, the whole territory of which was given up to and parcelled out among the legionaries; if the territory was found to be insufficient, portions of the adjacent districts were taken and added to it. The places thus made over to the soldiers as a reward for past services were called military colonies: they consisted chiefly of the estates of the proscribed of those towns which had supported the opponents of Sulla, and of such districts as in former times would have become public domain. It was by means of these military colonies that Sulla placed his power on a solid foundation, to which he could trust under all circumstances. He next conferred the Roman franchise on a body of 10,000 emancipated slaves, who received from him the name of the Corneli, and were distributed among the 35 old tribes. Notwithstanding his high aristocratic principles, the vacancies which had occurred in the senate were filled up, not with members of the nobility, but with equites, and even with vulgar centurions; but all were ready tools in the hands of the dictator.

His legislation must be divided into two branches, according as it had reference to the constitution of the republic, or to the

criminal law. In respect of the former, Sulla, like many other men both in ancient and in modern times, had the weakness to believe that by restoring old and antiquated forms of the constitution he could revive its spirit also. In this belief he began by curtailing the power of the tribunes: he deprived them of the right of proposing legislative measures in the assemblies, and of holding any other magistracy after the expiration of their office. The judicial and legislative power of the comitia tributa likewise was thus abolished, and those assemblies retained nothing but the election of the minor magistrates. In short, the tribunician power was reduced to what it had been previously to the Publilian law; that is, the tribunes became a mere protective magistracy, and the work of ages was undone. There can be no doubt that the tribunes had gradually acquired and usurped a power which was detrimental to the safety of the republic, and it was most desirable that they should be confined within certain limits; but Sulla's reform was framed in an improper spirit, and ran counter to all the feelings of the age. The consequence was, that his regulation did not last: it was repealed in B.C. 70, by Cn. Pompey. A second great change, introduced by Sulla, was, the restoration to the senators of the power to appoint from among their own body the courts in which cases of a public nature were tried. This restoration of a much coveted right ought to have induced the senators to show that justice fared better in their hands than in those of any other body of men; but we have express testimony, that, during the nine or ten years in which they formed those courts, justice was more venal, and bribery was carried on to a far greater extent, than it had ever been before. The senators in fact acted as if it had been their deliberate intention to undermine their own power; till in B.C. 70, L. Aurelius Cotta divided the courts equally between the senators and equites. Sulla further increased the number of praetors to eight, that of the quaestors to twenty, and that of the two colleges of the augurs and pontiffs to fifteen each, restoring to these colleges at the same time the right of filling up vacancies

by *cooptatio*; that is, he gave to each college the right of supplying any vacancy that might occur. These, and some measures regulating the administration of the provinces, were the chief reforms by which he endeavoured to restore the good old times of Rome; but his labours were foolish and useless. The oligarchy which he established was raised on the corpses of the democratical party, and was made for an entirely new class of citizens whom he himself had created, after having extirpated the old ones by murder and proscription. The new constitution was not rooted in the institutions of the country; it was not their natural and spontaneous offspring; obsolete forms had been artificially revived; it was a mere phantom without a soul.

But whatever we may think of his constitutional reforms, his civil and criminal legislation was excellent. He must have possessed a deep insight into human affairs, or have had most able advisers; for the criminal law, which had hitherto been greatly neglected, received at his hand a solid foundation, upon which all subsequent enactments in this department were based.

The Corneli, his emancipated slaves, formed his body-guard, and freedmen in general were his favourites and the most influential persons in his retinue; so that it was a courageous act of Cicero, who was then only twenty-seven years old, to defend Roscius of Ameria, and attack Chrysogonus one of Sulla's creatures, for persons like Chrysogonus might rob and murder with impunity, and no one could be safe against them. Such was the case in Rome as well as in other parts of Italy. After having made all the arrangements he thought necessary, Sulla, in B.C. 79, to the surprise of every one, laid down the dictatorship, and retired into the condition of a private person at Puteoli, probably for the purpose of spending the remainder of his blood-stained life in peace and luxury. This step was not by any means a bold one; for in case of an emergency he had the senate, and, above all, his military colonies to fall back upon, and his opponents were crushed into the dust. Before retiring, he offered to render an account of his proceedings; but this was a mere

farce, for who would have dared to demand it? and how could he have answered for the murder of the 8000 Samnite captives, of 46 consulars, praetorians, and aediles, of 200 senators, of 1600 equites, and of 150,000 citizens, and for his having driven numbers of industrious and peaceable country-people into poverty and wretchedness merely to acquire the means of satisfying his reckless and greedy veterans? He did not long survive his retirement; he died at Puteoli, in B.C. 78, at the age of sixty, of a disgusting disease called phthiriasis, probably the result of his debaucheries. He had latterly been engaged in writing in Greek the memoirs of his own life, and had just finished the twenty-second book when his career was cut off. His body was conveyed to Rome in a solemn procession, and the whole senate, the equites, and all the colleges of priests, accompanied it to the Campus Martius, where it was burnt. These honours were not paid to him from any feeling of esteem or affection on the part of the people, but from dread of the armed soldiers who under the command of Pompey accompanied the body.

Italy had been plunged into the deepest misery, but after the dispersion of the democratic leaders it was not the scene of any fresh war; and during the few years of Sulla's dictatorship it recovered a little from the severe blows which had been inflicted on it. The remnants of the Marian party fled to Sicily, Africa, and Spain, where new armies were collected and the war was still continued. In B.C. 82, Cn. Pompey was sent to Sicily, where he caused Carbo to be murdered by hired assassins, and thus peace was restored in the island. In the following year he went over to Africa, where he defeated and slew the proscribed Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, and king Hiabaras who supported Ahenobarbus. Although Pompey at the time was only an eques, and no more than twenty-four years old, still on his return to Rome he was honoured with a triumph, and Sulla further rewarded his services by the surname of the Great. The war with Sertorius in Spain was of far greater importance; but we shall reserve our account of it till the next chapter.

In Asia a second war with Mithridates had broken out. Soon after the departure of Sulla, Mithridates began to feel that he had yielded too readily, and had made greater concessions than he ought to have done. As, moreover, the Roman senate had never signed nor formally sanctioned the peace concluded between him and Sulla, he refused to give up to Ariobarzanes the whole of Cappadocia as he had promised to do, but kept a part of it for himself. His general, Archelaus, perceiving the change in his master's mind, deserted in B.C. 83 to the Romans, and prevailed upon L. Murena, who had the command of the Roman forces in Asia, at once to attack the king, and not to wait till he should commence hostilities. Murena accordingly marched into Cappadocia, and plundered the wealthy temple of Comana. This aggression led to an open war, and a battle was fought in the vicinity of Sinope in which Murena was defeated. As Mithridates showed himself willing to renew the peace, the Romans readily consented, and Mithridates remained in possession of a part of Cappadocia: he also gave his daughter in marriage to Ariobarzanes. The peace with Rome was concluded and ratified, in B.C. 81, by A. Gabinus, whom Sulla had sent over to Asia for the purpose.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ATTEMPT OF AEMILIUS LEPIDUS TO RESCIND THE ACTS OF SULLA—
CN. POMPEY THE GREAT—WAR OF SERTORIUS IN SPAIN—SPARTACUS
—POMPEY'S CONSULSHIP—THE PIRATES.

SULLA, by his tyrannical power, had smothered the fire which threatened the republic with destruction; but it was not extinguished, and fuel for a new conflagration was not wanting. The new order of things which he had created could not long survive its author, for all social relations at Rome and in Italy had been upset, and the old agricultural population of those places in which military colonies were established, had been either ejected or reduced to beggary: in many instances they had become the tenants of their new lords, who, in their recklessness and licentiousness, soon squandered their property, and were ready again to lend their arms to any one who might choose to pay them. It would have been very easy to form an army of reduced husbandmen and military desperadoes, who would have been readily joined by the hungry populace of Rome, and by the great number of exiled citizens who were only waiting for some one to place himself at their head; but the person who attempted the counter-revolution had neither the talent nor the character requisite for such an undertaking.

In the year of Sulla's death, B.C. 78, the consulship was in the hands of M. Aemilius Lepidus, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, two men of very opposite characters and inclinations. The former, though he had once belonged to the party of Sulla, and had enriched himself by it, was now become its implacable enemy, and resolved to undo the work of Sulla: Lutatius

Catulus, on the other hand, was a staunch and faithful supporter of the edifice raised by Sulla. Lepidus made preparations to get the acts of Sulla rescinded, the exiles recalled, and their confiscated estates restored to them; but in order to prevent any outbreak of hostilities between the two consuls, the senate made them promise on their oath not to take up arms against each other. For a time this precaution had the desired effect; but when Lepidus had gone into his province of Cisalpine Gaul, he thought himself no longer bound by his oath, and collected an army, which was joined by large numbers of Etruscans whose homes had been destroyed by Sulla, or who had been driven from their estates by the veterans of the dictator. Lepidus led his troops to the very gates of Rome; but was repulsed by Catulus: he then fled to Sardinia, where he died the following year, B.C. 77. M. Junius Brutus attempted to support Lepidus in Gaul, but was defeated by Pompey and put to death; and the troops of Lepidus, who maintained themselves for a time under Perperna, afterwards went with him to Spain, and joined the army of Sertorius.

In the meantime Rome itself was thrown into a state of the greatest excitement, for the attempt of Lepidus had stirred up the tribunes, who for a number of years set all their engines at work to recover the power which Sulla had taken from them. In B.C. 76, the tribune Cn. Sicinius brought forward a rogation, demanding the restoration of the tribunician power; and in the following year the consul C. Aurelius Cotta carried a law, by which the tribunes were allowed, after the expiration of their office, to be invested with other magistracies. In B.C. 74, another attempt was made to repeal all the laws of Sulla; and in this manner things went on until Cn. Pompey in his consulship, B.C. 70, passed a law by which the power of the tribunes was restored exactly to what it had been before the dictatorship of Sulla.¹ In the same year the praetor L. Aurelius Cotta,

¹ Liv. *Epit.* 97; Vell. Pat. ii. 30; Pseudo-Ascon. in *Cic. Div.* pp. 103, 147; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.

supported by Pompey, abolished Sulla's law respecting the formation of the courts of justice; and it was enacted that thenceforth those courts should be composed of senators, equites, and the tribuni aerarii.² These laws were carried without much opposition, but especially the latter, because the administration of justice had been so grossly corrupt that even the friends of Sulla did not venture to oppose the new measure. Pompey, who had all along been a strong supporter of Sulla, thus overthrew, or helped to overthrow, the very pillars of the power of the aristocracy; but he wished for popularity, and what he did was neither more or less than what all other men did for the purpose of gaining their selfish ends and rising to honours; for, as we have already observed, men of all parties began their career by courting the favour of the people, whose cause they afterwards abandoned as soon as their objects were attained. The fate of Rome for many years past had been inseparably connected with that of individuals who set themselves up as party leaders, and sacrificed everything and everybody, as occasion offered, to their own love of dominion, their avarice, and ambition. Such thenceforth continued to be the case, and instead of a history of Rome we now have, strictly speaking, only the history of individuals; the republic itself, from which all virtue and all sense of true patriotism, as well as the feeling of reverence for the gods, had disappeared, became a mere arena on which the principal men struggled for power and influence.

Pompey, who in the time of Sulla had been most wonderfully favoured by fortune, was now rising with extraordinary rapidity in popular favour. He possessed considerable talent, and was animated by an insatiable ambition. There were times in which he acted with true generosity and greatness; but at others he was mean and cowardly: in his advocacy of popular rights he was not honest, his own aggrandisement being always uppermost among his motives; and he never was a sincere or trustworthy friend. Along with him were springing up many men

² *Ascon. in Pison.* p. 16, *in Cornel.* p. 67; *Schol. Bob.* p. 229.

distinguished as generals and statesmen, some of whom were far superior to him in talent and character, and all of whom were striving to reach the same goal. Among them was L. Licinius Lucullus, a man of excessive wealth, who enjoys the unfortunate reputation of having made his countrymen acquainted with Asiatic luxuries, in which he himself indulged very freely. His gardens and buildings were objects of general admiration; even parts of the sea were changed by him into dry land or fish-ponds, whence Pompey in derision called him the Roman Xerxes. He was distinguished as a general; and he seems to have had a humane feeling for the provincials. Another person, who likewise became proverbial for his wealth, was M. Licinius Crassus, whose treasures gave him more influence than either his talent or energy. But by far the greatest of all Pompey's contemporaries was C. Julius Caesar, born in B.C. 100, and educated at Rhodes. He was equally distinguished by his good fortune, his perseverance and energy, and by the wonderful comprehensiveness of his mind; for he was no less great as an orator, a scholar and an author, than as a statesman and a commander of armies. He was a genius, in the true sense of the word, and a man of an amiable disposition: ambitious as any of his contemporaries, but free from envy and jealousy. M. Porcius Cato was a man of a very different kind; he had the strongest possible aversion to every kind of tyranny; his virtues were those of an ancient Roman republican of the best times, and hence he was not fit for the age in which he lived: when in the end he saw that it was hopeless to try to save the republic, he perished by his own hand in a manner which has secured to him the admiration of all ages. M. Tullius Cicero, a native of Arpinum, was six years older than Caesar. The position he occupied at Rome, and the influence he exercised upon political affairs, he owed to his virtues, and to his eloquence, in which he surpassed all around him. He possessed a great mind, enriched with the most varied acquirements, and was animated by a genuine love of his country and its institutions; but he was not without vanity: he was naturally of a timid and

wavering character, whence he had not always resolution enough openly to declare in favour of the party or men to whom he was in his heart attached. He has often been judged of far more severely than he deserves, merely because all the circumstances amid which he lived are not sufficiently taken into consideration.

All these and a great many more talented and distinguished men, who grew up amid the storms of the republic, render the age in which they lived one of the most illustrious in the annals of the human race. They were each more or less opposed to the others, but Pompey above all possessed the art of converting to his own use a portion of the glory of each, by his cunning and intrigues, or by his boasting and violence; and on many occasions he displayed a pitiable degree of vanity and meanness even towards those who were sincerely attached to him.

In the year B.C. 82, when Sulla entered Rome and celebrated his bloody triumph, the prætor Q. Sertorius had been commissioned by his party to go with his army to Spain and there to endeavour to maintain their interests. He was joined by the remnants of the Marian party, and was afterwards supported with great enthusiasm by the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He was a native of Nursia, in the country of the Sabines, a district celebrated for the preservation of its primitive virtues and simplicity, and being a man of humble origin, he owed his reputation and distinctions to none but himself. He had the good of his country really at heart, and had joined the Marian party merely because he detested the injustice and intriguing machinations of the aristocrats. We have already seen that where justice required it he did not scruple to attack the proceedings of the leading men of his own party, and it was in this spirit that he saved Rome from the murderous hands of the freedmen of Marius. In Spain he acted on principles of kindness and humanity, by which he won the affection of the Spaniards, till he was driven to cruelty by their own treachery and fickleness. In order to secure their attachment to him he afforded them relief wherever he could, and attended to their just complaints; he treated them as much

as possible as Romans, while previous governors had treated them as contemptible provincials. His great object was to blend Spaniards and Romans together as one people, and the plan on which he proceeded was well calculated for the purpose, and might have produced the best results, if the Spaniards had acted with unanimity and fidelity.

In his first military undertakings in Spain, Sertorius was unsuccessful; for an army which he sent out under Julius Salinator to act against a Sullanian corps east of the Pyrenees, which was commanded by C. Annius, was defeated by treachery: in consequence of which his own position became so unfavourable that he was unable to maintain himself in Lusitania, and in B.C. 81 he crossed over into Africa. He remained there for some time, and took part in a war between two claimants to the crown of Mauritania. On that occasion he collected great booty, and gained a high reputation as a military commander. He was just on the point of withdrawing from public life to spend the remainder of his days in the Canary Islands, when he was invited by the Lusitanians to come back and undertake the command of their armies; for in his absence they had been plundered and persecuted by Romans of the Sullanian party, and his brilliant exploits in Mauritania had filled the Spaniards with fresh confidence. Sertorius after some hesitation accepted the invitation, and on his arrival in Spain both Spaniards and Romans declared for him wherever he appeared. The Celtiberians also took up arms for him, and numbers of the proscribed Romans flocked to his standard from all parts. His arms were everywhere successful, and the manner in which he conducted the war is a proof of his great military skill and prudence, as well as of his undaunted courage. His intention was to establish a new Roman republic in Spain, for which purpose he formed a senate of 300 members, consisting partly of proscribed Romans, and partly of illustrious Spaniards; he appointed republican magistrates also, in imitation of those of Rome; and at Osca (Huesca) he established a great school in which the sons of distinguished Spanish families were educated,

the pupils being dressed in the Roman fashion, and instructed in the Latin and Greek languages. These boys became at the same time a sort of security to him for the fidelity of the Spaniards. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards was immense, and according to a custom of the country thousands of them crowded around him vowing to live and die with him. Wherever he went he was accompanied by a white fawn, which was looked upon by the Spaniards with superstitious reverence, and believed to have been sent to him by the gods as a mark of their favour: this circumstance also greatly enhanced their confidence in him. The feeling of attachment and admiration which his personal qualities had called forth was thus heightened by a kind of religious veneration.

In B.C. 79, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, as proconsul, undertook the conduct of the war against Sertorius, but he and all his lieutenants were defeated; whereupon Metellus, not daring to attack his enemy in the open field, tried to wear him out. In B.C. 77, M. Perperna, the legate of Lepidus, joined Sertorius with his army, hoping himself to act a prominent part in the war, but his men compelled him to submit to Sertorius. As Metellus was unable to make any impression upon the enemy, Cn. Pompey came with a fresh army to his assistance, but he too was beaten, B.C. 76, in the battle of Lauro; after which several engagements took place, without anything decisive being effected by either party, though the Romans were generally worsted. Pompey petitioned the senate to send re-inforcements, and when they came, in B.C. 74, he and Metellus laid siege to several fortified towns, but without success. In this year the third war against Mithridates broke out, in consequence of an alliance concluded between Sertorius and the Pontian king, according to which the latter was to attack the Romans in the east, while Sertorius, supported by the fleet of Mithridates and by the pirates, contemplated making a descent upon Italy. But disunion among the Spaniards, and the rebellious spirit of some, brought about a change in the state of affairs, by which Rome was saved. The conduct of the

Spaniards made Sertorius suspicious, and led him to acts of cruelty, one of which in particular is of such a nature that it cannot be excused; he one day ordered all the young Spaniards at Osca to be put to death. This act alienated from him a great many Spaniards, and made the Romans in his retinue also become disaffected. Perperna, who had not been able to carry out his ambitious schemes in Spain, now wreaked his vengeance on Sertorius by forming a plot against his life, in B.C. 72. In order to accomplish his criminal plan, he invited Sertorius to a banquet at Osca, and while the guests were at table, he himself and some other conspirators fell upon and murdered him. Numbers of faithful Spaniards, who had sworn not to survive him, killed themselves at the burial of their great commander. Perperna, who thought that he had now gained his object, placed himself at the head of the army of Sertorius; but in the first encounter with Pompey his whole army was cut to pieces, and he himself fell into the hands of his enemy and was put to death. In order to save himself, Perperna had delivered up to Pompey a number of letters, in which some distinguished Romans invited Sertorius to come to Italy; but Pompey, too generous to reward such treachery, threw the letters into the fire without making any use of them. Peace was thus restored in Spain and the last remnants of the Marian party were now completely annihilated.

But before the war in Spain was brought to a close, another had broken out in Italy, which threatened to become even more formidable, and was certainly far more destructive to the prosperity of Italy, for it was carried on by revolted gladiators and slaves. Among the slaves scattered all over Italy, there were many thousands who had once lived in luxury, and had enjoyed a better education than their present masters; many had even distinguished themselves in the wars against the Romans. Such men must have been filled with rage and indignation at their wretched and revolting condition. The ablest among them were trained by their masters in certain establishments called *ludi*

gladiatorii, or gladiator-schools, to amuse the Roman populace at the public games with their cruel and bloody contests in the Circus. In B.C. 73, about seventy such gladiators, headed by Spartacus, a Thracian, broke forth from a gladiator-school at Capua. Their leader was a very able man, and well fitted for the daring enterprise he ventured upon. They first took up their position on Mount Vesuvius, whence they made predatory excursions for the purpose of providing themselves with arms and ammunition. When they felt strong enough, they gave the signal for a general insurrection of the gladiators and slaves, to whom liberty was held out as a reward; and in a short time Spartacus had an army of no less than 10,000 slaves, all of whom were provided with arms. Spartacus had two sub-commanders of his forces, Crixus and Oenomaus, both Gauls, who had likewise been slaves, and now took fearful vengeance upon that free population, which had kept them in bondage. The free inhabitants of Italy had been so greatly reduced in numbers in the time of Sulla, that no effectual resistance could be made to the insurgents: all the parts of southern Italy that were visited by them, were ravaged and laid waste without mercy, and many flourishing towns were changed into heaps of ashes. The consuls of the year B.C. 72 were wholly unsuccessful, and the slaves gained victory upon victory. Spartacus advanced as far north as the foot of the Alps, probably with the view of settling in Gaul, and defeated C. Cassius who had the command in Cisalpine Gaul; but his hordes compelled him to go back, because they wanted to sack and plunder Rome. At this moment, B.C. 71, the praetor, M. Licinius Crassus, received the command against Spartacus, who was marching southward with the intention of rousing the slaves in Sicily. Crassus overtook Spartacus near Petilia in Lucania. A battle was fought there, in which the slaves raged like lions in despair; but when their leader had fallen, they lost all hopes. The victory of Crassus was owing more to the division of the slaves into three armies, than to his own skill. The bodies or the limbs of the slain were

impaled along the high roads in southern Italy, to strike terror into their fellow-bondsmen, and only 5000 of the slaves are said to have escaped to the north of Italy. There they fell in with Pompey, who was just returning from Spain, and who completely cut them to pieces. The south of Italy was in a most deplorable condition after this war, for the free population was almost extirpated: many towns, such as Nola, Thurii, Grumentum, and many others, were entirely destroyed, and the country was cut up into a number of deserted districts; which for a long time after served only as pasture lands. The south of Italy never recovered from these fearful devastations.

At the time when Pompey returned from Spain he was only thirty-five years old, and had not yet been invested with any curule office. But he enjoyed the highest possible popularity, which was the fruit of his reputation as a general; for he had distinguished himself in the Social war, and in the war against the Marian party in Sicily and Africa; he had brought to a close the great war against Sertorius; and on his way home he had completed the victory over the slaves, thus snatching away a portion of the laurels which were in reality due to his rival Crassus. He now sued for the consulship, which he received for the year B.C. 70 along with Crassus. The jealousy and rivalry existing between these two men made the Romans tremble lest they should take up arms against each other; but, towards the end of their consulship, they were prevailed upon by the senate to make a reconciliation, which was never afterwards disturbed. From the time when Pompey entered on his consulship he did everything he could to secure the favour of the people: it was with this object in view that he restored the power of the tribunes, and assisted L. Aurelius Cotta in his regulations concerning the courts of justice. By these acts, however, he naturally drew upon himself the displeasure of the party to which he belonged.² But party interests were not listened to when they came in conflict with those of personal aggrandisement. Pompey also

² Pseudo-Ascon. in *Cic. Divin.* in *Cæcil.* p. 147.

caused a census to be instituted, a measure which had been neglected for the last sixteen years; and he not only had himself enrolled as a simple eques, but paraded himself as such, leading his horse in the procession like the other equites. He further delighted the people with magnificent games, which lasted from the 15th till the 29th of August. His colleague, Crassus, endeavoured to outbid him for public favour, by means of his immense wealth; to this end he distributed large quantities of corn among the people, and feasted them at ten thousand tables in public. After the expiration of his consulship Pompey did not undertake the administration of any province, but remained for two years at Rome in a private station, living in princely splendour, and enjoying the fame which he had acquired.

An opportunity for further gratifying his ambition was offered to him in the war against the pirates. For some time past all parts of the Mediterranean had been infested by swarms of pirates, who carried on their robberies with the greater impunity because Rome had no powerful navy, and because the rulers of Syria and Egypt were kept in inactivity by mutual jealousy. The number of pirates thus increased to an alarming extent, and there was no part of the sea or its coasts from Syria to the pillars of Hercules that was safe against them. Their principal strongholds were in Cilicia and Isauria, but they were joined also by Syrians, Cyprians, Cretans, Pamphylians, and by Greeks from the maritime towns of Asia Minor and Greece. They possessed fortresses and large warehouses, in which they deposited their plunder; and they are said to have had upwards of a thousand vessels manned with experienced sailors and bold marines. They not only attacked merchant-vessels and transports, but frequently landed on the coasts of Italy, and in the very neighbourhood of Rome, where towns and villas were plundered, and men, cattle, and goods of every description carried off, so that Rome itself was threatened with famine. On one occasion the pirates burnt the Roman ships in the port of Ostia, and for some time roved about in Latium dividing the booty

among themselves with perfect impunity. In the neighbourhood of Misenum on the Appian road they carried off the daughter of M. Antonius, the son of the orator and father of the triumvir. Such a state of things required energetic measures. The Romans began to act against the pirates as early as the year B.C. 78; and P. Servilius, who received the command, continued his operations for several years. He subdued the Isaurians (whence he was called Servilius Isauricus), and took some of the towns which were in the possession of the pirates. In B.C. 73, the above-mentioned M. Antonius, a man notorious for his avarice and cruelty, succeeded Servilius. He carried on the war more especially against Crete, either from a desire to enrich himself there, or because the Cretans had really taken part in the proceedings of the pirates; but he was unsuccessful, and died the year after. In B.C. 70, the praetor L. Metellus gained several advantages over them, in and about Sicily; and two years later, undertook a second war against Crete, which after a long and severe struggle he subdued in B.C. 67, whence he was honoured with the surname of Creticus.

All these efforts produced little or no effect upon the pirates, and before Metellus had conducted the Cretan war to a close, the tribune, A. Gabinius, in B.C. 67, brought forward a rogation directing that Pompey⁴ should be invested for three years with the supreme command over all parts and coasts of the Mediterranean, to a distance of 400 stadia from the sea, and with power to take as many officers, legions, ships, and as much money as he might think proper. This extraordinary and unconstitutional measure, which endangered the existence of the republic, was carried, notwithstanding the opposition of such men as Q. Hortensius and Q. Lutatius Catulus. The tribunes thus evinced their gratitude for what Pompey had done for them, by investing him with greater power than any Roman had ever before possessed; but the brilliant success with which

⁴ Pompey was either expressly mentioned in the bill, or at least clearly

enough hinted at. Dion. Cass. xxxvi. 6; Vell. Pat. ii. 81; Plut. *Pomp.* 25.

his undertaking was crowned justified the expectations which the people entertained of him, and it does credit to Pompey that he did not abuse his power for the purpose of making himself a tyrant. This period is the most glorious in the whole life of Pompey. His prudence, skill, and quickness of action, are deserving of the highest praise. He had a large number of legates commanding under him, and stationed in all parts of the sea. He began his preparations towards the end of the winter, entered upon his operations in the beginning of spring, and by about the middle of summer the whole Mediterranean was cleared. During the first forty days of his campaign he swept the pirates before him from the pillars of Hercules and the coast of Spain as far as Italy, and drove them from all their recesses. He then made a short stay at Rome, and in forty-nine more days, as if he had drawn a net around them, he drove the pirates from Italy and Sicily into the Cilician sea, where he defeated them. Many of the pirates were taken prisoners or killed, the rest surrendered. He demolished their ships, and then landed in Cilicia, where he destroyed their strongholds. The whole campaign was finished in about three months. The submission of the pirates was owing, in a great measure, to the humane manner in which Pompey treated them; for they had, probably, been driven to their mode of life by poverty and the impossibility of gaining their living in any other way. Pompey sent them as colonists into inland towns of Asia Minor and Greece, where they were provided with the means of living in a creditable manner and would be properly watched. The Cilician town of Soli received from the conqueror the name of Pompeiopolis. While he was thus engaged in the south of Asia Minor, the Cretans, who were hard pressed and cruelly treated by Metellus, sent a message to Pompey, offering to surrender to him if he would come over, that they might not fall into the hands of Metellus. But Pompey had no time to spare; and Metellus, in spite of the command of Pompey to withdraw from the island, completed its subjugation, for which he afterwards celebrated a

triumph. After the conclusion of the war against the pirates, Pompey did not return to Rome, but remained in Asia, probably with a view to obtain the command against Mithridates also, for he could rely upon the zeal of his partisans at Rome; his time in Asia was occupied in making various regulations in the towns which he had conquered.

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CHAPTER XXX.

THE THIRD WAR AGAINST MITHRIDATES—WAR AGAINST THE THRACIANS.

At the period when Pompey gained his glorious victory over the pirates, the republic had for some time been involved in a fresh war against Mithridates of Pontus, which arose out of that against Sertorius in Spain, and lasted altogether for nearly ten years. In B.C. 74, Sertorius sent two proscribed Romans to Mithridates to form an alliance with him, and stir him up against Rome. The king was to assist Sertorius with his fleet, and in case of their combined efforts succeeding, he was to have the sovereignty of all Asia. In the same year Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, having bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. Mithridates, encouraged by the offer of Sertorius, not only refused to recognise this bequest, but resolved to wage war against the Romans with all the powers he possessed. Besides his kingdom of Pontus, he ruled over a part of Cappadocia; and a number of princes, east and north of the Black Sea, as far as the river Dniester, were in alliance with him, or stood to him in the relation of vassals. He himself had enormous treasures, and a well-disciplined army of 156,000 men; and he could rely upon the co-operation of the pirates as well as of Sertorius.

He began the war by invading Bithynia, whereupon the Roman senate sent the consul, M. Aurelius Cotta, with an army into Asia. In the neighbourhood of Chalcedon the hostile armies met, and the Romans were defeated. Cotta took refuge within the walls of the town, in the harbour of which Mithridates soon afterwards burnt the Roman fleet. The king then took Heraclea, and laid siege to the wealthy and populous town of

Cyzicus, which he intended to make his starting point for the conquest of all Asia Minor. But the inhabitants of Cyzicus remained faithful to Rome, and, though unassisted, defended themselves bravely and resolutely, repelling every attack of the enemy. While the siege was going on, L. Licinius Lucullus, the colleague of Cotta, arrived in Asia with a fresh army; and Mithridates, who had been lingering too long before Cyzicus, soon discovered that Lucullus had cut him off from all supplies of provisions. After having sustained some severe losses in the engagements with his adversary, the king retreated, hastening to Nicomedia and thence to Sinope. Lucullus pursued his enemy, who seems to have almost lost his senses, and was unable to maintain himself anywhere. At Sinope, however, he again assembled his troops; and in an engagement of his cavalry with the Romans, in the neighbourhood of Cabira, gained some advantages: but all was of no avail; he soon afterwards fled to Comana, and thence to his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia. Tigranes for some time refused to give him any support, but in the end consented to do so.

Lucullus, in the meantime, entered Pontus, where the towns, though they defended themselves gallantly, were compelled to surrender one after another, because the armies which ought to have protected them were dispersed: 60,000 of the king's subjects are said to have been killed in this campaign. After having completed the conquest of Pontus, Lucullus spent some time in regulating the affairs of the newly-acquired countries, and in the meanwhile sent Appius Claudius to Tigranes to persuade him to deliver up his father-in-law to the Romans: this being refused, Lucullus at length, in B.C. 69, crossed the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, and besieged Mithridates and Tigranes in Tigranocerta. The host of Asiatic soldiers there assembled were dispersed like chaff, and the city, with its immense treasures, fell into the hands of the Romans. Tigranes, having thrown away his diadem in order that he might not be recognised, took to flight; and the defeated kings then

endeavoured to gain the support of Phraates, king of the Parthians. Tigranes, however, made another stand against the Romans at Artaxata, where he was again defeated; and Lucullus then took possession of Nisibis, a town of Mesopotamia, where he spent the winter of B.C. 68 and 67. While he was staying there, an insurrection broke out among his troops, which had been stirred up by P. Clodius, his own brother-in-law, whose conduct already plainly indicated the detestable career he afterwards pursued. The insurrection commenced among the veterans of Valerius Flaccus (*Valeriani*), who had been serving in Asia for many years, and now demanded to be sent home. Lucullus, it is true, succeeded in quelling the mutiny; but it inspired his enemies with fresh hopes, while to some extent it paralysed his own energy. Mithridates succeeded in completely cutting to pieces an army of 7000 men under the command of the legate, C. Triarius, and recovered a part of his kingdom of Pontus. Lucullus followed him, and his men at first obeyed his commands; but as he approached the king they again refused obedience, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that he persuaded them to serve to the end of the present campaign.

Just at this time, B.C. 67, the consul M'. Aquillius Glabrio was appointed to succeed Lucullus in the command against Mithridates; for the enemies of Lucullus at Rome, and especially the friends of Pompey, had set on foot a report that Lucullus was protracting the war for the purpose of enriching himself, and his late misfortunes gave his enemies a welcome pretext for recalling him. When Glabrio arrived in Bithynia he remained perfectly idle, but issued a proclamation that the army of Lucullus should be disbanded, and threatened to punish those who might continue to serve under him. The army of Lucullus accordingly dispersed; some of the poorer soldiers alone clung to their commander, who had the mortification to see Mithridates again take possession of Pontus and Cappadocia, for Glabrio made no efforts whatever to prevent it. All this was the work

of the friends of Pompey, who wanted him to reap the fruits of his predecessor's labours. The equites perhaps had some reason to be dissatisfied with Lucullus, for though he accumulated immense wealth in Asia, still he seems to have, on many occasions, protected the provincials against the greedy extortions of the farmers of the public revenue. But on his return to Rome he was, nevertheless, very honourably received, and rewarded with a triumph. He brought with him vast riches, and afterwards lived in the enjoyment of the luxuries with which he had become familiar in Asia.

In B.C. 66, while Pompey was yet in the south of Asia Minor, and Glabrio, in Bithynia, was allowing Mithridates to act as he pleased, the tribune C. Manilius brought forward a bill, enacting that in addition to the seas and countries over which Pompey had the supreme command, he should be invested with unlimited power also in Bithynia, Pontus, and Armenia, for the purpose of conducting the war against Mithridates. This measure was opposed by Q. Catulus, and by the orator Q. Hortensius; but the tribunes and the people were resolved to carry their plan, and influential men, like C. Julius Caesar, supported it. Cicero, who was then praetor, recommended the scheme in a splendid speech, the first he ever addressed to the assembled people; and the bill was carried. Cicero and Caesar supported Pompey on this occasion, because both were anxious to gain the favour of the people by attaching themselves to the man who at that time was their idol; for both must have seen that the measure was unconstitutional, and replete with danger. The Romans however had no reason to regret the step they took; though if Pompey had been a man like Sulla, things would have turned out very differently. When Pompey undertook the war against Mithridates his position was far less surrounded by difficulties than that of Lucullus had been, for he received strong reinforcements, and Mithridates was worn out by his many vicissitudes. Pompey set out from Cilicia, and had an interview with Lucullus in Galatia; but the ill feeling between them was too strong to

permit any good to result from their intercourse, and the meeting ended in bickerings and disputes. Pompey then concluded an alliance with the king of the Parthians; and on the banks of the Euphrates fought by night a battle with Mithridates, in which the king was defeated and put to flight. Before pursuing him, Pompey founded the town of Nicopolis. Mithridates fled into Colchis, as Tigranes refused to give him any further assistance. Pompey, on the invitation of Tigranes, then entered Armenia, and the king humbly surrendered himself to the conqueror, who deprived him of all his possessions with the exception of the kingdom of Armenia, made him pay 6000 talents, and raised his son, the younger Tigranes, to the throne of Sophene.

Pompey spent the ensuing winter on the river Cynus (Kur) where the Albanians made an unsuccessful attack upon him. In the spring he advanced into the country about Mount Caucasus, and fought against the Albanians and Iberians, after which he entered Colchis; but the difficulties he had to contend with among the warlike tribes of those countries induced him to pursue Mithridates no farther. He concluded peace with the Albanians and Iberians, and returned through Armenia to Syria, leaving Mithridates to his own fate. The latter, in the meantime, made great efforts and formed very bold plans for attacking the Romans, for he still had large treasures at his command, and hoped to rouse the Scythians, with whom he contemplated invading Italy from the north. But his own soldiers dreaded so gigantic an undertaking, and were resolved not to enter upon it: headed by the king's own son Pharnaces, they broke out into open rebellion at Panticapæum in the Crimea. The king, well knowing that his life was not safe, took poison, but as this had no effect, he prevailed upon a slave to kill him in B.C. 63. His unnatural son Pharnaces sent the corpse to Pompey, who was still lingering in Asia, and who having shown it to his soldiers, ordered it to be buried with royal splendour.

Pompey, on his arrival in Syria, immediately deposed king

Antiochus XIII., who had been raised to the throne by Lucullus, and constituted Syria, with Phoenicia, a Roman province. Jerusalem was at this time distracted by a civil war between the two brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus: Pompey, after his return from an expedition into Arabia, supported the former, and took the sacred city after a siege of three months, in B.C. 63. He did not interfere with the religious practices of the Jews, but deprived the reigning family of its kingly titles, and appointed Hyrcanus high-priest: Aristobulus was sent to Rome as a prisoner, and Judaea became tributary to the republic. Having accomplished this, Pompey, before returning to Rome, spent a considerable time in Asia, regulating the affairs of the country. Pharnaces, the treacherous son of Mithridates, received the kingdom of Bosphorus, which he retained until the arrival of J. Caesar in those districts, in B.C. 47; Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, received Lesser Armenia; many other persons received kingdoms and principalities at the hands of Pompey; Tigranes and Ariobarzanes were allowed to remain kings respectively of Cappadocia and Armenia Proper: Cilicia became a Roman province. Pompey did not leave Asia till the spring of B.C. 62, when he embarked at Ephesus; but his progress through Greece was so slow, that he did not arrive in Italy until the end of the same year.

At the time when the Roman arms were engaged against Sertorius, and even for some years before, the province of Macedonia was endangered by the invasion of some barbarous tribes from Thrace, who ravaged the country in a most cruel manner. The war against them was undertaken in B.C. 77, by the proconsul Appius Claudius, who defeated them in several battles; but he died in the course of the campaign, before the war was brought to a close. He was succeeded, in B.C. 75, by C. Scribonius Curio, who conquered the Dardanians, and penetrated as far as the river Danube; but the war was not brought to an end till B.C. 72, when the consul M. Lucullus, who had undertaken the administration of Macedonia, subdued the whole

nation of the Bessi, and having marched across the Danube, along the northern coast of the Black Sea, penetrated as far as the river Tanais and the Sea of Azov. The Roman arms were thus everywhere victorious : within a few years Spain was subdued, an insurrection of the slaves was quelled, the pirates were swept from the sea, the kingdom of Mithridates was destroyed, and the province of Macedonia was not only secured, but the Roman dominion in that quarter was extended far beyond it.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE—POMPEY AFTER HIS RETURN FROM ASIA.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these glorious achievements abroad, the condition of the people of Rome and Italy was not improved: the population of Rome sank deeper and deeper into an abyss of depravity and profligacy; the city was in fact little better than a den of robbers and vagabonds, in whom all the nobler feelings of human nature were extinct, and by whom virtue and justice were laughed at and scorned. One of the most striking examples of the violation of every law of justice and humanity is afforded by the conduct of the proprætor, C. Verres, during his administration of Sicily, from B.C. 73 to B.C. 71: and though he plundered the island in the most unscrupulous manner, in defiance of all laws, human and divine, carrying away the finest works of art from temples, as well as from the houses of private persons, yet he escaped the punishment he so richly deserved; for all the exertions and eloquence of Cicero were of no avail, the judges knowing too well that the condemnation of Verres would be a condemnation of their own conduct. He found an advocate in Q. Hortensius, and the nobles and many magistrates did their utmost to obtain his acquittal. Verres himself, having no faith in his own case, withdrew from Rome, but was afterwards permitted to return. Boundless desires and wants strengthened the love of robbery and plunder; gluttony, extravagance, and profligacy of every kind reached a height which to us appears to approach real madness. The optimates set the example, and the populace followed it with an audacity and impudence which could arise only from their knowing that the laws were utterly powerless.

The good men, whose number was very small, had everything to fear, while the bad ones had everything to hope. Rome was in a state of extreme dissolution, and the republic was a mere name.

There is, perhaps, no other example in the history of man of such consummate wickedness as that of C. Sergius Catilina, who acted more like an incarnate demon than like a human being. He was descended from a noble family, and had become accustomed to murder and bloodshed in the days of Sulla, to whose party he belonged. It cannot be denied that he was an extraordinary person, and possessed all the qualities which might adorn a great man in such times as those in which he lived, for his courage was unparalleled, and his strength both of body and of mind was gigantic. The accounts which we have of his crimes may, indeed, be exaggerated in some points, but in the main they are unquestionably correct, though it is difficult to see what was the object of the enormous crimes he planned, unless it were to set himself up as a tyrant on the ruins of Rome, and on the corpses of his fellow-citizens. In the course of his dissolute life he had squandered all his property, and he now saw no help for himself except in a revolution: many other nobles, who were in the same or similar circumstances, were easily gained over by him, for he is said to have possessed such a fascinating power over those who came in contact with him that no one could resist him. Some of the nobles, such as M. Licinius Crassus, may, in their feuds against one another, have supported his schemes, looking upon him as a welcome instrument for the attainment of their selfish ends. He was accordingly joined by profligates of all classes and parties, as well as by the dregs of the populace, who longed for the revival of the proscriptions of the time of Sulla.

Catiline began his diabolical machinations in B.C. 66, three years before the consulship of Cicero, whom he hated more than any other man. He had been *propraetor* of the province of Africa, and on his return he intended offering himself as a can-

didate for the consulship, but being accused of extortion in his province he was obliged to give up his plan. On this occasion he is said to have been defended by Cicero.¹ In order to take vengeance on those who thwarted him, he, in conjunction with some young nobles, formed a conspiracy for the purpose of murdering the consuls of B.C. 65, and many of the senators; but the scheme was frustrated by Catiline himself, who, impatient of delay, gave the signal before his associates were quite prepared for the perpetration of the crime. In B.C. 64, Catiline again came forward as a candidate for the consulship; and, in conjunction with C. Antonius, made the greatest efforts to defeat Cicero, who likewise stood for the consulship. The optimates at first treated Cicero as an upstart, with great contempt; but their fear of Catiline's success at length induced them to support Cicero, who enjoyed great popularity with the people, and now bore down all opposition. Catiline's mind now thought of nothing but revenge and murder; he determined to carry out his former design on a much larger scale; the city of Rome was to be reduced to a heap of ashes, and all the leading men of the time were to be killed in one general massacre. Some of his noble associates provided him with money for the purpose of causing at the same time an insurrection in Picenum and Etruria.

The plan was already matured for execution, when Fulvia, a dissolute woman, who had been informed of the plot by her friend Curius, one of the conspirators, reported it to the consul Cicero, who had from the first kept a watchful eye upon the proceedings of Catiline, and now resolved to take the most energetic measures to suppress the conspiracy. His colleague C. Antonius was suspected, and not without good reason, of being an accomplice of Catiline; in order therefore to keep him in good humour and out of the way of the conspirators, Cicero gave up to him the lucrative province of Macedonia, of which he was to take charge at the expiration of his consulship. On the

¹ *Ascon. ad Cic. Orat. in Tog. Cand.* p. 85; comp. *Sallust, Cat.* 18; *Cic. pro Cael.* 4.

8th of November, Cicero addressed so impressive a speech to the senate, that Catiline, who was present, quitted Rome the following night. The next day Cicero delivered another speech on the same subject to the people: the senate then declared Catiline a public enemy, and ordered Cicero to provide for the safety of the city, commanding at the same time that an army should be raised. An event occurred in the meantime which put Cicero in possession of the most unexceptionable evidence respecting the conspiracy and its accomplices. Some Allobrogian ambassadors had come to Rome, where they were gained over by Lentulus, one of the conspirators, and let into the secret of the conspiracy. But in order to secure some momentary advantages, they revealed the plot to Cicero, who through their influence contrived to obtain documentary evidence of the conspiracy. Accordingly when they left Rome charged with letters to Catiline, in the night between the 2nd and 3rd of December, and were quitting Rome, they were apprehended, for the sake of appearance, near the Mulvian bridge, and all the letters thus fell into the hands of Cicero, who immediately laid the whole matter before the senate. The Allobrogians were rewarded for the disclosures they had made, and Cicero ordered those conspirators who were at Rome, and whose crime was established by their correspondence, to be thrown into prison. Among them were the praetor Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Caeparius. On the 5th of December Cicero delivered in the senate his fourth Catilinarian speech respecting the punishment to be inflicted on those of the conspirators who had been arrested. He himself proposed that, as their crime was proved, they should be put to death; and Cato supported him in this view. As all the senators, with the exception of J. Caesar, concurred in this opinion, the conspirators were strangled in prison on the same day. This summary proceeding, though perfectly just and in accordance with the principles of Roman law, afterwards became to Cicero the cause of great trouble and suffering.

The conspiracy, however, was not yet suppressed; for Catiline,

who had in vain attempted to escape into Gaul, joined the army of his associate Manlius, which was assembled in Etruria: the war against him was ordered to be conducted by C. Antonius, but as he was ill or unwilling to fight against his former companion, his legate, M. Petreius, undertook the management of the war. In the beginning of B.C. 62, Catiline was compelled to engage in battle near Pistoria, in the north of Etruria, where he and his men fought like lions; all fell sword in hand, and none took to flight; 3000 conspirators were slain in the engagement, and among them their leader. The conspiracy itself was thus crushed; but there were numbers of persons, both at Rome and in Italy, who although not actual accomplices of Catiline yet in their hearts favoured him, and had hoped to derive advantages from the projected revolution: it was this class of men who caused the subsequent disturbances, and some years later drove Cicero into exile.

Cicero truly deserved the gratitude of his country, since it was owing to his exertions and vigilance alone that the republic was saved from miserable destruction; and we cannot wonder that in after life he spoke of the occurrences of his consulship with pride and satisfaction. The senators saluted him as the father of his country, and declared him worthy of a civic crown. But the happiness he thus enjoyed did not last long; for a few days after he had laid down his consulship, the tribunes Metellus Nepos, and Bestia, in conjunction with J. Caesar who was then praetor, declared that Pompey must return from Asia to restore the constitution, which had been violated by Cicero in putting to death Roman citizens without a formal trial. This proposal created great disturbances; and had not Cato, who was one of the tribunes, opposed his colleagues with all his usual firmness, matters would at once have come to a sad crisis.²

Pompey did not land in Italy till the end of the year B.C. 62: on his arrival at Brundisium he disbanded his army, in order to impress upon the people the notion that, notwithstanding his

² Plut. *Cic.* 23, *Cat. Min.* 21, 26; Sueton, *Caes.* 16.

extraordinary achievements, he still honoured republican liberty. In the beginning of B.C. 61 he arrived at Rome, without any armed force, and was received by the people with the greatest joy and enthusiasm. He celebrated his victories with a more splendid triumph than Rome had ever witnessed. Vast sums of money were deposited in the public treasury; every soldier who had served in his legions received a present of about 45*l.*; and Pompey devoted a part of his booty to the building of a temple to Minerva, which contained an inscription recording his victories.³ But notwithstanding his affectation of republican sentiments, and his generosity, he was unable to induce the senate to sanction the arrangements which he had made in Asia: Cato, Q. Metellus Celer, Lucullus, and Crassus, all opposed his desires.⁴ As Pompey's vanity had not allowed him to anticipate such opposition, his wounded pride led him to abandon the optimates and to join the popular party. This step, which once taken could not easily be retraced, involved him in that series of unfortunate circumstances in which he ultimately perished.

³ Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 26; Diodor. *Fragm. Vat.* p. 140, ed. Dindorf.

⁴ Dion. *Cass.* xxxvii. 49; Appian. *De Bell. Civ.* ii. 9.

CHAPTER XXXII.

C. JULIUS CAESAR, CN. POMPEY, AND M. LICINIUS CRASSUS—CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP—P. CLODIUS—CICERO'S EXILE AND RESTORATION—PTOLEMY AULETES—CLODIUS AND MILO.

C. JULIUS CAESAR had distinguished himself by his intrepidity and prudence even when a young man during the dictatorship of Sulla, for he defied the dictator's command while every one else trembled, and it was mainly owing to his prudence that his name was not put on the proscription list. Pompey, who had not penetration enough to comprehend so vast a mind as that of Caesar, received his acts of friendship and attachment as a homage done to his own merits, while Caesar only endeavoured to raise himself in popular favour by his connexion with Pompey. Caesar's unbounded liberality towards the people, plunged him into debts and difficulties, but this was the means by which he gradually succeeded in eclipsing Pompey in popularity. There existed a relationship between the families of Caesar and Marius, for Julia, a sister of Caesar's father, had been married to the elder Marius for whom Caesar always felt a strong attachment. When Julia died, in B.C. 67, Caesar delivered the funeral oration; and two years later, B.C. 65, he one night restored the statues of Marius and the representations of his victories in the Capitol, all these marks of honour having been destroyed or removed by Sulla. Their restoration filled the senate with alarm, but delighted the people, who, with the greatest applause and enthusiasm, hailed the re-appearance of the well-known features of their former leader. From this time Caesar became the avowed head of the remnants of the Marian party. In B.C. 62 he was invested with

the praetorship; and after the expiration of his office he went into his province of Spain, where he suppressed an insurrection among the Lusitanians, and subdued some districts which had not yet recognised the supremacy of Rome. The sums of money which he collected in Spain were so enormous, that he not only had enough to pay his debts, which are said to have amounted to one million sterling, but had a large sum left to continue his extravagances. About the middle of the year B.C. 60 he returned to Rome, and obtained the consulship for the following year, together with M. Calpurnius Bibulus, an honest but narrow-minded and obstinate man. The provinces which were assigned to the consuls were of a kind from which neither fame nor profit could be expected: this exasperated Caesar, and as Pompey likewise was displeased with the senate Caesar easily gained him over to his side, and at the same time effected a reconciliation between him and Crassus, whose money had often assisted Caesar in carrying out his demagogic schemes. The union of these three men is commonly called the first triumvirate: they now agreed among themselves that no political measures should be taken which might be displeasing to any one of them.¹ Caesar endeavoured to draw Cicero also into the coalition, but the latter dreaded their ambitious schemes, and was in fact more anxious for the safety of the republic than for his own personal influence. These three men now were all powerful: they held the fate of the republic in their hands, and acted just as they pleased; each of them hastened with equal zeal towards the accomplishment of what he considered the consummation of his desires. Crassus wanted to be at the head of the world for the sole purpose of increasing his wealth; Pompey hoped to get his arrangements in Asia sanctioned, and to heighten his glory; but Caesar saw through their designs, and calculated beforehand what was going to happen, well knowing that in the end he should rise above them both.

Under such circumstances Caesar entered upon his consulship

¹ Sueton. *Caes.* 19.

in B.C. 59. He began his proceedings by carrying a series of laws all of which tended to raise him in the people's esteem, while they offended the senate and his colleague Bibulus. In order to render the senate more amenable to public opinion, he enacted that thenceforward regular records of the transactions in the senate and the assembly should be kept and published.² By a second regulation which released the farmers of the public revenue from one-third of the sums they owed to the public treasury, he secured the good will of the whole body of equites, who in their eagerness to obtain the contracts had offered larger sums than they found it possible to pay. A far more important measure however was his agrarian law. This was a modification of a bill which had been brought forward in B.C. 63 by the tribune Servilius Rullus, but had been defeated by Cicero. The provisions of this law were the following: a commission of 20 consulars was appointed to distribute the domain land in Campania, and the district called Stellatis, to such poor citizens as had at least three children: the lots thus assigned were not transferable by sale for the next twenty years. As there was not land enough to satisfy all who preferred their claims, it was further enacted that other districts should be purchased out of the booty which Pompey had brought from Asia: a colony was established at Capua also. Not less than 20,000 citizens are said to have received allotments of land under this agrarian law. Bibulus, Cicero, and the whole senate opposed the measure, but their exertions were useless: Bibulus was so vexed that he altogether withdrew from public life, and shut himself up in his house for the rest of the year. Caesar was thus, in fact, sole consul, and might act as he pleased.³ In order to unite himself still more closely with Pompey, Caesar at length got the senate to sanction Pompey's arrangements in Asia:⁴ he also gave him

² These records, resembling our newspapers, were called *acta diurna*; Liv. *Epit.* 103; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 10.

Suet. *Caes.* 20.

³ Sueton. *Caes.* 20; Vell. Pat. ii.

⁴ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 13; Plut. *Pomp.* 48; Dion. Cass. xxxviii. 7.

his own daughter Julia in marriage, though she was betrothed to another man. With the view of securing the permanence of his own regulations, Caesar himself married Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, who, through the influence of Caesar, was elected consul for the following year along with A. Gabinius.

Having thus insured the favour of Pompey, the people, and the equites, he now found it easy to obtain what province he liked, and also to secure a long continuance of his power. This latter point he accomplished by a violation of the constitution. Hitherto a province had never been assigned to any man for a period longer than one year; but Caesar got the tribune Q. Vatinius to carry a law by which the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum were given to him for five years: the senate afterwards added the province of Transalpine Gaul, because it was evident that a bill would be proposed to the people for that purpose, if the senate did not grant that province also. Having thus obtained what he wanted, and having established his influence at Rome by the appointment of consuls of his own choice, Caesar prepared for setting out with his legions into Gaul. Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator, was appointed to accompany him as one of his legates; but the orator himself refused to go with him, and thereby offended Caesar, who remained with his army in the neighbourhood of Rome until the end of April B.C. 58, for the purpose of supporting Clodius.

P. Clodius was the son of Appius Claudius, who had been consul in B.C. 79; he belonged accordingly to the haughty patrician family of the Claudii. At that time there was, with the exception of Catiline, no one who surpassed him in profligacy, and in the perpetration of crimes of every kind. He was married to a sister of Lucullus, in whose camp at Nisibis he had acted the part of a mutineer. In B.C. 61, while the vestals and matrons were celebrating the festival of the Bona Dea, in the house of the Pontifex Maximus (J. Caesar), Clodius, in the disguise of a woman, sneaked into the house to have a secret meeting with Caesar's wife. This violation of the sanctity of religion was

discovered, and the criminal was brought to trial. Cicero, between whom and Clodius there had been until then no enmity, was called upon to undertake his defence, and to show that at the time the crime was committed Clodius was not at Rome. Cicero not only refused to comply with the request, but being overcome by honest indignation, bore witness against him, and made so severe an attack upon him, that his condemnation would have been unavoidable, had he not purchased his acquittal. This was a bold proceeding on the part of Cicero, for which he had to do severe penance: Clodius never forgave him, and meditated revenge. In order to become eligible for the tribuneship, Clodius caused himself to be adopted into a plebeian family. His object was thus gained, and he was elected tribune for the year B.C. 58. He contrived to obtain the support of the consuls, by promising to procure for Calpurnius Piso the province of Macedonia, and for Gabinius that of Syria. For this price, the unprincipled consuls sold and betrayed the welfare of the republic, and the happiness of one of the few good men whom Rome possessed. By the gratuitous distribution of large quantities of corn among the populace of Rome, and by restoring the corporations of trades which had been suppressed by the senate in B.C. 68, he secured the favour of the multitude: this done, he brought forward and carried a law, enacting that whosoever had put to death a Roman citizen, without a formal trial, should be outlawed. Cicero's name was not mentioned in the law, but every one knew that the blow was aimed at him. Pompey withdrew into the country; Crassus bore a grudge against Cicero, who had mentioned him in connexion with the Catilinarian conspiracy; the consuls, and Caesar, who was still at the very gates of Rome with his army, supported Clodius: Cicero, therefore, was abandoned by those who alone had the power and influence to save him. He felt that he should be irrecoverably lost if he remained at Rome: without waiting for his trial, therefore, he quitted the city and his country, lamented by the best citizens. Towards the end of March he went to Thessalonica in Macedonia, where he was kindly received

by the praetor Plancius. After the departure of Cicero, Clodius procured his formal condemnation: he outlawed not only Cicero, but every one that should afford him protection; he demolished his house on the Palatine, destroyed two of his villas, and caused all his remaining property to be sold by public auction. After this Clodius proposed several other laws, some of which were carried, and all of which tended, more or less, to bring utter ruin upon the republic. He had once fallen into the hands of pirates, and Ptolemy, king of Cyprus and brother of the king of Egypt, had declined to ransom him. Clodius now took revenge, by carrying a law that the king should be deposed, on the plea that he was a bad ruler; and in order at the same time to get rid of a troublesome opponent at Rome, he caused Cato to be appointed to go to Cyprus, to take possession of the island and constitute it a Roman province. Ptolemy escaped the unjust deposition by taking poison immediately before the arrival of Cato. Cyprus, however, became a Roman province; and Cato, on his return to Rome, brought with him the sum of 7000 talents, which he honestly delivered up to the treasury.

In this manner the year of Clodius' tribuneship came to its close; but no sooner had he laid down his office, than public opinion turned in favour of Cicero. Petitions to recall him were sent in from all parts, and several of the tribunes brought forward bills to the same effect, but all were thwarted by the intrigues of Clodius. At length the consul P. Cornelius Lentulus, on the suggestion of his colleague Q. Caecilius Metellus, carried a law on the 4th of August, B.C. 57, by which Cicero was formally recalled from exile. Exactly one month later he arrived at Rome, where his return resembled a magnificent triumph: this afforded him some consolation for his sufferings. Pompey was now friendly towards Cicero, but only because he was at variance with Clodius; and Cicero immediately after his return showed his gratitude by supporting a bill proposed by the consuls, that Pompey should be invested with the superintendence of all the importations of grain, with proconsular power in all

the provinces for five years, and with the command of fifteen legions.⁵

While these things were going on at Rome, an insurrection broke out at Alexandria in Egypt, in consequence probably of the loss of the fair island of Cyprus; and the wretched king Ptolemy Auletes, who had hitherto maintained himself at Alexandria with the aid of the Romans, was obliged to take to flight. He arrived at Rome in B.C. 57, and by distributing large bribes among the leading men he endeavoured to get himself restored. P. Cornelius Lentulus, in his consulship, prevailed upon the senate to commission him to re-instate Ptolemy in his kingdom; but Cato, who thought such an undertaking dangerous, caused the senate to issue a decree that Ptolemy should not be restored at all. Cicero and Pompey took part in these discussions, and supported Lentulus, but in vain. Afterwards, A. Gabinius, in his proconsulship of Syria, in B.C. 55, was induced by the king, for the enormous bribe of 10,000 talents, to restore him in defiance of the decree of the senate. In addition to this, Gabinius carried on in Syria a system of barefaced extortion, and the eques C. Rabirius was his associate in these disgraceful proceedings. On their return to Rome, an action for extortion was brought against them both, and Cicero was prevailed upon by Pompey to undertake their defence. Pompey and Crassus also exerted all their powers to save Gabinius, but to no purpose, for he was exiled, and his property was confiscated and publicly sold.

Meantime the internal condition of Rome became worse and worse. In B.C. 56, Pompey and Crassus, at the desire of Caesar, tried to gain the consulship a second time. All good citizens opposed the scheme, but violence carried the day. L. Domitius, one of the candidates, who had publicly declared that he would propose to deprive Caesar of his legions and province, was intimidated by armed soldiers, and his servant was cut down before his eyes, to show him what he himself had to expect if he

⁵ Dion. Cass. xxxix. 9; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 13; Plut. *Pomp.* 49.

should persevere in his suit. Pompey and Crassus were accordingly made consuls for B.C. 55. In compliance with another desire of Caesar, they hired the tribune, C. Trebonius, who by force and violence carried a law, by which Caesar's administration of Gaul was prolonged for five years from the date of the law ; Crassus at the same time received Syria and the adjacent countries, and Pompey all Spain, as their provinces, each likewise for the period of five years. Cato, who ventured to oppose this unconstitutional measure, was in danger of losing his life. Pompey also made some enactments concerning the courts of justice, and bribery at elections, though it still continued to be an understood thing that no one could obtain any of the offices without expending large sums to bribe the electors. The law, therefore, was a mere farce ; or, at least, was only intended to prevent a certain grossness and openness of the crime, which itself could not be hindered.

The history of the feuds between Clodius and Milo forms another very instructive instance of the frightful state of society in those days. If we reflect that what is related of those two must have been the case with hundreds of others whose position was less conspicuous, it will be evident that the insecurity of both person and property at that time must have been as great as in the most barbarous periods of the middle ages. Annius Milo and P. Clodius were bitter enemies, and each being in constant dread of the other, they never went out without being accompanied by bands of armed slaves, between whom bloody scenes were matters of ordinary occurrence. Shortly before the end of the year B.C. 53, the two parties met on the Appian road, and a scuffle ensued, in which Clodius, who was then a candidate for the praetorship, was killed. Milo was charged with having murdered him ; and the friends and partisans of each threw Rome into such a state of confusion, that for many months it was impossible to hold the consular elections : Rome was in a condition of anarchy until Pompey was made sole consul, an appointment which had never taken place before in the history of

Rome. Milo, who was at the time a candidate for the consulship, was brought to trial about three months after the affray, and was defended by Cicero. Pompey, who was unfavourable to Milo, had taken such extraordinary measures for the trial, the whole forum being surrounded by armed soldiers, that Cicero, for the first time in his life, lost his self-possession. He was so intimidated that he was unable to plead for Milo, who was accordingly condemned, and went into exile at Marseilles.* The year after this, B.C. 51, Cicero, though very reluctantly, undertook the administration of the province of Cilicia, which was then threatened by the Parthians.

* The oration for Milo still extant was written by Cicero afterwards. He sent a copy of it to Milo, who after having perused it, wrote to Cicero

saying: "If you had delivered this speech at my trial, I should not now be eating the fine fish of Marseilles."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

J. CAESAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL—THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY—UNFORTUNATE
WAR OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS—EVENTS WHICH LED TO
THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN POMPEY AND CAESAR.

THE campaigns of Caesar in Gaul, from B.C. 58 to B.C. 50, are among the most memorable in the history of man; and the more so because we possess a very accurate account of them by the great general himself, with a supplementary part which was probably written by his friend A. Hirtius. As this work is in the hands of all, we shall confine ourselves to a brief outline of the principal events and a few general observations. Caesar in his general conduct showed a mind which controlled all events, even the most untoward: he saw through everything, acted with the utmost caution and decision, and attached to himself the hearts of all his soldiers in such a manner that with him and for him they did everything and gladly ventured on the boldest undertakings. But far different was his conduct towards the barbarians: in regard to them Caesar was no better than all other Romans, with the exceptions only of the Gracchi and Sertorius; the lives of thousands of barbarians were sacrificed without a scruple, and no means, however bad and immoral, were neglected if they did but contribute to establish Rome's dominion and Caesar's greatness: he who among his fellow-citizens was mild and forgiving acted in Gaul with almost unparalleled cruelty. But whatever were the sufferings which he inflicted upon Gaul and the neighbouring countries, one circumstance may, perhaps, be looked upon as a compensation; namely, that through Caesar's campaigns those countries were drawn into the current of Roman civilisation.

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At the time when Caesar arrived in Gaul that country was in a state of great excitement; the Helvetii, a Gallic tribe dwelling between the north of the Lake of Geneva, the river Rhine, and Mount Jura, had been induced by Orgetorix, the most wealthy and powerful man among them, to quit their country and seek new homes in western or southern Gaul. It may be that they were induced to make this extraordinary movement by the fact, that they were pressed on the north or east by the advance of the German tribes, some of which had already crossed the Rhine. Although their leader Orgetorix died, the deluded people were determined to carry out their plan; and after having burnt all their towns and villages they marched into the country of the Sequani. Three of their clans had already crossed the river Arar (Saone), and the fourth called the Tigurine, was still on the eastern side of the river, when Caesar, who apprehended great danger to the Roman province of Gaul, arrived with his legions and attacked the Tigurini, who were taken by surprise and entirely cut to pieces. He then pursued the other three clans, and fought a battle with them near the town of Bibracte (Autun), in which the Helvetii after a severe conflict were defeated with great slaughter, and the survivors took to flight. Being again overtaken by Caesar they were obliged to capitulate, and to return to their own devastated country. When the Helvetii left their native land, their number, comprising women and children, is said to have amounted to 368,000: of these only 110,000 survived to return home.

Gaul was at this time occupied by a great number of tribes: party feeling extended even to towns and families, which were rent asunder by political disputes. The form of government among most of the tribes was of a republican nature; but the greatest power was in the hands of the Druids (the priests) and the nobles, while the people were greatly oppressed, and were little better than the serfs of the nobles. One among the Gallic tribes always held a sort of supremacy over the rest, resembling that which was once possessed by the Lacedaemonians in Greece.

In former times this supremacy belonged to the Arverni, but afterwards the Aedui rose by their side claiming the same distinction. They succeeded, and after the war of the Romans against the Allobrogi in B.C. 121, the Aedui were honoured with the title of friends and allies of the Roman people. As the power of the Arverni declined, that of the Sequani rose; and during the disputes of the latter with the Aedui, they invited the Germans to come to Gaul and assist them against their rivals. This seems to have happened about the year B.C. 72. Accordingly Ariovistus, the king of the Suevi, crossed the Rhine with an army of 15,000 men, and again and again defeated the Aedui. But he also compelled the Sequani to give up to him one-third of their territory: with this he rewarded his men, and finally settled in the country. Other swarms of Germans followed his example, and took up their abode in Gaul. As Ariovistus had been honoured by the senate in Caesar's own consulship with the title of king and friend, Caesar had no right to make war upon him; but at the request of the Aedui, Caesar with his army penetrated into the country of the Sequani and took possession of the town of Vesontio (Besançon) on the river Dubis (Doubs), and some days later he fought a decisive battle, in which the Suevi were completely defeated, and Ariovistus with a few survivors fled across the Rhine, whither Caesar was wise enough not to follow him. These two great and glorious battles, which were fought by Caesar in his first campaign, raised his fame in all parts of Gaul, and the more so because the Suevi had been heretofore believed to be invincible.

In the second year of Caesar's administration of Gaul, B.C. 57, all the Belgian tribes inhabiting the countries between the Seine, the Moselle, and the Rhine, formed a confederacy and rose in arms against the Romans, by whose success they were alarmed; and it would almost seem as if after Caesar's victory over Ariovistus something had happened which caused this general apprehension. The army of Belgians amounted to 300,000 men: the Remi alone, into whose country Caesar marched first,

did not join their countrymen, but formed an alliance with the Romans. Caesar contrived to separate the formidable army of the enemy, and was thus enabled to defeat the different tribes one after another. The brave Nervii held out longest, and brought Caesar's army into great peril; but in the end they also were completely defeated in so bloody a battle that out of 60,000 only 500 survived. At the same time Caesar received intelligence that his legate M. Crassus had subdued the Veneti, Unelli, and several other tribes in the north-west of Gaul. The happy issue of this brilliant campaign, by which the Romans became masters of the greater part of northern Gaul, was celebrated at Rome with public thanksgivings for fifteen days. While Caesar was in his winter quarters, and in the early part of the spring of B.C. 56, while he was in Italy, the maritime tribes in the north-west of Gaul, some of whom had submitted the year before, formed a powerful confederacy against him. Caesar himself undertook the war against the Veneti, while his legates were sent into other parts. The Veneti were defeated, and treated most cruelly by the conqueror, for the purpose of striking terror into the other tribes. In the latter part of the summer, Caesar marched into the country of the Morini and Menapii, who were still in arms, and ravaged their fields and villages in a frightful manner. His legates in the meantime subdued the other revolted tribes; and Crassus, not without great difficulty, conquered the greater part of Aquitania.

Gaul was so much weakened by the exertions of the last three years, that for the present the people could not think of venturing upon a fresh war against the Romans; but Caesar was anxious to gain new victories, and to keep his legions in activity, in order that the people at Rome might not forget him. An opportunity soon offered. The Usipetes and Tencteri, two German tribes which had been driven out of their own country by the Suevi, had crossed the Rhine not far from its mouth, and intended to settle in Gaul. This, however, Caesar determined to prevent, and marched against them; upon which the Germans

began to negotiate with him. While the negotiations were going on, a body of German cavalry defeated a part of Caesar's Gallic cavalry. The next day all the German chiefs came into Caesar's camp to apologise for what had happened. But Caesar, instead of listening to them, detained them, and led out his army to attack the Germans, who being deprived of their leaders made but feeble resistance and were nearly all cut to pieces by the Roman cavalry. The remainder fled across the river into Germany. This piece of treachery, which Caesar himself relates without the least scruple, is one of the foulest acts of his life : when it became known at Rome, honest Cato proposed to the senate that Caesar should be delivered up to the barbarians to atone for his guilt.¹ After this victory Caesar went up the Rhine, on the invitation of the Ubii to assist them against the Suevi : he built a wooden bridge somewhere in the neighbourhood of Neuwied, and marched across the Rhine into Germany. The only object of this invasion seems to have been to strike terror into the Germans ; for after having ravaged the territory of the Sigambri for eighteen days he returned to Gaul and broke down the bridge. Although the greater part of the summer was already gone, Caesar resolved to make an expedition into Britain, which had been long known by that name, but was believed to be inaccessible. It seems to have had a charm for Caesar to invade an island upon which no foreign enemy had yet set his foot ; for he could not expect any great booty, and the districts from which the ancients derived their tin were in the western extremity of the island. He took with him only two legions, with which he sailed from the port of Itius (probably Whitsand, between Calais and Boulogne), and after a severe struggle with the natives effected a landing somewhere near the South Foreland. Some of the British tribes sent offers of submission to Caesar, but when they heard that a great part of the Roman fleet had been destroyed they took up arms again. Having been defeated, they again offered to submit. The season being already far

¹ Plut. *Cat. Min.* 51, *Caes.* 22 ; Appian, *De Reb. Gall.* 18.

advanced, Caesar accepted their submission, only demanding double the number of hostages they had given before, and returned to Gaul just before the day of the equinox. Although no conquests had been made in this campaign, still his victory over the Germans, and his invasion of Britain, seem to have created such wonder and admiration at Rome, that the senate decreed public thanksgivings for twenty days, notwithstanding the opposition of Cato.

The campaign of the year B.C. 54 was opened with a war against the Treviri, and some of the Belgian tribes, which had shown a disposition to revolt. When peace was restored among them, Caesar determined to make a second expedition into Britain. With an army of five legions he sailed from the port of Itius, and landed at the same place as before. The Britons gave the supreme command to a chief, Cassivelaunus, whose territories lay north of the river Tamesis (Thames), and fought bravely against the invader, but were defeated in several engagements. Caesar then crossed the Thames at the only place where it was fordable, probably at Coway Stakes, near Oatlands, took the capital of Cassivelaunus, and conquered a great part of the present counties of Essex and Middlesex. Cassivelaunus was obliged to sue for peace; and Caesar, having received hostages and settled the annual tribute which Britain was to pay to Rome, returned to Gaul towards the end of the summer. He left no troops nor garrisons in Britain, and accordingly the obedience and submission of the Britons was at an end as soon as he had quitted the island.

During the ensuing winter Caesar was obliged to place his army in different parts of Gaul in consequence of the great scarcity of provisions, and his forces being thus divided, the Gauls thought it a favourable opportunity for recovering their independence. The detachment under his legate Sabinus was destroyed by the Eburones almost to a man, and the camp of Q. Cicero would have experienced the same fate had not Caesar himself come to its assistance.

The partial success of the Eburones encouraged several other Gallic tribes to enter into a confederacy in B.C. 53, and attempt to recover their independence. But Caesar increased his forces and easily succeeded in subduing the insurgents. As the Treviri had been supported by the Germans, he again crossed the Rhine at a point somewhat higher up the river than the first time. The Ubii submitted to him, and he advanced into the country of the Suevi. But the latter retreated into their forests and fastnesses, and Caesar, unable to overtake them, again re-crossed the Rhine, having gained by this second invasion just as little as by the first. On his return, finding Ambiorix, the chief of the Eburones, still in arms, he made the strongest efforts to subdue him: the country of the Eburones was laid waste in a frightful manner, and the troops of Ambiorix were repeatedly defeated, but he himself always escaped falling into the hands of the Romans. The Sigambri also crossed the Rhine, and nearly took possession of Cicero's camp. Some of the ringleaders of these insurrections fell into the hands of Caesar: this incensed all the tribes of Gaul, and their hatred of the Roman yoke became so intense, that the whole of central Gaul conspired against it, and all the fruits of Caesar's victories seemed to be lost. The insurrection broke out among the Carnutes, but it spread with such rapidity that in a very short time nearly the whole of Gaul was in arms. Even the Aedui, who had hitherto acted as the friends of Rome, after a while joined the rebels, whose leader was Vercingetorix, a noble Arvernian, a man worthy of his post, and by far the ablest general whom Caesar had yet encountered in Gaul.

Under such circumstances Caesar entered on his seventh campaign in B.C. 52, even before the end of the winter. After having provided for the safety of the Roman province, he marched into the country of the Arverni (Auvergne). In that year Caesar's genius displayed itself more strikingly than ever: he acted with the utmost prudence, and yet with a quickness which astonished his enemies. In a short time he conquered the most important

towns of the Gauls; and Vercingetorix, in order to impede his progress, prevailed on the Gauls to lay waste their country. Avaricum (Bourges), the chief town of the Bituriges, being spared, was laid siege to by Caesar, who, after a most gallant resistance on the part of the inhabitants, took the place, and ordered the whole population, men, women, and children, to be butchered indiscriminately. Caesar now divided his army into two parts, and with six legions laid siege to Gergovia; but having received a severe repulse in an attempt to storm the town, and being informed of the revolt of the Aedui, he raised the siege, and, not without great danger, contrived to join the other part of his army, which was commanded by Labienus. The insurrection of the Aedui filled the Gauls with fresh courage, and led Caesar, who began to fear for the safety of the province, to march southward into the country of the Sequani, whither he was followed by swarms of Gauls who attacked him on his road. Vercingetorix now retreated to Alesia (Alise in Burgundy), whither he was pursued by the Romans. He took refuge in the town, which was considered impregnable, and resolved to wait for succours from his countrymen. Caesar laid siege to Alesia, but soon found himself surrounded by a numerous army of Gauls. His genius, however, prevented Vercingetorix from breaking through the Roman lines, and routed the Gallic army, so that Alesia was ultimately compelled by famine to surrender. Vercingetorix, who wished to save the lives of his people, desired that he, who was the cause of the war, might be delivered up to Caesar. On that occasion Caesar again acted with unpardonable cruelty; for instead of treating his humbled enemy with generosity, he ordered him to be kept in chains until his triumph, and afterwards put him to death. The fall of Alesia being followed by the submission of the Aedui and Arverni, Caesar resolved to pass the winter at Bibracte in the country of the Aedui. The fate of Gaul was now determined, though some tribes still remained in arms, and formed fresh plans against the Romans. Caesar spent the summer of B.C. 51 in reducing those tribes. The Belgians

now also began to stir, but it was too late, for Gaul was completely exhausted, and was unable to offer any efficient resistance to the Roman arms. After having effected the pacification of Gaul, and made the necessary arrangements in the newly conquered countries, he went, in the spring of B.C. 50, to Cisalpine Gaul, leaving his army in the districts beyond the Alps. Gaul was at that time a rich country, and Caesar had amassed immense treasures; his soldiers were attached to him with their whole hearts; and in Rome and Italy his achievements had raised the greatest admiration of his talent and valour. Three hundred tribes are said to have been subdued by him; and the supremacy of Rome was recognised by the Helvetii, the Gauls, and the Belgians.

During these years of active engagement in Gaul, Caesar, who had a watchful eye upon every thing that was going on in Rome, kept his friends there in such incessant activity to promote the interests of his cause and party, that his enemies began to be alarmed. We have already seen in what manner L. Domitius was led to desist from his suit for the consulship of B.C. 55. In the spring of B.C. 56, when Pompey, in the capacity of superintendent of the supplies of corn, was sent by the senate to Sardinia, Caesar contrived to meet Pompey and Crassus at Luca, in the north of Etruria, because there had been some ill-feeling between Pompey and Crassus. Caesar not only brought about a reconciliation, but, to thwart Domitius, prevailed upon them to offer themselves as candidates for the consulship of B.C. 55, and to promise him to make the regulations for the provinces which were noticed above, and which were effected by the laws of the tribune Trebonius. Pompey at the same time tried to withdraw the attention of the people from the schemes of the three confederates, by building and inaugurating a stone theatre, the first that was ever erected at Rome,¹ and by public games and festivities of every description. Julia the daughter of Caesar, who was married to Pompey, was during

her lifetime a strong bond of union between the two, and any outbreak of hostilities would perhaps have been prevented by her influence; but in B.C. 54 she died in child-bed, and her infant survived her only a few days. This event rent the tie between Caesar and Pompey completely asunder, and jealousy on the part of Pompey manifested itself but too soon afterwards.

Crassus, shortly before the expiration of his consulship, in B.C. 55, went to his province of Syria; and hoping to satiate his avarice with the treasures of Asia, prepared for war against the Parthians. He plundered wherever he went, and from the temple of Jerusalem alone took 2000 talents. After having spent the winter in Syria, he crossed the Euphrates, in B.C. 54, and entered Mesopotamia. As he had no knowledge of the country, and was obliged to trust to guides, he allowed himself and his army to be led by a crafty Arabian chief of the name of Abgarus into one of the sandy plains of Mesopotamia. He there found himself in a most dangerous position and was attacked by the Parthians. Having sustained considerable loss, he withdrew to Carrhae, but there again was surrounded by the enemy. During an interview with the Parthian commander, into which he suffered himself to be cajoled, he was on the point of being taken prisoner when, in attempting to escape, he fell by an unknown hand, and his son, who displayed the utmost gallantry on that occasion, was cut down almost before his father's eyes. This sad catastrophe took place in B.C. 53: the Roman army was nearly annihilated, for 20,000 are said to have lost their lives in the expedition, and 10,000, with the Roman camp, fell into the hands of the Parthian conquerors. Their king Orodes, to whom the head of Crassus was afterwards brought, caused it to be filled with melted gold, saying, "Sate thyself now with that metal of which in life thou wert so greedy." Only a small portion of the Roman army, under C. Cassius Longinus, escaped to Syria; but the Parthian war was not brought to a close till B.C. 51, when Bibulus was proconsul of Syria.

By the death of Crassus, the triumvirate was changed into a

duumvirate; but as the friendship which had existed between Pompey and Caesar began to cool immediately after the death of Julia, many a one must have foreseen that, sooner or later, matters would come to a crisis between the two. Pompey spent most of his time at Rome, and carried on the administration of his province of Spain through his legates, whereby he did not risk his military reputation, while at the same time he kept up an army ready to obey his commands. The princely manner in which he lived, together with his obvious endeavours to place himself as dictator at the head of the republic, filled many of the intelligent citizens with fear and jealousy: Cato publicly denounced his unconstitutional powers and ambitious schemes. The optimates, as a body, however, clung to him, believing him to be the only safeguard against Caesar. The consular elections, in B.C. 53, were delayed for a long time by the riots occasioned by Clodius and his opponents; and in the end, as every one feared lest Pompey should become dictator, Cato himself recommended that he should be made sole consul, in order to restore peace and order in the republic. Towards the end of February, B.C. 52, Pompey entered upon his third consulship without a colleague, and remained sole consul for five months, after which he chose Q. Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law, for his colleague, probably for no other reason than to allay apprehensions and make the people believe that he was anxious to uphold the republican constitution. The aristocracy therefore again began to consider Pompey as their leader, and to look forward with greater apprehensions than ever to the expiration of Caesar's proconsulship of Gaul. But Pompey, who was not yet prepared to break openly with his rival, got a law passed which empowered Caesar to become a candidate for the consulship without coming to Rome in person. Things, however, assumed a more and more definite aspect. In B.C. 51, the consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, a violent aristocrat, proposed to send a successor to Caesar in Gaul, and to deprive him of the privilege which Pompey had secured for him. Marcellus, in fact, lost no opportunity of

insulting Caesar. The senatorial party secured, for the year B.C. 50, the election of L. Aemilius Paulus, and C. Claudius Marcellus to the consulship, and of C. Curio to the tribuneship : all these were believed to be the most devoted partisans of Pompey and the senate, and it was hoped that with their aid Pompey would adopt some energetic measure against Caesar. But the latter contrived, by enormous bribes, to gain over to his side the consul Aemilius Paulus, and the bold and eloquent tribune C. Curio ; and he distributed with an unsparing hand large sums of money among the leading men at Rome. What alarmed the aristocracy most was the fear lest Caesar should be elected consul while he was absent at the head of his legions : in order to prevent this, the consul, C. Marcellus, proposed in the senate that Caesar should be compelled to lay down his command before the end of the year, B.C. 50. But this was unreasonable, as his command ought to have lasted till the end of B.C. 49, and Caesar's life would not have been safe if he had ventured to come to Rome as a private person : Curio, however, interposed his veto, and rendered the proposal of Marcellus ineffectual.

In the spring of B.C. 50, when Caesar came to Cisalpine Gaul, he was received in all the towns with the greatest applause and enthusiasm. He then returned across the Alps to muster all the troops he had at his command ; but at the request of the senate he gave up two legions, which were said to be wanted for the Parthian war, though he well knew that it was only to weaken his power, and that they would probably be employed against himself. Having placed his eight remaining legions in winter quarters in Transalpine Gaul, he himself returned to the north of Italy with a very small part of his forces, intending to spend the winter at Ravenna, not far from the frontier of his province of Cisalpine Gaul. Though he knew the hostile intentions of the aristocracy, he addressed a letter to the senate, expressing his readiness to disband his army if Pompey would do the same ; but it was with the greatest difficulty that

the senate even allowed the letter to be read : and on the motion of Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, a decree was passed peremptorily commanding Caesar to disband his army by a certain day, and declaring him a public enemy if he should refuse to obey. Two tribunes, M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, opposed the decree, but in vain; and as it was evident that Pompey was now resolved to crush Caesar if he could, they fled in disguise to Caesar, and called upon him to protect the inviolable persons of the tribunes. This was the decisive moment. The senate ordered the magistrates at Rome to provide for the safety of the republic; they then entrusted to Pompey the whole management of the war, desired him to levy troops, and placed large sums of money at his disposal. Pompey all along had no apprehensions; he thought it impossible that Caesar should ever march against him; he trusted to his great fame, and fancied that at his first call all Italy would flock around him. Every precaution, therefore, was neglected; and the only military force which Pompey had in Italy were the two legions which Caesar had sent from Gaul. Pompey and the aristocracy had further indulged in the idle belief that Caesar's troops were worn out by their long fatigues, and were ready to desert their leader on the first opportunity. But the senatorial party had so much miscalculated the sympathies of the Italians, that it was found very difficult to raise an army, and the soldiers that were enlisted were resolved to pass over to Caesar as soon as possible. Every thing was thus in a state of the greatest confusion, when the tidings came that Caesar was approaching. Pompey himself being quite bewildered, was advised by Cicero to negotiate with Caesar; but the folly and presumption of the senatorial party would not hear of any such thing, and the storm, which had long been gathering, burst forth with irresistible fury.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CIVIL WAR BETWEEN CAESAR AND POMPEY—BATTLE OF PHARSALUS AND
POMPEY'S FLIGHT AND DEATH—THE ALEXANDRINE WAR—WAR AGAINST
PHARNACES AND CAESAR'S RETURN TO ITALY.

WHEN Caesar was informed of the last decree of the senate, and the tribunes arrived at Ravenna to implore his protection, he assembled his soldiers and called upon them to remain faithful to him: as they declared themselves ready to follow him whithersoever he might lead them, he marched towards the little river Rubicon, which formed the boundary between his province of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy, and which, without the permission of the senate, no general was allowed to cross with an army. When he arrived on its bank, he hesitated for a time whether he should sacrifice himself, or commit the illegal act: at length, however, having formed his resolution, he exclaimed, "The die is cast," and crossed the river with only one legion. His other troops were still in Transalpine Gaul, but had received orders to follow him. He had indeed reason to hasten, as it was necessary for him to prevent his enemies from completing the preparations they were making. But his popularity was so great that the towns of Ariminum, Pisanum, Ancona, Iguvium, and Auximum, opened their gates to him as soon as he appeared, and his progress was like a triumph. At Rome every one was in the utmost consternation, and Pompey was at a loss what to do, for he had confidently expected that all Caesar's troops would desert their leader and flock to his standard, and with his few and unsoldierly recruits he was unable to maintain himself in Rome. He therefore quitted the city in the evening, without even taking with him the money from the public treasury, and at his bidding the consuls,

senators, and other men of rank and distinction followed him. He first went to Capua, and thence to Brundisium, whence he intended to proceed to Greece. This disgraceful flight produced the greatest confusion and despondency among those who could not leave the city, for on the one hand they were denounced as partisans of Caesar and threatened with all possible punishments by Pompey, while, on the other hand, they anticipated nothing short of the horrors of the times of Marius and Sulla if Caesar should enter the city. Caesar in the mean time continued his march towards Corfinium. This town was occupied by a strong garrison under the command of L. Domitius, who had been appointed to succeed Caesar in the administration of Gaul. Here again the popularity of Caesar's cause soon became manifest, for the soldiers deserted Domitius, and went over to Caesar; and as Pompey sent no succours, Domitius, being unable to maintain himself, was obliged to surrender at discretion. The moderation and clemency which Caesar showed here as well as in other places won for him the hearts of all Italy, and his popularity increased while that of Pompey diminished the farther he removed from Rome.

Pompey reached Brundisium before the arrival of Caesar, who pursued his enemy thither, leaving Rome for the present. On the 17th of March, Pompey fled from Brundisium to Dyrrhachium, Caesar not being able to prevent or to follow him, as he had no ships. Cicero, who had accompanied Pompey as far as Brundisium, and endeavoured to persuade him to negotiate with his enemy, remained in Italy, and was requested by Caesar to keep quiet. After the departure of Pompey, all Italy joined Caesar. He now proceeded to Rome, with the intention of attacking Afranius and Petreius, the legates of Pompey in Spain, who had a powerful army at their command, and might easily transfer the war into Italy. On his arrival in Rome, he behaved with great mildness, but acted in every respect like a sovereign. When he wanted to take the money from the public treasury for his own purposes, the tribune L. Metellus opposed him; but

Caesar threatened to put him to death, broke open the treasury, and took what he wanted. After a short stay at Rome, he hastened to the north of Italy, in order to march through Gaul into Spain; some of his friends were left in charge of Rome and Italy; others were dispatched to Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Illyricum, to oppose the Pompeians in those parts. When Caesar arrived at Massilia, which was attached to the interest of Pompey, the citizens of the place refused to admit him, whereupon he at once laid siege to the town; but not being able to take it immediately, he left his legates C. Trebonius and D. Brutus, with a part of his army, to continue the siege, and he himself proceeded to Spain.

On the approach of Caesar, Afranius and Petreius united their forces, five legions, in the neighbourhood of Ilerda (Lerida in Catalonia), on the right bank of the river Sicoris (Segre), whilst M. Terentius Varro protected the western part of Spain with two legions. Caesar, who had to contend with great difficulties, suffered several reverses; but in the end he reduced his enemies so much that they were compelled to surrender, nearly all their troops having passed over to Caesar. Afranius and Petreius were dismissed uninjured, a part of their army was disbanded, and the rest joined the army of the conqueror. After this victory, there was no army in Spain capable of offering any further resistance, and when Caesar arrived at Corduba (Cordova), Varro likewise surrendered. The whole Spanish campaign lasted not longer than forty days, within which short period all Spain was reduced, and Caesar returned to Gaul. Massilia had not yet surrendered, and was still besieged; but soon after Caesar's appearance before its gates, it was compelled to yield; and Caesar again showed great generosity towards this city, which had been one of the most ancient allies of Rome. During Caesar's Spanish campaign, C. Curio, who had gone to Sicily, took possession of that island, Cato, the praetor, having quitted it. Curio then crossed over into Africa, which was in the hands of the Pompeian

party. There he met with a most determined opposition; and in a battle against Juba, king of Numidia, who supported P. Atius Varus, a Pompeian commander, he was defeated and killed. C. Antonius, who had gone to Illyricum, was as unfortunate as Curio, his army being defeated and himself taken prisoner; but Q. Valerius, who had been sent into Sardinia, took possession of that island without any opposition. These reverses in Africa and Illyricum, however, were more than counterbalanced by Caesar's own victory in Spain.

At the time when Caesar was yet engaged at Massilia, he received intelligence from Rome that he had been nominated dictator by the praetor M. Lepidus. This appointment, which was illegal, because no praetor had a right to nominate a dictator, had probably been preconcerted between Caesar and Lepidus, as Caesar wished to return home in some high official character. He now hastened to Rome to enter upon his new office; but after the consular elections, at which he himself, and P. Servilius were appointed consuls, he laid down his dictatorship, having held it only eleven days. This happened in December, B.C. 49. During his short dictatorship, Caesar passed several laws which were reasonable and salutary. One of them was calculated to relieve debtors, and at the same time to protect the rights of creditors; another revised the sentences passed upon some persons who had been condemned during Pompey's last consulship, and several exiles were accordingly recalled; the descendants of those who had been proscribed by Sulla were restored to their rights as citizens; and the inhabitants of the country between the Po and the Alps received the Roman franchise as a reward for their faithful support of Caesar's cause. As the Cisalpine Gauls now acquired the right of wearing the dress of Roman citizens (the *toga*), their country was thenceforth called Gallia togata.

In the mean time his army returned from Spain, and as soon as new legions were formed, Caesar set out in December, B.C.

49, from Rome for Brundisium in pursuit of Pompey. The latter had not been idle while Caesar was engaged in Spain and Italy: he had assembled troops in Greece, and collected money from all parts, from Asia, Syria, and Egypt, as well as from Greece and Macedonia: and he had a large fleet, which was under the command of M. Bibulus, who had been Caesar's colleague in the consulship. In the beginning of January, B.C. 48, Caesar sailed with seven legions to Epirus, and without meeting any resistance landed near the Ceraunian mountains. As he had not ships enough to carry over all his troops at once, he had to send the vessels back to fetch the remainder; but part of them were intercepted on their return by M. Bibulus, who put to death every one on board those which fell into his hands. A portion of Caesar's army was therefore obliged to remain for the present at Brundisium, so that, in point of numbers his forces were far inferior to those of Pompey; but having confidence in himself, and knowing that he could rely on his men, he began at once to act on the offensive. He took the towns of Oricum and Appolonia without much difficulty, and then hastened towards Dyrrhachium, where all Pompey's stores were deposited. But Pompey, who had spent the winter at Thessalonica, and had been informed of Caesar's movements, by quick marches reached Dyrrhachium before him. Caesar was greatly in want of the troops detained at Brundisium; and his impatience, it is said, became so great, that one stormy night he embarked alone in a boat, and attempted to get across the Adriatic, to see what was the cause of the delay. At last M. Antony succeeded in eluding the watchfulness of Bibulus, and safely brought over the remainder of Caesar's army.

Caesar now proceeded to besiege Pompey in Dyrrhachium; but as the latter got his supplies from the sea he was not much affected by that measure; he showed moreover such great resolution during the siege, that on one occasion Caesar's army was brought into imminent danger. Caesar's soldiers began to be

desponding, and he himself was on the point of giving up all hope of success. The scantiness of provisions, and the epidemic diseases which broke out among his soldiers, at length induced him to give up the siege of Dyrrhachium. Had Pompey known how to follow up his advantages, he might now have brought the struggle to a conclusion. His friends advised him to return to Italy, or to exhaust and destroy his enemy by protracting the war in Epirus, where he might remain in constant communication with the sea. But Caesar, unconquered by his reverses, ventured on a step which in boldness surpasses every thing that he had yet done. He marched from Dyrrhachium towards Thessaly; a quarter in which he could reckon upon no one, and where every inch of ground had to be conquered. Pompey, inflated by his success and seeing his enemy retreating, now fancied he could decide the war by a single blow; accordingly he followed Caesar, who pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Pharsalus, or Pharsalia. When Pompey came up, he, with the more sensible of his friends, was of opinion that they ought to act with great caution, and endeavour to wear out Caesar; but most of his officers, flushed with their recent victory, insisted upon giving battle immediately. This was the very thing which Caesar desired. Pompey's army was still more than double the number of Caesar's, but the soldiers of the latter were well trained and well disciplined veterans, whereas those of Pompey were for the most part inexperienced young men. The decisive battle was fought on the ninth of August, B.C. 48, in the plain of Pharsalus: Pompey's army was completely defeated; and soon afterwards his camp, with all its luxuries, comforts, and treasures, fell into the hands of the conqueror. During the battle Caesar had given orders to spare the lives of Roman citizens as much as possible, and in consequence of this humane command whole regiments passed over to him.

The battle of Pharsalus at once decided the fate of Pompey and the republic. Pompey lost all his courage and his senses to

boot: he fled from the battle-field to Lesbos, and thence to Cyprus and Egypt, where he had reason to hope he might find a favourable reception, since the father of Ptolemy Dionysus, the present king, had been restored to his throne by the influence of Pompey. Ptolemy was still very young, and entirely under the control of his guardians. His father had given directions in his will that he should reign in conjunction with his sister, Cleopatra; but she had been obliged to quit Egypt, and was now attempting to effect her return by means of an armed force from Syria. At the time when Pompey approached the Egyptian coast, Ptolemy and his guardians were encamped in the neighbourhood of mount Casius against Cleopatra. In their camp was a Roman of the name of Septimius, who had been left behind in Egypt by A. Gabinius, when he restored the king to his throne. This man now advised the young king to put Pompey to death, in order to secure the favour of Caesar. Ptolemy gave his consent; and on the 28th of September, Septimius, who went out in a boat to receive Pompey, murdered him within sight of the king and of his army, which was drawn up on the coast. His body was thrown on the coast, and left unburied. Cornelia, the wife of Pompey, and Sextus his younger son, who were yet on board the ship, beheld the perpetration of the crime, and took to flight. Three days after this event, Caesar, accompanied by a small force, arrived in Egypt, whither he had pursued his enemy with all possible speed. The Egyptians gave up to him Pompey's head and ring, at the sight of which Caesar is said to have been moved to tears; his generous soul was probably affected by the recollection of his former connexion with Pompey, and by the consideration of the frailty of all human greatness. The body was buried on the coast by one of Pompey's veterans and some freedmen, and a small monument was erected over his grave.

Soon after his arrival in Egypt, Caesar became involved in a war (commonly called the Alexandrine), which detained him

several months. Cleopatra, by her fascinations, had succeeded in winning the conqueror's heart. Thinking it necessary that he should interfere on her behalf with the affairs of Alexandria, he demanded the carrying into effect of the will of the late king, that Cleopatra and her brother Ptolemy Dionysus should reign together. This demand being opposed by the guardians of the young king, a war broke out in the city of Alexandria, in which Caesar was for some time exposed to great danger on account of the small number of troops which he had with him. He was besieged in the palace by the populace, and it was only at the peril of his life that he escaped, by swimming to a ship which was lying at anchor in the neighbourhood. His purple robe was hung up by the Egyptians in a temple as a trophy. During this tumult the young king was drowned in the Nile, and his army dispersed. Caesar having in the meantime received reinforcements compelled Alexandria to surrender, and restored Cleopatra to the throne. He was so completely ensnared by the queen's fascinations and coquetry, that he stayed with her for nine months; by some, however, it is stated that contrary winds detained him at Alexandria.

At length Caesar resolved to tear himself away from the luxuries of the Alexandrine court: having received intelligence that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, one of his legates, had been defeated by Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, who was endeavouring to recover the countries which his father had once ruled over, he broke up from Alexandria in the spring of B.C. 47, and marched through Syria into Pontus. This campaign did not detain him long, for on his arrival in Pontus he immediately attacked the enemy in the neighbourhood of Zela, and the Asiatics were utterly defeated in a moment. It was concerning this victory over Pharnaces, that Caesar sent to Rome the celebrated Laconic report, "I came, saw, and conquered."¹ On his march through Phrygia he pardoned Deiotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, a

¹ *Veni, vidi, vici*; Sueton, *Caes.* 37; Hirt. *De Bell. Alex.* 65, &c.

partisan of Pompey, and afforded protection to various cities against the oppression to which they were subjected by the farmers of the public revenue. Soon after the war against Pharnaces was brought to a close, he heard of disturbances which had broken out at Rome, and accordingly hastened back to Italy. Towards the end of September, B.C. 47, he arrived at Brundisium, where he met Cicero, towards whom he showed great respect and deference, and then proceeded to Rome, where his presence was greatly needed, for his friends there were doing perhaps more injury to his cause than even his enemies.

CHAPTER XXXV.

STATE OF THINGS AT ROME DURING CAESAR'S ABSENCE—PROCEEDINGS OF THE POMPEIAN PARTY—THE AFRICAN WAR—CAESAR'S REGULATIONS AND REFORMS—THE WAR IN SPAIN AGAINST POMPEY'S SONS—CAESAR'S CONDUCT AS A RULER—HIS DEATH.

WHEN the news of the battle of Pharsalus reached Rome the enthusiasm was so great that several laws were immediately passed to testify to Caesar the gratitude and admiration of the Roman people, and the powers which the senate conferred upon him made him in reality the sovereign of the republic. He was nominated dictator a second time in his absence, and that for a whole year. He received this intelligence and entered upon his dictatorship in September, B.C. 48, when he made M. Antony his master of the horse, who forthwith went to Italy for the purpose of maintaining order there. Caesar was further appointed consul for the next five years, though he did not avail himself of this honour, and was invested for life with the power of a tribune of the people. He had also conferred upon him the right of presiding at the elections of all the magistrates, except the tribunes. As he was absent from Rome, no magistrates were elected for the year B.C. 47, except the tribunes. The senate and people thus rivalled each other in showing their servility towards Caesar, and in bestowing upon him the most extravagant distinctions; but it may be urged in their excuse, that their admiration was raised to the highest pitch by the unexpected and unexampled mildness which he displayed towards his conquered enemies.

The long period between the battle of Pharsalus and Caesar's return to Rome had been actively employed by the friends and

partisans of Pompey in collecting their scattered forces. After the battle, Cato went to Cyrene, where he gathered around him all the Romans he could, and led them along the north coast of Libya into the province of Africa, where he joined the other leaders of the Pompeian party, Q. Metellus Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, Afranius, and Petreius. Cato undertook the command of Utica. The Pompeians were allied with Juba, king of Numidia; they had a large army at their command, and were quite prepared to meet the enemy. But Bocchus, king of Mauritania, with a number of Roman adventurers who were residing in his kingdom, and were formed into a regular army by one P. Sittius, declared in favour of Caesar, which greatly facilitated his proceedings when he arrived in Africa.

On Caesar's return to Rome, in September, B.C. 47, he found things in the greatest confusion. Disturbances had broken out there, in consequence of disputes between M. Antony and P. Cornelius Dolabella, the son-in-law of Cicero, a person who bade fair to become a second Clodius or Catiline. Antony was a man of talent and energy, but passionate and audacious in the highest degree. Dolabella had contracted enormous debts, and in order to obtain the means of getting out of his difficulties he contrived to become tribune for B.C. 47. He now brought forward two monstrous rogations, one of which was intended to cancel all debts, the other to reduce house-rents. Antony had at first supported Dolabella, but when he was informed that there existed a secret understanding between his own wife and Dolabella, he turned against him. Some of Dolabella's colleagues likewise opposed his rogations, and bloody scenes took place at Rome between the two parties which had been thus formed; but when the rogations were put to the vote Dolabella was defeated. The quarrels and riots, however, continued until the arrival of Caesar, who restored peace and order. He was greatly dissatisfied with Dolabella's conduct, but did not think it prudent to take him to account. All he could do was to remove him from Rome, by taking him soon afterwards to Africa. A mutiny

had also broken out in one of the legions stationed at Capua, an affair which might have become very serious, had not Caesar succeeded in quelling the insurrection. After the settlement of these things, he caused himself to be nominated dictator for another year, and made M. Aemilius Lepidus his master of the horse. The property of Pompey and of some of his friends was confiscated and publicly sold. In order to have an opportunity of rewarding the services of his own friends, Caesar increased the number of praetors to sixteen, that of the quaestors to forty, that of the aediles to six : he also enlarged the colleges of priests. Finally, a great number of his friends and partisans were introduced into the senate. Having caused himself and Lepidus to be elected consuls for the following year, he began to make preparations for his African campaign. The whole of his stay at Rome, on this occasion, embraces a period of not more than two or three months.

At the beginning of the year B.C. 46, Caesar arrived in Africa, and forthwith began the war against the Pompeian party. They were in alliance, as we have already observed, with king Juba, and their army was far more numerous than that which Caesar could oppose to them ; but he was not a man to be alarmed by disparity of numbers. At first he was in considerable difficulties, but when his reinforcements arrived he was enabled to carry on the war with great vigour, until it was decided, in the beginning of April, by the battle of Thapsus, in which the Pompeian party were completely defeated. Juba was obliged to quit his kingdom, and he and Petreius afterwards killed each other. Cato, who had the command of Utica, finding himself unable to maintain the place, prevailed upon the inhabitants to surrender to Caesar ; but before the gates were thrown open, he put an end to his own life, to save himself the pain of surviving the fall of the republic. He died the death of a hero and a philosopher. Although the state of things he longed for had passed away and was irrecoverable, still he deserves our admiration ; for among all the Pompeians there was not another man

so sincere and honest as Cato. After the surrender of Utica, all the other towns of Africa likewise opened their gates. Scipio took to flight, and after having had a hard struggle at sea with the fleet of the enemy was at last drowned. All the champions of the Pompeian party had now perished, partly in battles and partly by their own hands. The two sons of Pompey, Cneius and Sextus, had alone escaped from Africa into Spain, where some time afterwards they stirred up a fresh war. Numidia was made a Roman province, and Crispus Sallustius, one of Caesar's partisans, was entrusted with its administration. He there amassed enormous riches, in the enjoyment of which he spent the latter years of his life, living retired from public life, and devoting his time to the composition of historical works, two of which we still admire as most masterly productions.

Caesar, who was now sole master of the whole Roman world, returned to Rome about the end of July. As he approached the city, the greatest apprehensions prevailed lest, notwithstanding his former clemency, he might imitate the examples of Marius and Sulla. But these fears were perfectly groundless, for revenge and cruelty formed no part of Caesar's character: with a magnanimity rarely to be met with in conquerors, and least of all in civil wars, he not only proclaimed a general amnesty, but declared that he should make no difference between Pompeians and Caesarians, his object now being to allay all animosities, and to secure the lives and property of the citizens. Before he arrived at Rome, the senate, on receiving intelligence of Caesar's African victory, hastened to decree a public thanksgiving for forty days; to confer upon him the dictatorship for ten years, and the censorship, under the new title of *præfectura morum*, for three years; and to erect a statue to him in the Capitol. Having now overcome all his enemies, he availed himself of the general peace which was prevailing to celebrate his four triumphs, one over Gaul, the second over Egypt, the third over Pontus, and the fourth over Juba. In order that their feelings might not be hurt, those Romans whom he had conquered in the civil wars

were not mentioned among the subjects of his triumphs. These triumphs were followed by most liberal largesses of corn and money to the people and the soldiers, by public banquets and all kinds of entertainments, amid which the thoughtless multitude easily forgot the loss of liberty ; all they cared for was to be well fed and amused.

Caesar's next care was directed towards the improvement of the law. By some severe enactments against indulgence in luxuries, he endeavoured to restrain the reckless extravagance which pervaded all classes of society. As he himself knew too well the consequences to which a prolonged administration of a province might lead, he carried a law ordaining that no praetor should have the administration of a province longer than one year, and no consul longer than two. But the most important of all his regulations was the reformation of the Roman calendar, for this was a benefit not only to his own country, but to the whole of the civilised world. He undertook this task in his character of pontifex maximus, and was assisted in it by the Greek mathematician Sosigenes of Alexandria, and by M. Flavius. The management of the calendar had always been in the hands of the pontiffs, who were accustomed to lengthen or shorten the year as they pleased for political purposes ; and the confusion had then become so great, that the Roman year was three months in advance of the real time. Caesar added ninety days to the year B.C. 46, which was thus made to consist of 445 days ; he provided at the same time against the recurrence of such confusion, and made regulations that in future the duration of the year should be strictly adapted to the course of the sun.

While Caesar was engaged in these peaceful and useful occupations he received intelligence of a formidable insurrection which had broken out in Spain. Pompey's sons, Cneius and Sextus, who had escaped from Africa, had collected in Spain the remnants of the Pompeian army. They were joined by others, and the whole of southern Spain was soon in arms, though there was little agreement among the several towns as to how the war

should be carried on. It was the last struggle of the Pompeian party, but it was the most obstinate and desperate of all: they fought like lions, for they well knew that they must either conquer or die. Caesar's good fortune, however, did not forsake him. Towards the end of B.C. 46, he set out for Spain, and, with his usual quickness, arrived in the neighbourhood of Corduba in twenty-seven days after leaving Rome. His enemies had taken up a very favourable position, and were able to make a more obstinate resistance than he could have anticipated; but the war was brought to a close in the bloody battle of Munda, on the 17th of March, B.C. 45. Caesar entirely defeated his enemies, but not without the greatest efforts and dangers; for his troops were already retreating, and he himself is said to have been so desponding that he thought of making away with himself. But he rallied, threw himself in the way of his fugitive soldiers, and thus stayed their flight. He destroyed the several detachments of the hostile army one by one, as they were dispersing, for they were resolved not to accept his pardon. Cneius fled with the rest to Carteia, where he embarked. But in entering the ship he got entangled in a rope, and one of his companions, while endeavouring to cut the rope through, wounded him in the foot. Cneius returned to the shore to have his wound cured before sailing away, but he was overtaken and cut down. His brother Sextus escaped into the country of the Celtiberians, where he led a sort of robber's life till after the death of Caesar, when he came forward again. Notwithstanding the decisive victory of Munda, Caesar was detained in Spain for several months, engaged partly in the pursuit of the various detachments of his enemies, partly in making the regulations which were required in the province after its pacification. Thus he was unable to return to Rome before October.

When he arrived in the city, he celebrated his victory over the Pompeians in Spain, although it was a victory over Roman citizens, for he was no longer scrupulous about such matters; but many of the Romans must have felt the difference between

this and his former triumphs. The senators, however, received the conqueror with the most abject flattery and servility, and all seemed to vie with one another in paying him every species of adulation and homage. Even before his arrival in the city, a public thanksgiving of fifty days had been decreed in his honour; and after his triumph, distinctions were literally showered upon him: he received the privilege of wearing the triumphal robe on all public occasions, with the title of "father of his country;" the month of Quintilis, in which he was born, was called after him, Julius (July); his statues were placed in all the temples, and he himself was ranked with the gods. Distinctions of a more substantial kind were awarded by the decrees which legally sanctioned and secured to him for life, the powers he had gradually acquired; he received the title of imperator for life, was appointed consul for the next ten years, and both dictator and *præfectus morum* for life; he obtained the powers of a tribune, his person was declared sacred and inviolable, and the whole senate promised by an oath to watch over his safety. Half the magistracies were now in his gift, and for the other half he recommended the candidates; the tribunes alone continued to be elected by the people. Caesar was, in fact, the acknowledged sovereign of the Roman world; but he was withal in the sad predicament of a tyrant; he was an usurper of the supreme power in a republic: he had accordingly to maintain not only his ascendancy, which any one might have disputed with him, but to establish his right to govern, and his qualification to do so. The state of Italy and the provinces was such, that he could not possibly introduce any material improvement, a fact of which he seems to have been well aware, for among all his regulations and reforms there is no attempt to remedy the evils of the constitution; he appears at least to have been convinced, that he must first place his sovereign power on a sure basis, before he could venture upon any great constitutional reform. But what he actually did was, on the whole, for the advantage of the community; and there certainly was no man living who had more

good will, energy, and ability, to benefit the state than Caesar. His usurpation, moreover, differs from that of other usurpers in this, that the republic was in reality gone long before he set himself up as a ruler : he did not upset the republic, but found it already a wreck, of which he endeavoured to save as much as possible.

The time which intervened between Caesar's victory over the sons of Pompey and his assassination was too short to allow him to exhibit all his powers and qualifications ; but from the little he effected, we may form some idea of what he would have accomplished if his life had been spared. He still continued to pursue his merciful course, and no proscriptions or executions were resorted to. He formed vast plans of improvement in which he might occupy himself, for he had been accustomed for many years to the most restless activity, and could not have existed without it. He intended to frame a complete code of laws, to establish public libraries, to drain the Pomptine marshes, to enlarge the harbour of Ostia, to cut a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth, and to execute a variety of other undertakings, which would have been of the highest utility. It was unfortunate that, in order to reward his veterans, he should have imitated the example of Sulla, and established military colonies in Gaul, Italy, and Africa, in consequence of which the children of the Sullanian colonists were in many instances driven from their homes ; Corinth and Carthage likewise were to be newly colonised. But Caesar's main object was to increase and secure the Roman dominion in the east, and to take vengeance for the legions of Crassus which lay buried there, for which purpose he planned an expedition against the Parthians. He further contemplated waging war against the Thracians and Scythians on the Danube.

Amidst preparations for these comprehensive schemes, he entered on his fifth consulship in B.C. 44, M. Antony being his colleague, and M. Lepidus his master of the horse. Caesar had for some time past been maturing a plan for preserving the sovereignty in his own family ; and as he had no legitimate children,

he fixed upon his great nephew, M. Octavius (afterwards the emperor Augustus), to be his successor, whom he accordingly adopted as his son. He was further anxious to add to his own regal authority the title of king, as an outward legalisation of his power; and a plan was accordingly formed with M. Antony, who was to offer him the diadem, during the celebration of the Lupercalia, on the 15th of February. When the day came, Antony's proposal was not received so favourably as had been anticipated, wherefore Caesar declined the honour for the present, hoping that another more favourable opportunity would not be long in presenting itself; for how strongly he was bent upon having the regal title became evident soon afterwards. Antony having caused a statue of Caesar to be crowned, two tribunes ordered the crown to be taken away, which gave such offence to the dictator, that he was on the point of having them put to death, and it was only with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to be satisfied with their being sent into exile. Such occurrences as these showed that there were some men at Rome who still cherished a republican feeling, and were prepared to resist to the last any formal abolition of the republic. It is to be regretted, however, that Caesar's scheme was not carried into effect: its success would have saved the Roman people infinite misery; the monarchy would have become an hereditary not an elective one; and it could never have fallen into the hands of an insolent and rapacious soldiery, who in the end went so far as to sell the imperial throne to the highest bidder.

In the meantime a conspiracy had been formed against the life of Caesar from the very beginning of the year B.C. 44. It was headed by C. Cassius Longinus and M. Brutus, and upwards of sixty persons were privy to it. Brutus was a nephew of Cato, from whom he had imbibed his republican sentiments; he had received an excellent education, and possessed very great talent, which gained for him the esteem and friendship of both Cicero and Caesar. In the battle of Pharsalus, Brutus fought in the ranks of Pompey, but immediately after his victory Caesar

pardoned him, had since placed the greatest confidence in him, and continued to distinguish him on every occasion. But with Brutus a sincere love of freedom outweighed every other consideration, and he seems to have really believed that by the death of Caesar a service would be done to a good cause, and that the republic could even be revived. The other conspirators were mostly actuated by mere personal hatred and animosity; republican liberty with them was only a name under the cover of which they hoped to take revenge for wounded pride and disappointment. A striking example of this class among the conspirators was Cassius. He too had belonged to the Pompeian party, and had been pardoned by Caesar. He had been a candidate for a praetorship for the year B.C. 44, and had hoped to obtain the city praetorship; but Caesar having given that office to Brutus, Cassius became indignant against Brutus as well as against Caesar, and resolved to take vengeance; it was Cassius that contrived to gain over Brutus to join the conspirators. Caesar was cautioned in time, and advised to take a body-guard, but he magnanimously declined it, saying that he would rather not live at all, than be for ever in fear of losing his life. It was proposed that M. Antony likewise should be assassinated, and much misery would have been prevented if he had actually been sacrificed; but Brutus thought that the death of Caesar would be sufficient, and Antony was accordingly spared.

The republicans, for thus the conspirators styled themselves, were resolved to take the first opportunity of despatching Caesar; and as it usually happens under such circumstances, they were so bent upon destroying the object of their antipathy that they did not consider what was to take its place, so that the execution of their design was immediately followed by the utmost confusion and perplexity. Some of the troops that were to serve in the Parthian war had already been sent to Brundisium, but when the Sibylline books were consulted it was found that the Parthians could be conquered only by a king. A meeting of the senate was therefore announced for the 15th of March, at which

a proposal was to be made to appoint Caesar king out of Italy. That day was fixed upon by the conspirators as a most favourable opportunity of carrying out their design. The meeting of the senate took place in the curia of Pompey. Caesar had been advised to be on his guard on the 15th; and on the very morning of that day his wife, who had been frightened by a dream, entreated him to remain at home. But he disregarded all warnings, and went to the curia, where the conspirators were waiting for his arrival. On his way thither some one handed him a letter, in which the plot was revealed, but Caesar did not stop to read it. When he arrived in the senate, one Tillius Cimber made his way up to him, feigning to approach him as a suppliant, and took hold of his toga. At that moment Casca gave him the first stroke with his sword; the other conspirators followed the example and wounded him in the face, the side, the loins, and the neck. Caesar, who had sprung from his seat, at first defended himself with the utmost determination; but when Brutus also struck him, he wrapped his toga about his person and sank down weltering in his blood, his body being covered with twenty-three wounds. At the time of his death Caesar was only in his fifty-sixth year. The senators dispersed in dismay, without listening to the call of Brutus to pronounce judgment upon the deed at once. The conspirators left the body lying in the senate-house, and with the bloody swords in their hands hastened out into the streets to proclaim the destruction of the tyrant and the restoration of liberty.

The death of Caesar was an irreparable loss not only to the Roman people but to the whole civilised world, for the republic was utterly ruined, and no earthly power could restore it. Caesar's death involved the state in fresh struggles, and civil wars for many a year, until in the end it fell again—and this was the best that under the circumstances could have happened to it—under the supremacy of Augustus, who had neither the talent, nor the will, nor the power, to carry out all the beneficial plans which his great-uncle had formed. It has been truly said, that the murder

of Caesar was the most senseless act the Romans ever committed. Had it been possible at all to restore the republic, it would unavoidably have fallen into the hands of a most profligate aristocracy, who would have sought nothing but their own aggrandisement, would have demoralised the people still more, and would have established their own greatness upon the ruins of their country. It is only necessary to recollect the latter years of the republic, the depravity and corruption of the ruling class, the scenes of violence and bloodshed which constantly occurred in the streets of Rome, to render it evident to every one that peace and security could not be restored, except by the strong hand of a sovereign; and the Roman world would have been fortunate indeed if it had submitted to the mild and beneficent sway of Caesar.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

STATE OF ROME AFTER THE MURDER OF CAESAR—OCTAVIANUS AND HIS
RELATION TO ANTONY—THE WAR OF MUTINA—TRIUMVIRATE OF OCTAVI-
ANUS, ANTONY, AND LEPIDUS, WITH THEIR PROSCRIPTIONS—DEATH OF
CICERO.

THE murder of Caesar threw the city of Rome into the greatest confusion and consternation. The conspirators met with no sympathy either in the senate or among the people: the latter had on previous occasions expressed themselves strongly against Caesar, especially after the exile of the two tribunes who had taken away the diadem from Caesar's statue; but all their grievances were now forgotten, and the awful deed inspired them with unmixed hatred of the murderers. When therefore the latter, accompanied by a band of gladiators, passed through the streets, proclaiming that they had killed a king and a tyrant, and calling upon all to aid them in restoring the republican constitution, they clearly saw that public opinion was against them, and withdrew to the Capitol. Cicero was one of the few who at once declared himself in favour of the murderers: Antony and most of the senators went home, shut themselves up in their houses, and made preparations for defending themselves in case they should be attacked. During the night, from the 15th to the 16th of March, the conspirators remained in the Capitol, while Antony went to Caesar's house and took possession of all the money and papers of the deceased. The fear and excitement of the widow enabled him to act as he pleased; and he, who had already resolved to take the place and follow in the footsteps of Caesar, had thus an immense advantage over the

murderers, which was further increased by his appropriating to himself the contents of the public treasury also. The next day Brutus came down from the Capitol, and addressed the people. The conspirators had hired a number of persons, who in the name of the people called out for peace and reconciliation, that is, for impunity to the conspirators. A few responded to the call, but the multitude remained dumb; and the murderers had now the positive certainty that their cause was not a popular one. They had reason for fear on every hand; M. Lepidus, who had been stationed with an army near the city, entered the gates by night, either with the view of avenging the murder of Caesar, and supporting Antony, or of placing himself at the head of the state. The conspirators began therefore to negotiate with Antony and Lepidus about the restoration of peace, and the means of averting the impending danger. Antony sent them an evasive answer, and referred them to the senate. On the 17th, a meeting of the senate was held in the temple of Tellus, but the murderers did not appear. Antony, while acting with the greatest apparent moderation, had most cunningly contrived to discover the weak points of the friends of the murderers, and seeing that they were not agreed as to the course to be pursued, and that an attack from without would defeat them altogether, he hastened with Lepidus to the forum, where they intimated to the people that no one's life was safe. Many therefore immediately called upon them to avenge the murder of the dictator; but a far greater number having been bribed by the murderers, who had promised that the people should receive all that Caesar had bequeathed to them in his will, demanded the maintenance of peace. Antony's plan thus failing, he returned to the senate, where a decree was soon afterwards made, directing that no judicial proceedings should be instituted against the murderers; yet that all the acts and regulations of Caesar should remain in force and be valid; that the wishes and arrangements contained in his will should be adhered to, and that his body should be buried at the public expense. This decree was the result of the

exertions of Caesar's friends, who were backed by the veterans and a large portion of the populace.

While these things were going on in the senate, Brutus and Cassius assembled the people on the Capitol, and made the most extravagant promises to win the soldiers ; but all that they, who claimed to be the liberators of their country, could gain was toleration ; for there was no one that praised their action as an heroic deed. On the evening of the 17th the murderers came down from the Capitol: Antony and Lepidus pretended to be perfectly reconciled with the conspirators, and even invited Brutus and Cassius to their houses. All disputes seemed at an end, and on the following day the murderers once more appeared in the senate. Although the regulations of Caesar, according to which M. Brutus was to have Macedonia, and Cassius Syria, as their provinces, had been sanctioned, yet the senate now decreed to them Crete and Cyrene as their respective provinces. But when the body of Caesar was to be buried, and was carried, as was usual under such circumstances, to the forum, that the funeral oration might be delivered over it, Antony, who undertook to perform this last office to the illustrious dead, resolved to exert all his powers to stir up the people against his murderers. His speech produced a wonderful effect ; and after he had dwelt upon the greatness, virtues, and valour of the deceased, he lifted up the toga, exhibited to the people the blood-stained garment, and pointed to the wounds by which their friend had been murdered. The sight filled the multitude with such a degree of rage and fury against the murderers, that the body, instead of being carried to the Campus Martius where it was to have been buried, was burnt in the forum itself ; and some persons present, who, though perfectly innocent, were suspected of having been associates of the murderers, were literally torn to pieces. The people then dispersed in all directions, and demolished or burnt the houses of the conspirators. Brutus and Cassius were obliged to fly from Rome, and all their friends likewise made their escape. Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers, went to

Cisalpine Gaul, which had been assigned to him by Caesar as his province, and there made the troops take the oath of allegiance to him. When the storm had been raging long enough, Antony resumed his mask and restored peace; peace however was not the thing which he wanted.

Being in possession of Caesar's papers, he conducted himself like a despot, pretending that all he did was in accordance with the desires of Caesar, as expressed in his written documents. He contrived to secure the good will of the veterans, forbade Caesar's murderers to return to the city, and in conjunction with Lepidus made a new division of the provinces, different from that which had been made by Caesar himself. He induced the people to give Macedonia to himself, and Syria to Dolabella, his friend and colleague in the consulship. Soon after this he again made the people sanction a different arrangement, contrary to the will of the senate, according to which he himself obtained Cisalpine Gaul, his brother, C. Antonius, Macedonia, and Dolabella Syria. With regard to Lepidus, who had received Transalpine Gaul from Caesar, no alteration was made. This distribution was the signal for a fresh civil war, for Cisalpine Gaul could not be taken possession of without expelling D. Brutus from it by force of arms. For some months Antony acted thus in the most arbitrary and insolent manner, as if he had already been the real sovereign of the Roman world. He was dreaded by all, but no one had a greater aversion to him than Cicero, who had resolved to leave Rome, and as legate accompany his son-in-law, Dolabella, into Syria, but he was prevailed upon by his friends to return to Rome. The day after his return, the 1st of September, Antony openly propounded his schemes in the senate, intending to compel every one to declare his opinions unreservedly, and to show to what party he belonged. Cicero did not attend on that day, at which Antony was so much enraged, that he threatened to have his house demolished. Next day, another meeting of the senate took place, in which Cicero, with all the force of his eloquence, attacked and exposed the shameful proceedings of

Antony, who, not expecting such an assault, was not present at the meeting. The speech which Cicero delivered on that occasion is still extant ; it forms the first of a series called the *Philippics*.

In the meantime, a formidable rival of Antony had come to Rome. M. Octavius whom Caesar in his will had appointed and had made heir of three-fourths of his private property, was the son of C. Octavius by Atia, a daughter of Caesar's sister Julia. Some months before his death Caesar had sent M. Octavius to Apollonia, whence he intended to take him as a companion in his expedition against the Parthians. When M. Octavius received the intelligence of the murder of his great-uncle, he resolved contrary to the advice of his more cautious friends to go to Italy, though he was then scarcely nineteen years old. This step was, under the circumstances, one of extreme boldness, as he could not foresee what would be his fate in the distracted state of the republic. He even declined the assistance of the troops who were stationed in Illyricum, and who offered to accompany him and avenge his great-uncle's death. About two months after the murder of Caesar, he arrived at Rome as a private person, accompanied only by few friends. On his arrival at Brundisium he was saluted by the troops as Caesar, for being the adopted son of the late dictator, his name was now C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. When he reached Rome, he demanded nothing but the property which his uncle had left him. This was rather awkward for Antony, who was in possession of the whole of Caesar's property, and had already made use of it in paying his own enormous debts, and in gratifying his dissipated habits. He therefore attempted by every means to dissuade and deter Octavianus from accepting the inheritance. Octavianus was in a very perplexing situation, for he could not possibly join the party of the murderers of his uncle ; and Antony, who pretended to be the avenger of Caesar and the champion of his party, was the greatest obstacle in his way. The extraordinary tact and prudence which Octavianus displayed in these circumstances, and

the dexterity with which he contrived to deceive and blind the first men of the age, show that he must have possessed uncommon mental powers: he was, however, supported and encouraged by the advice of his friend M. Vipsanius Agrippa. The enmity between Octavianus and Antony soon rose to such a pitch, that reports were spread of attempts having been made by each of them to destroy the other. Octavianus, while demanding his inheritance, promised the people that every thing should be given to them which his uncle had destined for them in his will. His prudent conduct gained for him the favour of the senate, as well as that of the people; and Cicero also began to look upon him with confidence as the only man capable of bringing about a better state of things. After this all Antony's efforts to keep possession of Caesar's treasures were of no avail, and he was obliged to give up the portion which he had not yet spent.

Octavianus had before him two enemies; D. Brutus in Cisalpine Gaul, and Antony: the question was, whom should he attack first? Antony was bringing troops into Italy for the purpose of undertaking the war against D. Brutus, who was in possession of that province, which Antony had chosen for himself; at the same time Octavianus was increasing and strengthening his own party, and likewise collecting an army in Campania. Two of the legions which were sent for from Macedonia by Antony went over to Octavianus; soon after their arrival, in order to prevent the others from following their example, Antony, hastened with them to the north of Italy. Cicero had become a strong supporter of Octavianus, and in his Philippics continued to attack Antony. In the end, he succeeded in inducing the senate to support even D. Brutus; for in the month of December he proposed, in his third Philippic, to give an army to Octavianus that he might conduct the war against Antony, who was declared a public enemy. On the first of January, B.C. 43, Cicero repeated the proposal; and the senate now conferred upon Octavianus the title and ensigns of praetor, and sent him, along with A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, the

two consuls of the year, both of them friends of the late dictator, to the north of Italy, to relieve D. Brutus, who had thrown himself into Mutina (Modena) and was besieged by Antony. Several engagements took place with varying success. Pansa took up his position at Bononia (Bologna); as he advanced to join his colleague and Octavianus, he was attacked by Antony in the village of Forum Gallorum, in a defile, when being dangerously wounded he retreated to his camp, up to which Antony pursued him; but on the next day while Antony was returning lest he might be cut off from his main army about Mutina, he was surprised in the same defile by Hirtius, and suffered so severe a defeat, that he was scarcely able to reach his camp. Soon afterwards Hirtius attacked him in his camp, while D. Brutus made a sally from the town. Hirtius had already scaled the fortifications, when he was killed by an unknown hand. Antony was so much reduced in this engagement, which took place towards the end of April, that he took to flight. The consul Pansa having, in the mean time, died at Bononia, there was a report, perhaps not without some foundation, that Octavianus had caused the death of the two consuls; for it was said that he had poisoned the wound of Pansa, and that Hirtius had fallen by an assassin whom Octavianus had hired for the purpose. However this may be, he now undertook the command of the army without waiting for the orders of the senate. But the aristocratic party at Rome was determined to prevent him from acquiring any further power, and soon afterwards assigned the command of the consular armies to D. Brutus, with orders to prosecute the war against Antony.

Antony had become quite bewildered by his defeat: he resolved to quit Italy, and fled across the Alps into the province of M. Lepidus, who afforded him protection, and whose army saluted him as imperator. As Lepidus had a large force at his command, Antony soon found himself in a condition to continue the war with greater vigour than before. When the decree of the senate, giving the command of the consular armies to D. Brutus, arrived,

Octavianus concealed his exasperation at what he must have considered a very great indignity, namely, the appointment of one of Caesar's murderers to the command of two consular armies. Afterwards, on his return to Rome with his army, he demanded the consulship for the following year. The aristocracy refused to comply with his request; but he carried his point by the threats of his veterans, who insisted on the office being granted to their leader. Q. Pedius, one of his relatives, was elected his colleague, and they entered upon their consulship in the month of August, B.C. 43. After the legacies of the late dictator had been distributed among the people, Q. Pedius got a law passed by which all the murderers of Caesar were declared outlaws, and Octavianus was appointed to carry this law into effect. All the accomplices of Brutus and Cassius, who until then had felt perfectly secure, now took to flight; but they were dogged and hunted like wild beasts. Octavianus then marched with his army towards the north of Italy; but he had scarcely entered Etruria when the senate, on the proposal of Pedius, repealed the decree of outlawry which had been pronounced against Antony and Lepidus, who were at this very moment descending from the Alps into Italy with an army of seventeen legions. D. Brutus, abandoned and betrayed by his lieutenants, fled; but he was murdered at Aquileia by the command of Antony. In the neighbourhood of Bononia, on a small island of the river Rhenus, a conference was brought about by Lepidus between Octavianus and Antony, and negotiations were at once entered into. Octavianus dreaded the influence of his opponents in the city: they even threatened to ally themselves with Brutus and Cassius, who had by this time collected large armies; but his fear and cunning suggested to him the means of thwarting their designs. Towards the end of November, Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus, entered into an alliance known under the name of the triumvirate. They assumed the title of *triumviri rei publicae constituendae*, and agreed to hold this office for five years. Thereupon they distributed, on their own authority, the provinces

among themselves : Octavianus received Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia ; Antony, Gaul ; and Lepidus, Spain. Lepidus was at the same time to be invested with the consulship, while Octavianus and Antony were to carry on the war against Brutus and Cassius. The favour of the rapacious soldiery was obtained by the promise that lands should be distributed among them.

The government of the whole of the Roman world was thus usurped by the triumvirs. Their first care was to rid themselves of their opponents : each, therefore, drew up a list of those whom he wished to be proscribed, and whose property was to be confiscated ; each also entered in his list the names of those persons whom either of the others wished to be proscribed. Antony thus put down the name of L. Caesar, his own uncle ; Lepidus, that of his own brother, Paulus ; and Octavianus, to please Antony, is said to have entered the name of Cicero, who up to this time had acted towards him as a friend. The proscription in the time of Sulla had been the result of an infuriated party spirit, for Sulla had been provoked in the highest degree, and he sacrificed his enemies without any scruple because he really hated them, plunder being only a secondary object ; but with the triumvirs, the proscription was dictated by cold-blooded revenge, and plunder seems, after all, to have been one of its main objects, for many a person who had given no offence to the triumvirs was put on the list merely because he was wealthy.

When all this was arranged, the triumvirs returned to Rome, whither dread and horror preceded them. They entered the city without encountering any resistance. The consul, Q. Pedius, died in the night preceding their arrival. When all quarters of the city and all the public places were occupied by the soldiers, the triumvirs got a tribune to request the people to sanction the arrangements they had made ; and no sooner was the sanction obtained, than the lists of the proscribed were distributed among the commanders of the forces stationed in the city. The most merciless murder and butchery now commenced.

A proclamation was at the same time issued, threatening with death any one who should conceal or protect a proscribed person, and offering freedom as a reward to slaves who should kill their proscribed masters; nay, the relatives of the murdered were forbidden to show grief at the death of those who were dear to them. Sons betrayed their fathers, and slaves their masters; but, in some instances, wives, slaves, and freedmen gave the noblest proofs of attachment and fidelity; of a son magnanimously protecting his father, or sacrificing himself for him, unfortunately no instance occurred.¹ The acts of horror and inhuman cruelty perpetrated at that time by the brutal murderers who were actuated by revenge, avarice and malice, surpass even the horrors committed in France during the revolution in the days of Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. The murderers were, for the most part, centurions and tribunes of the soldiers: they usually cut off the heads of their victims, which they produced as proofs of their deeds and as entitling them to receive the promised rewards. Two thousand equites and three hundred senators were massacred during these days: those who had an opportunity of escaping fled to Brutus and Cassius, or to Sicily, where they joined Sext. Pompeius, who had already made himself master of the island.

One of the many victims of the triumvirs was Cicero. When the lists of the proscribed were made public he was residing at his villa, near Tusculum. He was at first undecided what to do, but his brother Quintus prevailed upon him to try to escape. He accordingly went to Astura, where he took a boat and sailed to Caieta, near which place he had a villa, on the bay of Naples. Here being unwell, he was persuaded to allow himself to be carried in a lectica through a plantation to the sea-coast, in the hope of eluding his pursuers, who were known to be close at hand; but in the plantation he was overtaken by Antony's emissaries. His slaves were ready to fight for their master, but he forbade it; and as he was putting his head out of the lectica, Popillius Laenas,

¹ Vell. Pat. ii. 67.

whom Cicero is said to have once defended in a court of justice, cut off his head and right hand, as Antony had desired. Thus on the 7th of December, B.C. 43, died Cicero, one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and one whose misfortune it is to be judged of, by most writers in our own time, with undue severity. When Antony received the head and hand of Cicero, he was almost beside himself for joy : he ordered the head to be put up in the rostra, whence Cicero's voice had so often stirred the multitude, and gave a large sum of money to his murderers. Antony's wife, Fulvia, had previously ordered the head of her husband's enemy to be brought into her dressing room, that she might feast her eyes on the dead features ; and she is said to have pricked his tongue with needles. Cicero's brother, Quintus, was also murdered ; but his son Marcus escaped to Greece. Afterwards he was allowed to return to Rome ; and in B.C. 30, Octavianus, perhaps from remorse for the wrong done to his father, raised him to the consulship.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WAR AGAINST BRUTUS AND CASSIUS—WAR OF PERUSIA—TREATIES OF
BRUNDISIUM AND MISENUM—WAR AGAINST SEXTUS POMPEIUS.

IMMEDIATELY after these scenes of horror, Octavianus resolved to attack Sext. Pompeius who was in Sicily, and had it in his power to cut off all supplies of food which were destined for Rome; but a naval victory gained by Pompeius over Salvidienus Rufus, just as the latter was crossing over to the island, and that in the very sight of Octavianus, put an end to the undertaking for the present; and soon afterwards Octavianus and Antony sailed over to Greece, to carry on a war against Brutus and Cassius, who had in the meantime established themselves in the east and collected a numerous army. Brutus, after quitting Italy, had gone to Athens; and after a short stay there, proceeded to Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by Caesar as his province, and where Q. Hortensius received him as his lawful successor. The legions also recognised him as their leader, and their example being followed by the legions stationed in Illyricum, he was in a short time plentifully provided with everything necessary for carrying on a war. C. Antonius, the brother of the triumvir, to whom Macedonia had subsequently been assigned, had arrived on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, but being unable to reach his province, he was in the end obliged to surrender to Brutus, who disregarded all decrees of the Roman senate and acted entirely for himself. After the establishment of the triumvirate he made serious preparations for war. Cassius, in the mean time, fought bravely and successfully in Syria against Dolabella, who was ultimately put to death at Laodicea.

The two chiefs of the republican party were thus masters of all the countries east of the Adriatic. In the beginning of the year B.C. 42, they met at Sardes, in Lydia, where they resolved to unite their forces against the common enemy; but for the sake of increasing their means they staid in Asia much longer than they ought to have done. Their most advantageous plan would have been to hasten westward, in order to prevent their enemies landing on the coast of Epirus; but this was neglected, and Macedonia and Illyricum were left quite unprotected. Under these circumstances, Antony and Octavianus entered Greece, and made themselves masters of the country, before Brutus and Cassius quitted Asia. Just before Brutus crossed the Hellespont to proceed to Macedonia, he was sitting one night meditating in his tent, when on a sudden a gigantic figure appeared before him, and seemed to approach him. Brutus had the courage to ask, "What man or god art thou, or with what purpose dost thou come to me?" The phantom replied, "I am thy evil daemon, Brutus, and thou shalt see me at Philippi." Brutus, undisturbed, merely said, "I shall see;" whereupon the vision disappeared. Dark forebodings, in his own heart, respecting the issue of the war, seem to have conjured up before his eyes this singular phantom.

The republican army, consisting of 80,000 foot and 20,000 horse, marched through Thrace towards Macedonia. Antony and Octavianus had already penetrated into that province, and had taken up their winter quarters at Amphipolis. The republicans pitched their camp on high ground in the neighbourhood of the town of Philippi. Their fleet, which ought to have been near at hand, was in the western seas. Antony advanced against them with nineteen legions and 18,000 horse. Brutus and Cassius had a great advantage in their position, and in the faithful attachment of their soldiers, for a great many illustrious Romans and persons of rank who had been proscribed were serving under them, and were resolved to fight to the last. Brutus was cautious, and wanted to defer coming to a decisive engagement,

but his army was impatient, and demanded to be led on to battle. Octavianus was not present, being kept away by illness, or, as some say, by cowardice; but his army, which was probably commanded by Agrippa, faced that of Brutus. Cassius, whose army was opposed to that of Antony, was completely beaten; and, believing that everything was lost, he sent a messenger to inquire in what condition the army of Brutus was. The messenger did not come back. Meantime Brutus, who was victorious, sent reinforcements to Cassius, who, thinking that they were his enemies following up their victory, now felt more convinced than ever that all was lost, and requested one of his servants to take away his life. When Brutus was informed of this fatal mistake, he was greatly disheartened; but the victory was not yet decided, and matters still stood almost as they were before the battle. Had Brutus known that on the very day of Cassius' defeat, the republican fleet, which was in the Ionian sea, under the command of Statius Murcus and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, had defeated and burnt the hostile fleet and destroyed two legions, he would, according to his original plan, have acted on the defensive; and by ordering his fleet to join him, he might have compelled the triumvirs to retreat. But he knew nothing of this, and was obliged to yield to his soldiers, who demanded another battle. This was fought about twenty days after the first. The republican army showed the same valour and ardour as before, but they were nevertheless defeated and routed. Brutus now lost all hopes, and put an end to the war by making away with himself; for as his servant refused to kill him, he threw himself upon his own sword. Thus fell the last of the republicans worthy of the name. Many others, whose feelings did not permit them to survive the fall of the republic, followed his example; others fled to Sex. Pompeius, in Sicily. The remainder of the army, which was commanded by Messala Corvinus, surrendered to the triumvirs. Octavianus after this victory showed a cruel and unfeeling disposition in many instances, whereas Antony, whose better nature seems to

have gained the upper hand on that occasion, displayed more generosity than could have been anticipated. There can be no doubt that this victory was mainly owing to the valour and boldness of Antony, though Octavianus afterwards claimed the principal merit for himself.

After the battles of Philippi, which were fought in the autumn of the year B.C. 42, Octavianus and Antony made a new division of the provinces, in which Lepidus obtained Africa. Antony now proceeded to his eastern provinces in Asia, while Octavianus returned to Italy, to satisfy his greedy and rapacious veterans, by distributing among them the lands which he had promised to them, and which he could get only by the most arbitrary and violent proceedings. Every one in Italy was seized with alarm lest Octavianus should repeat the horrors of the preceding year. These apprehensions were secretly fostered and increased by Fulvia the wife of Antony, who contrived to spread abroad various reports about the intentions of Octavianus even before he arrived at Rome, for he was detained for a time by illness at Brundisium. She made use, in these intrigues, of her husband's brother, L. Antonius. Her only motive, apparently, was to compel Antony to return to Italy, for she was passionately fond of him, and probably knew or apprehended that he would come under the influence of Cleopatra. The distribution of lands in Italy among the veterans, and the establishment of military colonies over all parts of the country, with the disturbances which followed in their train, prevented Octavianus from venturing to undertake any thing against Sex. Pompeius. The country-people, who were expelled from their homes by the rude soldiers, flocked to Rome, and in public as well as in private bewailed their undeserved misfortunes. Their distress met with sympathy in the city, but it was in vain that Octavianus was applied to on every hand to prevent the outrages which were committed in all quarters. The impudence and audacity of the veterans increased every day, and Octavianus himself was obliged to endure their insolence: he did not dare to punish even the outrages which

they committed against their own officers. In addition to all this Rome was in great distress from scarcity, as the fleet of Sex. Pompeius cut off the supplies of provisions from Sicily.

This state of things offered a very favourable opportunity for Fulvia and L. Antonius, who was consul in B.C. 41, to come forward as the protectors of the suffering and the oppressed. They created a commotion, the objects of which were to humble the rival of Antony, and to compel Antony himself to return to Italy. Other persons, also, who had no such impure motives, but were actuated by a general feeling of humanity, joined them, or acted independently in other parts of the country. At first, L. Antonius established himself at Praeneste, but afterwards went with Fulvia to Perugia in Etruria, where they were joined by numbers of Antony's veterans, fugitive country-people, and others. Under these difficult circumstances, Octavianus acted with great skill and prudence. Towards the end of the year B.C. 41, he marched to Perugia, and blockaded the town with three armies. The place soon began to suffer from a severe famine, and several attempts to break through the besieging armies having failed, L. Antonius was at length obliged to capitulate; after which, on being pardoned by Octavianus, he acted as a traitor to his own party. Fulvia was set free on condition of her quitting Italy. The lives of the citizens of Perugia were spared, but all the senators were put to death; from 300 to 400 noble Perusians were sent as captives to Rome, where on the 15th of March, B.C. 40, they were butchered like cattle, at the altar of J. Caesar. The town of Perugia was plundered, and changed into a heap of ashes. Thus ended an undertaking which had been begun by two unprincipled persons, whose watchword was protection to the oppressed, but who by their conduct brought greater misery upon a harmless population than that which they pretended to remedy. Fulvia went to Greece; and when Antony, who spent his time in Egypt in sensual pleasures and the luxuries of the Alexandrian court, heard of the affair, he blamed the authors of it, though probably

for no other reason than because the undertaking had failed. Tib. Claudius Nero, the husband of Livia, (afterwards the wife of Octavianus,) had been induced by a generous and humane feeling to come forward in Campania as the champion of those who were reduced to beggary by the veterans of Octavianus; but when the triumvir had conquered the party of Fulvia at Perusia, Nero despairing of success, fled to Sicily where he joined Sext. Pompeius, and afterwards went to Antony.

After the battles of Philippi, Antony crossed over into Asia, where he levied enormous contributions, in order to obtain the means of fulfilling his promises to his soldiers. Asia suffered most severely, Brutus also having a short time before levied large sums. The mad and senseless extravagance of Antony became manifest on his arrival at Ephesus, which city he entered in the disguise of Bacchus, surrounded by Bacchantes, Satyrs, Fauns, and the like, and where he indulged in the wildest and most senseless debaucheries. On his arrival in Cilicia, he summoned Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, to appear before him, because she had in various ways supported Cassius. She obeyed the call without hesitation, for she well knew that the voluptuous Roman would not be able to resist her charms. She sailed up the river Cydnus to Tarsus in a vessel adorned in the most splendid manner, and she herself appeared as Venus. Her object was easily gained, and Antony was completely ensnared. After she had remained with him some time in Asia, Antony accompanied her to Alexandria, where he forgot every thing in dalliance with her. He abandoned himself entirely to sensual pleasures and debaucheries, and lost the few remnants of goodness and virtue he yet possessed. In B.C. 40, he was roused by the progress of the Parthians, who were guided by the counsels of a faithless Roman, Labienus, formerly one of Caesar's generals, and afterwards a supporter of Pompey. The news that the Parthians had attacked Syria and the neighbouring countries induced Antony to go forth with an army, and undertake the war against them. On his arrival in Phœnicia, he received the most pressing letters from his wife, desiring him to

hasten to her assistance in Italy. Having resolved to comply with her request, he entrusted his army to the brave P. Ventidius, who fought successfully against Labienus and the Parthians and recovered Syria.

When Antony arrived in Greece, Octavianus had already brought the Perusian war to a close. At Athens Antony met his wife Fulvia, who soon afterwards died at Sicyon, whereupon he continued his voyage to Italy with a large fleet, intending to land at Brundisium. While sailing across the Ionian sea, he met with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the republican admiral, who was carrying on piracy, and plundering the Italian coasts for the purpose of obtaining the necessary provisions for the legions he still had on board. He now joined Antony, and sailed with him to Brundisium. On his approach, Octavianus shut the gates of the city against him, and Antony forthwith called on Sex. Pompeius for assistance. The latter without delay sent ships and cavalry to the coast of Italy, and Octavianus found himself attacked on all sides, for Sardinia also was in the hands of the Pompeian party. As Fulvia, who had been the main cause of the war, was now dead, Octavianus was prevailed upon by his friends to seek for a reconciliation with Antony, who had already commenced besieging Brundisium. Maecenas, as the friend of Octavianus, with Asinius Pollio and L. Cocceius on the part of Antony, brought about the desired reconciliation. To gratify the two hostile armies, a general amnesty was proclaimed; and a treaty was concluded, according to which Antony was to have all the provinces east of the Adriatic as far as the river Euphrates, and Octavianus all the western provinces, Africa alone being left to Lepidus. Italy was to belong to the three triumvirs in common. It was further agreed that Sex. Pompeius, whom Antony shamefully betrayed on that occasion, should be regarded as a common enemy, and that the war against the Parthians should be continued. This new alliance between Octavianus and Antony, called the *foedus Brundisium*, was cemented by the latter marrying the noble and virtuous Octavia, a sister of

Octavianus and widow of C. Marcellus, whose happiness was sacrificed to the political purposes of the rulers.

After this Antony remained for a time at Rome. Pompeius having resumed his piratical proceedings, harassed the coasts of Italy; and by cutting off all supplies created so great a scarcity at Rome, that the populace compelled the triumvirs to enter into negotiations with him. In the neighbourhood of Cape Misenum, not far from Puteoli, the triumvirs met Pompeius in B.C. 39. He received them in his admiral's ship, and afterwards landed and partook of an entertainment with them. Menodorus, one of Pompeius's generals, advised his master to put the triumvirs to death while they were on board his ship, but Pompeius was too honest to enter into so treacherous a design. In the peace which was then concluded, Pompeius obtained the proconsulship of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Achaia. After the conclusion of this peace, Pompeius sailed back to Sicily, and Octavianus and Antony returned to Rome. Wherever they appeared, they were received by the people with enthusiastic joy, and all saluted them as the deliverers of their country from famine and destruction. Soon afterwards Antony went with Octavia to Athens where he lived for a time as a private person, and spent the ensuing winter in the enjoyment of all kinds of pleasure. In the beginning of B.C. 38, however, he began making preparations for the Parthian war, in which his lieutenants had, in the mean time, been very successful.

But the peace which had thus been established was not of very long duration. Pompeius had reason to complain of Antony, who did not withdraw his troops from the Peloponnesus; Octavianus, on the other hand, beginning to regret the concessions which had been made to Pompeius, was anxious to obtain a pretext for renewing the war. This was soon found in the circumstance that Pompeius still allowed some of his vessels to carry on piracy in the Mediterranean. War was forthwith declared. Octavianus solicited the assistance of the two other triumvirs, but neither of them at first supported him: they were probably glad to see

him involved in a struggle in which he was likely to be defeated. The fleet of Octavianus suffered greatly from storms and the watchful activity of Pompeius' admiral, Demochares: and no advantage was gained, though Menodorus went over to Octavianus and treacherously delivered up to him Corsica and Sardinia. Antony, on being called upon a second time to assist his colleague, sailed in the beginning of B.C. 37, with a fleet of 300 ships, to Tarentum; but on his arrival, Octavianus, who had in the meantime changed his mind, declined the assistance. Had it not been for the mediation of Octavia, the conduct of Octavianus would at once have produced a rupture between the two triumvirs, but she succeeded in inducing them to compromise the matter. They became reconciled, and Octavianus promised to send 20,000 men as auxiliaries for Antony in the Parthian war, while Antony sent 120 ships to Tarentum. It was further agreed that they should be triumvirs for five years longer. Thereupon Antony hastened to Syria, and Octavia remained in Italy with her brother. The treacherous Menodorus now went back to his former master with seven ships, and Calvisius, the admiral of Octavianus, was deprived of his command in consequence of his not having observed this desertion. In B.C. 36, Octavianus appointed Agrippa supreme commander of the fleet, and Sicily was attacked on all sides. It was agreed that on the 1st of July Octavianus should sail from Puteoli, Lepidus from Africa, and Antony's fleet from Tarentum; but on the 3rd a storm arose which compelled the fleets to return, and Lepidus alone succeeded in landing at Lilybaeum. Pompeius had all along shown great carelessness, and he continued in his inactivity even now, amusing himself with offering sacrifices to Neptune, whose son he pretended to be. Menodorus again went over to Octavianus, and in a sea-fight with Agrippa which took place off Mylae, Pompeius lost thirty ships, and was unable to prevent Octavianus from landing at Tauromenium. But the land army of the latter was hard pressed by the enemy. One rainy night, late in the autumn, when Octavianus had lost his road, and was bivouacking with his

men, a thundering noise was heard from the neighbouring *Aetna*, and the rising flames illumined all the country around, a phenomenon which spread consternation among all who witnessed it. After many petty skirmishes, *Agrippa* at length engaged in a decisive battle, in which he made a very successful use of the Greek boarding engines. *Pompeius* was completely defeated, and on receiving intelligence that his land forces had surrendered, he fled with seventeen ships from *Messana* to *Asia*. *Lepidus* had exerted himself very little in this struggle, but after the departure of *Pompeius* he claimed the island of *Sicily* for himself. *Octavianus*, exasperated at such presumption, and knowing that *Lepidus* would not meet with much support anywhere, not even among his own soldiers, at once boldly entered his camp, and without much difficulty persuaded the soldiers to surrender, by promising them great rewards. *Lepidus*, who had no strength or energy of character, put on the attire of a private person, and went to *Octavianus*, who sent him to *Rome*, where he continued in his office of *pontifex maximus* until his death, which took place in B.C. 12.

Octavianus did not pursue *Pompeius*, but was detained in *Sicily* by the clamour of his soldiers, who demanded on the spot the rewards which had been promised them. When their desires were satisfied he returned to *Rome*, where he celebrated a triumph on the 13th of November, B.C. 36. As the city was now plentifully provided with supplies, his victory was hailed by all parties. The people were delighted at his success, and the senate conferred various distinctions on him which he declined with affected modesty.

Pompeius, on his arrival in *Asia*, was hospitably received by *Antony's* legate, *Furnius*; but he soon lost the confidence of his host, and matters came to a rupture. *Antony* had at first been uncertain what to do with *Pompeius*, but when he heard of the breach between him and *Furnius*, he sent his general, *Titius*, with a fleet of 120 ships against him. *Pompeius* took to flight, but was overtaken by his pursuers, and being abandoned by his

troops, was obliged to surrender at discretion. He was put to death at Miletus, in B.C. 35, by the command either of Antony or of one of his generals, who hazarded the deed on his own responsibility in order to prevent Pompeius becoming the cause of a rupture between Octavianus and Antony. By the overthrow of Pompeius and the removal of Lepidus, Octavianus had acquired sufficient strength to venture upon a contest with his last rival as soon as he might think proper, and it was not long before a fair opportunity presented itself.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ANTONY'S WAR AGAINST THE PARTHIANS AND ARMENIANS—WARS OF OCTAVIANUS IN PANNONIA AND DALMATIA—STRUGGLE BETWEEN OCTAVIANUS AND ANTONY—BATTLE OF ACTIUM.

THE triumvirate had now become a duumvirate, and while Octavianus was strengthening his power by the accession of the army of Lepidus and his province of Africa, Antony, in B.C. 36, undertook his long contemplated campaign against the Parthians. He had sixteen legions, and was allied with Artavasdes, king of Armenia. He advanced as far as Media, and took several important towns, but his plan of operation was ill-devised, for he left several legions behind, and the Parthian king Phraates, having attacked them, not only got possession of all their provisions and ammunition, but annihilated the legions themselves. This and various other unfavourable circumstances compelled Antony to retreat, and it was not without the greatest difficulty that he reached Armenia. He narrowly escaped the fate of Crassus; one-fourth of his army was destroyed, and the greater part of his baggage was lost. He returned to Alexandria, where he completely abandoned himself to sensual pleasures with his mistress, Cleopatra, to whom he gave Coele-Syria, Judaea, and Cyprus. His conduct thenceforth was of the most contemptible kind, and Cleopatra was his evil genius. The losses he had sustained in the war against the Parthians however were not forgotten; they filled him with shame; and as Artavasdes had drawn upon himself the suspicion of treachery, Antony, in B.C. 34, invaded Armenia, and made Artavasdes his prisoner. Having given the conquered country to Cleopatra,

Antony, on his return to Alexandria, celebrated a splendid triumph, to the great annoyance of all those Romans who felt for the honour of their country. This irregular and unconstitutional conduct, the arbitrary manner in which he gave kingdoms to his concubine, and the flagrant way in which he abandoned himself to all the licentiousness of an eastern court, were in the highest degree offensive to the Romans. Until now, the noble Octavia, though she had been treated by her husband in the most unworthy manner, had contrived to preserve peace between him and Octavianus, but things came to a crisis just at the time when he invaded Armenia. Octavia had gone to Greece with reinforcements, money, and clothing for his army; but he sent her a letter requesting her not to follow him, and soon afterwards openly divorced her. This act, which seems to have been brought about by the cunning contrivances of Octavianus himself, rent asunder the tie which had hitherto kept the triumvirs together. Octavianus had not neglected to direct the attention of the Roman people to the conduct and follies of Antony at Alexandria, and the Romans now looked upon Octavianus and his sister as the injured and insulted party; but when the critical moment came, Octavianus was still prudent enough to declare war, not against Antony himself, whom he represented as only the infatuated slave of Cleopatra, but against the queen of Egypt. His cause had thus a better appearance, as his arms were ostensibly directed against those who had led Antony to act in this insulting and provoking manner.

During the time that Antony was engaged in the east, and revelling in the luxuries of his Alexandrian court, Octavianus made some useful attempts to remedy the confusion and demoralisation of the people of Italy, and he pretended that he was waiting only for the return of his colleague from the east to retire into private life, as after the restoration of peace the republic did not require his services any longer. This affectation of true republican sentiments gained its end; Octavianus was elected pontifex maximus, although Lepidus, who was invested

with that office, was yet alive; it was also decreed that he should inhabit a public mansion, that his person should be inviolable, and that in the senate he should sit by the side of the tribunes. That he might not appear to harbour any hostile feelings towards Antony, Octavianus always spoke of him in a kind and benevolent manner, so that if any rupture should occur, no one would ascribe the fault to him. With a view of obtaining the means of satisfying his troops, who were still clamorous for their rewards, he resolved to wage war against some tribes in the country north-east of the Adriatic, of which the Romans had never yet become complete masters. When Octavianus reached the country of the Japydes, he met with a strong resistance, but by perseverance he obliged their capital, Metulum, to surrender, in B.C. 35. He then advanced into Pannonia, the capital of which, Segesta, sued for peace after a siege of thirty days. Octavianus left his legate Fufius Geminus with a garrison to keep the conquered nations in submission, and himself returned to Rome. Octavia being about this time repudiated by Antony, Octavianus neglected nothing that was calculated to bring prominently before the people the insult which had been offered to his family. He had formed the plan of invading Britain, but was prevented by the intelligence that the countries he had just subdued had revolted. His generals, indeed, succeeded in restoring peace; but Octavianus himself proceeded to Dalmatia, where Agrippa had the command. Several towns were taken, and neither life nor property was spared. Octavianus penetrated as far as Setovia, where he received a wound in the knee. After his recovery he left the command to Statilius Taurus, and returned to Rome to enter his second consulship, for B.C. 33. Taurus, in the meantime, completed the subjugation of the Dalmatians; out of whose spoils Octavianus ordered a portico to be built, which he called Octavia, in honour of his sister.

During the years B.C. 33 and 32, Octavianus remained at Rome, and had plenty of opportunities of pointing out to the

people the unworthy and despicable conduct of Antony, and of convincing them that they had everything to fear from him, and that all the exertions they might be required to make, would be solely for their own good. War was at last declared in the end of B.C. 32, and in the following year, when Octavianus was invested with his third consulship, Rome was in a state of great excitement and alarm, all classes being called upon to make the most extraordinary exertions. In the spring of B.C. 31, the fleet of Octavianus, under the able command of Agrippa, spread over the whole of the Adriatic, while Octavianus himself and his legions landed in Epirus. He had had to struggle with many difficulties in Italy, in inducing the people to submit to the heavy demands he made upon them; and if Antony had availed himself of these circumstances, and had attacked his enemy in Italy, the war might have terminated in a very different way. But Antony was slow, and his adversary gained time to overcome his difficulties. Antony assembled his fleet at Ephesus, and, accompanied by the ambitious Cleopatra, sailed from Asia to Samos and Athens; thence he proceeded to Corcyra where all his forces were assembled. His land army encamped near Actium, a promontory of Acarnania: while Agrippa, took possession of the town of Toryne, at the entrance of the Ambracian gulf, and then made some successful incursions upon the Greek coast.

During these operations the summer passed away. Antony's friends advised him to decide the war by a land fight; for though he had twice as many ships as Octavianus, yet they were very large and awkward, and not adapted to operate successfully against the light and swift boats of the enemy. But Cleopatra desired Antony to bring the war to a close by an engagement at sea, and her will was obeyed. The memorable battle of Actium on the 2nd of September, B.C. 31, decided the fate of the Roman world at once and for ever. Its issue was at first doubtful, but when Cleopatra perceived that victory was not certain on her side, she took to flight, and sixty Egyptian ships followed her. As soon as Antony became aware of this, he hastened after her in a quick sailing boat, either from despair, or with the intention

of bringing her back, for the battle was not yet by any means lost. When he overtook the fugitive he was at first very indignant, but her power over him was so great that he soon became reconciled. He was received into her ship and fled with her to Alexandria. The Egyptian fleet continued the fight for a few hours longer, but was finally destroyed by Agrippa. Antony's land army, consisting of seventeen legions, resolutely waited for seven days, hoping that the triumvir would come back; but when the commander, Canidius, was informed that Antony did not intend to return, and received orders to retreat, he surrendered to Octavianus.

The danger which had threatened to bring Rome under the dominion of a licentious eastern queen was now removed; the ambition of Octavianus was satisfied, and the generosity which he showed towards the vanquished met with general admiration. In commemoration of this victory he founded the town of Nicopolis, near Actium. Soon afterwards he slowly proceeded through Greece and a part of western Asia, and then spent the winter in the island of Samos. His success had increased the confidence of his army; but the veterans, in Italy, again began to manifest symptoms of discontent, and demanded the fulfilment of the promises which had been made to them. Octavianus determined to remedy the evil in person, and hastened to Brundisium. On his arrival there he was received by a great number of Roman senators and equites, and by crowds of people who had flocked thither from all parts. He availed himself of the general enthusiasm, and persuaded the people to enable him to satisfy the demands of the veterans, to whom he now assigned lands in various parts of the empire. Without going to Rome, he soon afterwards sailed to Corinth, Rhodes, and Syria, and thence to Egypt. Antony had endeavoured to deceive Cleopatra in regard to his position; so that when Octavianus arrived at the mouth of the Nile, the queen, who dreaded a protracted war which might render her enemy implacable, sent letters to him with proposals of peace, hoping to win him over as she had won his great-uncle, Caesar. But Octavianus refused to enter into any negotiations,

and demanded unconditional surrender. In the spring of B.C. 30, he appeared before Pelusium, which admitted the invader without resistance. His army under the command of Aelius Gallus also took possession of Paraetionium, so that he could attack Alexandria from both the east and the west. The Egyptian fleet surrendered without a blow, and the cavalry also passed over to Octavianus. Antony now withdrew into the city of Alexandria, where finding himself abandoned by all, and being falsely informed of the death of Cleopatra, he resolved to die, and perished miserably, by throwing himself upon his own sword. The queen concealed herself with all her treasures in her palace, still hoping to win the conqueror by her charms; but when she discovered that he would spare her life only that she might adorn his triumph, she made away with herself by putting a viper to her breast.

Octavianus was now sole master of a colossal empire. As the final victory over his enemy in Egypt had been gained on the second of Sextilis, the name of that month was afterwards changed into Augustus (August), and festivals were instituted to commemorate the auspicious event, every year, at the beginning of August. The race of the Ptolemies had now become extinct, and Egypt received the constitution of a Roman province, which, however, was governed in a peculiar manner, and enjoyed several privileges, as it was the principal country from which Italy received its supplies of corn. The governor bore the title of Praefectus Augustalis, and was always a person of equestrian rank. The first who was intrusted with its administration was the poet Aelius Gallus, who had distinguished himself in the war against Sext. Pompeius, and in the taking of the important town of Paraetionium.

After having regulated the affairs of this wealthy and populous new province, Octavianus returned to Samos; thence in the spring of B.C. 29, he proceeded to Rome, where the temple of Janus was closed as a sign that peace was restored throughout the empire. Octavianus celebrated a threefold triumph over

Pannonia and Dalmatia, Antony and Egypt, and the people were highly pleased with the rejoicings that were prepared for them. The veterans also received ample rewards for their services, and whole legions obtained settlements on the frontiers of the empire. Octavianus himself was honoured by the senate with various distinctions and privileges, and received the title of *imperator* for life.

The history of the Roman republic has now come to its close; the fall of the commonwealth was the unavoidable consequence of its internal decay and corruption, which, within the last century, had spread with immense rapidity over every part of the social and political machinery, and had destroyed all the vital principles upon which alone a republic can safely stand. In the history of Rome the attentive observer cannot help being impressed with the truth, that the fate of a nation mainly depends upon the moral condition of its people; and that descendants have often to pay a heavy penalty for the neglect or transgressions of their forefathers. The peace which Rome now enjoyed might have been a blessing to her fourteen years earlier, and much strife, misery, and bloodshed might have been spared; but at that time the conviction that the republic was gone had not yet become general, for there were still deluded persons who thought it possible to revive the good old days. Rome indeed required additional and fearful lessons before she could be brought to see that peace and happiness could not exist along with the phantom of a commonwealth from which the soul had departed, and that those blessings could be bestowed only by the strong hand of a single ruler. This feeling was now become quite general; and men like Horace, who had fought in the ranks of Brutus, hailed with joy the happy termination of all civil feuds, and the victories of Octavianus over his enemies. Every honest Roman, like every unprejudiced student of history, must have come to the conclusion that the establishment of the monarchy under Octavianus was the greatest boon that Providence could have bestowed upon the Roman world.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

EXTENT OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, ITS CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION—
THE LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND ARTS DURING THE LATTER PERIOD
OF THE REPUBLIC—CHARACTER AND MORALS OF THE PEOPLE DURING
THE SAME PERIOD.

BEFORE we proceed to describe the gradual establishment of the monarchy under Octavianus, let us cast a glance at the extent of the empire, its constitution and administration, at the state of literature and the arts, as well as at the condition of the people during the last century of the republic. Rome was, at this time, the mistress of a colossal empire, and all the countries over which she exercised sway, with the exception of Italy, were constituted as dependencies or provinces. She ruled over all the islands of the Mediterranean, over Egypt, Cyrene, Africa (the territory of Ancient Carthage), Numidia, Mauritania, Spain, with the exception of the northern districts of that peninsula, all Gaul as far as the Rhine, Illyricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Macedonia, Thrace, all Greece, and almost the whole of the immense extent of country in Asia between Mount Caucasus, the Caspian Sea, the Parthian empire, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, and on the west, the Mediterranean. In some of these countries indeed, the Roman dominion was not yet firmly established; but the time was not far distant when they were to lose even the last shadow of independence. Rome's ambition, however, was still unsatisfied; the nations bordering upon her empire, such as the Britons, Germans, Parthians, were not left in peace, but were one after another, compelled, in the course of time, to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome.

The constitution of the republic had received its first great

shock from the noble attempt made by the Gracchi to remedy the evils which had been brought about by the usurpation of the rich, and by certain unavoidable circumstances. At that time the senate and the optimates gained the victory, but their blood-stained power was not destined to be of long duration; for they acted with a perfect contempt of all law and justice, and the citizens no less than the allies and the provinces felt their oppressive rule. Their influence was crushed by ambitious demagogues who started up one after another during the civil wars. Sulla, after his victory over the popular party, formed the childish plan of restoring the good old times, by undoing the work of ages, and by reviving the ancient forms of the constitution; but his system was a body without a soul, for the senate had long ceased to be that venerable assembly which once filled those who witnessed its meetings with awe and reverence. Its power, which had been abused in the most flagrant manner, was broken by the influence of the equites, a class of men who continued to rise in importance from the time of the Gracchi. This class not only acquired judicial power, which they abused as grossly as the senators had done before, but being wealthy capitalists, and engaged in the farming of the public revenues, they had it in their power to support any ambitious demagogue, and thus to keep the senate in a sort of dependence. The consequence was that titles and honours were the only distinctions of the senate, while all substantial power was in the hands of the equites; and so high did the latter rise in public estimation, that in B.C. 67, the tribune, L. Roscius Otho, carried a law by which the fourteen rows of seats immediately in front of the orchestra in the theatres, were assigned to the equites exclusively.¹ But the insolence of the equites, and the system of bribery by which they kept the other powers of the republic in subjection, were as

¹ *Ascon. in Cornel.* p. 78. ed. Orelli; *Liv. Epit.* 99; *Vell. Pat.* ii. 32. Hence *sedere in quatuordecim* is equivalent to *esse equites*. The same

privilege was granted to tribunes of the soldiers, because they also were regarded as persons of equestrian rank. (*Horat. Epod.* iv. 15, &c.)

detrimental to the state as they were disgraceful to the equestrian order. The senate was further degraded by persons of the lowest classes having received from their demagogic leaders seats in it, with the right of voting. Such senators were little better than common hirelings; the question of the good of the state never entered their minds; they rejected or adopted measures just as they were bid by their patrons, or with a view to their own pecuniary advantage. The consulship was likewise degraded by being given to persons who were ready to do whatever the leaders of their party desired. The degradation of this magistracy, however, began more particularly in the time of Caesar.² Where, formerly, all had been active and zealous to promote the public good, every one was now bent upon personal aggrandisement, without any regard to the commonwealth.

The fearful anarchy into which Rome was plunged after the time of Sulla showed itself more particularly in the assemblies of the people; there the place of the free-born Roman citizens was occupied by an idle and hungry populace, which had no desire for anything higher than bread and amusements, and was ever ready to attach itself to those who had the richest rewards to offer. At the elections, bribery was carried on in the most open and unscrupulous manner; the dregs of the city, which subsisted upon bribery, decided in fact upon the most important affairs of the state, such as the election of magistrates, the enactment of laws, and the maintenance of peace or war. The comitia were often of the most riotous and tumultuous kind, for the hostile factions not unfrequently attacked each other with arms; thus the forum became the scene of civil bloodshed, bands of armed slaves and gladiators occupying it and deciding, by the dagger or the sword, what ought to have been settled by free and rational discussion. Ever since the time of the Gracchi, the tribunes, who had been the representatives of the people and the guardians of their rights, either came forward themselves as the leaders of factions, or sold their support to those who chose to buy them by bribes.

² Sueton. *Caes.* 72, 76.

The administration of the provinces and of justice kept pace, in point of corruption, with the political and moral degeneracy of the people. The general immorality and licentiousness of the age rendered a change in the administration of justice necessary. As early as the year B.C. 149, the tribune L. Calpurnius Piso carried a measure by which the Roman people transferred their judicial power, for certain classes of crimes, to commissioners, who were appointed annually, and who, under the presidency of the praetor, tried the accused, and inflicted punishment on the guilty in the name of the Roman people.³ But as the praetors, like other magistrates, were often guided in their edicts rather by their own interest and a love of money than by a proper sense of justice, the tribune C. Cornelius, in B.C. 67, carried a law by which the praetors were obliged to pronounce sentence according to the edicts or principles of law which they had once established;⁴ for on entering upon his office, every praetor had to publish such an edictum; from which time such edicts acquired permanent authority in all legal matters, and were commented upon and explained by the most distinguished jurists.

Although Roman citizens had not to pay any direct taxes to the republic, and though the amount of domain land was constantly diminishing in consequence of the establishment of colonies, and of its distribution among the veterans, still the wealth of the republic, during the latter period of its existence, was immense, for enormous sums flowed from the provinces into the public treasury. In the time of Sulla, the province of Asia paid annually about one million sterling, which was subsequently increased to even upwards of two millions; one Spanish mine yielded an annual produce of upwards of half a million: from these facts we may form some estimate of the revenue derived from such rich provinces as Gaul, Syria, Macedonia, Sicily, Africa, and others.

³ These are the *quaestiones perpetuae*, or standing criminal courts for certain crimes, such as high treason, embezzlement of public money, bribery, and others which were subse-

quently added by Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar.

⁴ Ascon. in *Cornel.* p. 58, ed. Orelli; Dion Cass. xxxvi. 23.

The regular tribute, paid by the provinces, was let out in farm by the censors to the highest bidder: the persons who undertook the farming, whether they were individuals or companies (*societates*), first paid or gave security to the treasury for the sums stipulated, and then sent their agents (*publicani*) into the provinces to collect the taxes, under the protection, and, if necessary, with the assistance of the military forces stationed in the provinces. These publicani became proverbial for their avarice, cruelty, and oppression; their object, as well as that of their employers, was to make as large a profit out of the country as possible, and they called in the assistance of the soldiery wherever the exhausted provincials could not, or would not, comply with their exorbitant demands. The wealth of the subject countries in Asia, Africa, and Europe, was thus systematically collected and carried to Rome, where it enriched the public treasury no less than the farmers of the revenue. But notwithstanding all this, the republic never possessed a regular and rightly organised system of finance, which might have created a permanent and inexhaustible treasure. The greater part of these revenues was spent upon the maintenance of the poor, the fleets, the armies, the officials employed in the provinces, the donations which were given to the populace in the shape of corn, meat, and public amusements, and the rewards bestowed upon the veterans. The wars of the triumvirs drained the treasury so much, that Octavianus found it necessary to impose a heavy war-tax to replenish it, every freedman, possessing a certain amount of property, being obliged to give up one-eighth of it to the state.⁵

During the latter years of the republic, little or no care seems to have been taken about keeping peace and order in the city: the regulations made with a view to preserve public safety and decency were violated every day without fear or scruple; and crimes of every description were committed publicly and in broad daylight with as much audacity as if there had been no laws at

⁵ Dion Cass. l. 10.

all to check them. Regular guards to maintain peace and order in the city during the night never existed until Octavianus instituted the *nocturnorum vigilum cohortes*. The censorship still existed; but after the Social war, when all the Italians acquired the Roman citizenship, it became utterly impossible for the censors to control the conduct of the people; hence murder, poisoning, forged wills, robbery, perjury, and the like, became crimes of every-day occurrence. The superintendence of the public granaries, of the corn market, and of the distribution of grain among the people, was in the hands of the two *aediles cereales*, who had been instituted by J. Caesar, in B.C. 45.⁶ The functions of a city police still continued to be performed, though in an inefficient manner, under the direction of the four other *aediles*.

In the composition of the Roman armies two considerable changes had taken place. C. Marius set the first example of enlisting persons of the lowest classes, and even slaves and freedmen. By this means, the wealthier classes were afterwards enabled to remain at Rome, and to indulge in the pleasures and amusements of the city, while the battles of the republic were fought by the greedy populace, who had no other object in view than to acquire the means of revelling in luxuries and debaucheries. Warlike virtue and patriotism had disappeared more and more ever since the beginning of the civil wars; in the rich provinces in which the soldiers were often stationed for a number of years, they became demoralised and effeminate, and it required the most extraordinary efforts and tact to keep them in military subordination. Their love of money and plunder naturally led them to serve him who most connived at their excesses; and when a mutiny broke out among them, the commander had generally to yield, unless he was a man of the greatest skill and ability: he often succeeded in appeasing them, by promising them rich rewards after the close of the campaign; but how much misery those rewards, which usually consisted in the assignment

⁶ Dion Cass. xliii. 51.

and distribution of lands, inflicted upon the peaceful inhabitants of the country in which the soldiers received settlements or were established as military colonies, has already been remarked.⁷ In short, towards the end of the republic, the soldiers already showed very strong symptoms of that imperious and profligate character which they afterwards displayed under the emperors, when they disposed of the imperial throne according to their own discretion and desire. The art of war received great improvements at the hands of such men as C. Marius, L. Sulla, Cn. Pompey, and, above all, J. Caesar. In the time of Caesar, the armies no longer consisted of Romans and allies (*socii*): we read only of Romans and auxiliaries, the latter of whom were armed according to the customs of the countries from which they were drawn.

The provinces were governed as before by praetors and proconsuls; and it was these dependencies, especially when favoured by nature, which were most exposed to robbery, plunder, and extortion by the Roman governors and their soldiery. It is attested by Cicero, that the arrival of a governor, even in a peaceful province, was little different from the entrance of a victorious army into the country of a vanquished enemy. Even men who were of good repute for their humanity, returned to Rome with almost incredible sums of money, after they had been in a province for some years. What the governors left undone, was completed by usurers and the farmers of the public revenue; Asia, which was repeatedly drained to the utmost, would have been utterly ruined, had it not been a country endowed by nature with almost inexhaustible resources. Verres is a fair specimen of what most governors of provinces were during the latter period of the republic. The provincials had, indeed, the right to prosecute their oppressors; but the judges were either the accomplices of the culprits, or had an interest in keeping things as they were: even the most barefaced robbers on a large scale found orators and lawyers who were ready to defend them, and judges who had no scruple in acquitting them. Everything had

⁷ See p. 524, &c.

thus come to a crisis, and no earthly power could have prevented the republic from either breaking to pieces or falling into the hands of a single ruler.

Agriculture, once the pride and glory of the Romans, had become completely neglected in Italy; the immense estates (*latifundia*) possessed by the wealthy Romans were used for the most part as pastures, on which large flocks were kept by gangs of slaves, while in other parts the late wars had reduced whole districts to barren wildernesses. The consequence was that Italy, one of the most fertile countries in Europe, which might have supported the most numerous population, was dependent for its supplies of corn upon Sicily, the territory of ancient Carthage, Sardinia, and Egypt. The final blow to Italian agriculture seems to have been given by the establishment of military colonies, whereby many farms were taken from the industrious peasants and given to reckless soldiers, who had neither the industry, the inclination, nor the knowledge, requisite for agricultural pursuits. Rome's dependence upon other countries for its supplies of food frequently produced great distress in the city, especially at the time when the Mediterranean was infested by the pirates, and afterwards when Sex. Pompeius exercised his sway over the sea. That hazard at sea was also detrimental to commerce in general, though the Romans themselves were never very active as merchants. They received their articles of luxury chiefly from Marseilles, Alexandria in Egypt, and the ports of Syria; in which ports the Egyptian and Syrian merchants, who fetched their merchandises from India, Persia, and Arabia, disposed of it to the Romans. But Roman merchants also kept vessels of their own with which they visited foreign markets, where they purchased gold, slaves, corn, and other commodities; and many of them carried on a considerable commerce with Gaul, either by sea or by the roads leading across the Alps.

The Latin language was at this time understood, if not spoken, in all parts of Italy, in the south of Gaul, in a great part of Spain, and in the western islands of the Mediterranean; in all which

countries Latin ultimately became the language of the people. In the provinces east of the Adriatic, on the other hand, no attempt was ever made to supplant the language spoken by the provincials. A perfect Romanisation, therefore, took place only in the northern and western parts of the empire; that is, in countries whose civilisation, at the time of their conquest, was below that of the Romans. There cannot, however, be any doubt that in all the Roman provinces, even where the Latin language was not introduced, persons of rank and education acquired a competent knowledge of it through the influence of the Roman armies, officers, adventurers, and other Italians who settled among the provincials. In Italy, again, there were few persons of any pretensions who were not thoroughly acquainted with the Greek language. Rome itself swarmed with learned Greeks, who gave instruction in their native tongue, in rhetoric and philosophy; and those Romans who had sufficient means used to send their sons to the renowned seats of learning in Greece, where they cultivated their minds and taste under the guidance of the ablest teachers. This intellectual connection with Greece excited in the minds of the Romans the greatest zeal and ambition to emulate the Greeks in carrying their own language to perfection: poets, historians, and, above all, the orators, exerted themselves to elevate the language and literature of their country to such a point as to render them worthy rivals of those of Greece. The influence of this intellectual activity, however, was more or less confined to Rome and the larger towns; the language spoken in the country districts and distant parts of Italy, (*lingua rustica*, or *rusticitas*), differed widely from the language spoken at Rome (*urbanitas*), where the taste of the better classes was daily cultivated by the public orators and the society of those who had received a liberal and perfect education.

The golden age of Roman literature extends from the death of Sulla to that of Augustus: it was during that period of about ninety years that Rome produced her greatest minds in every branch of literature, in poetry as well as in prose. Books had been

collected, long before this time, by Roman nobles, such as Aemilius Paulus, who brought many books with him from Macedonia; and libraries existed in most of the palaces and villas of the great: but the first public library was established at Rome by Asinius Pollio (born in B.C. 74, died in A.D. 4), who was himself distinguished as a poet and orator;⁸ and his example was followed by Caesar and Octavianus.⁹ The demand for books produced booksellers, who exposed their goods for sale on stalls, and employed persons to make copies of the works which they had on sale; but wealthy authors used to keep slaves for the sole purpose of making copies of their works, which they sent to their friends. Such slaves were called *literati*, or *librarii*.

But whatever efforts the Romans might make, their literature from the days of Livius Andronicus, had been and remained, as the whole, merely an imitation of that of Greece; and the Greeks, who had been subdued by the arms of Rome, gained and maintained an ascendancy over their conquerors by the spirit of their arts and literature. The flourishing period of Roman literature was, moreover, of short duration, as is always the case when literature is not built upon a truly national basis; such an artificial creation may at first grow luxuriantly in its new soil, like a plant in a hothouse, but afterwards it becomes either crippled or shortlived. The latter was the case with Roman literature, whose fair growth was checked by the vices and follies no less than by the misfortunes of the times which followed the reign of Augustus; for, in all countries, literature seems to thrive best in times of great excitement, whether it arises from political or religious commotions or from great military undertakings.

The regular and sublime tragedy after the Greek model never became popular among the Romans, who cannot boast of one great tragic poet. Men like Roscius and Aesopus, in the age of Cicero, might, for a time, fascinate the people with their wonderful powers as actors in comedy and tragedy, and wealthy Romans might spend the most exorbitant sums upon the erection of

⁸ Plin. *H. N.* vii. 31.

⁹ Sueton. *Caes.* 44, *Aug.* 29.

theatres in order to win popular favour;¹⁰ but the national taste was against the lofty and sublime spirit of the Greek drama: the dissolute jokes and witticisms of pantomimic representations, and the cruelties of the gladiatorial fights in the circus, had far more charms for the population of Rome. The only dramatic composers, therefore, that met with any favour, were the authors of mimes, two of whom in the time of J. Caesar, Decimus Læberius and P. Syrus, acquired a great reputation. P. Lucretius Carus, who died in B.C. 52, at the age of forty-four, was a true poet; he wrote a great didactic poem, in six books, on the Nature of Things, which is still extant; it is only to be regretted that he employed his muse in the advocacy of the miserable system of the Epicurean philosophy. Lyric poetry was cultivated with great success; and though the poets were, to a considerable extent, mere imitators of the lyric poets of Greece, yet their productions were in no wise unworthy of their models. We here need mention only the names of the heroes of lyric poetry whose works have come down to us: C. Valerius Catullus, of Verona, (born in B.C. 85, died about B.C. 45); Horace, of Venusia, (born in B.C. 63, died B.C. 8); Tibullus, and Propertius. In epic, idyllic, and didactic poetry, none surpassed Virgil (born in B.C. 70, at Andes, near Mantua, died in B.C. 19); or Ovid, of Sulmo (born in B.C. 43, died in A.D. 17). Political oratory, which had naturally been cultivated at Rome from early times, but had commenced a period of rapid development in the age of the Gracchi, reached its highest perfection under the influence of such men as Q. Hortensius, Cicero, J. Caesar, Cato, and others; but its flourishing period terminated abruptly with the fall of the republic, for public oratory is the child of political liberty, and cannot exist without it. Even Cicero, in the later years of his life, complained of the decline of the art in which he himself had outshone all his contemporaries. In the year B.C. 99,

¹⁰ In B.C. 58, M. Aemilius Scaurus built a most magnificent wooden theatre, which contained 80,000 spectators (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 24, 17),

but it did not remain standing more than one month. The first stone theatre was that of Cn. Pompey, which was dedicated in B.C. 55.—See p. 484.

L. Plotius had opened the first school for teaching Latin oratory, and had met with great applause; but two years later, the censors expressed their strong disapproval of it, and declared that this school of Latin rhetoricians was injurious to the young, and contrary to the customs of their forefathers.¹¹ Speculative philosophy had never been a favourite pursuit among the Romans, and it is amusing to see how Cicero, who was the first to attempt to make his countrymen acquainted with the results of Greek speculation, apologises for venturing to introduce these abstruse disquisitions among his countrymen; though his lucubrations were by no means of a transcendental kind, but had in view those more practical ends which have a direct bearing upon the affairs of the state and human life in general. We may, indeed, admit that Cicero was not a philosopher, in the highest sense of the word; but he has the undisputed merit of having popularised among the Romans, and in their own language, the results of the practical parts of Greek philosophy. The higher classes had adopted a sort of Epicurean system, because it did not oppose their luxurious and licentious mode of life: while the better and nobler minds sought and found comfort in the purer and loftier doctrines of the Stoics, which, at the same time, were a kind of compensation for the religious wants of the age; the religion of ancient Rome having become a subject of ridicule with the more enlightened class of Romans.

M. Terentius Varro, a contemporary of Cicero, was a man of most extensive information, but most of his numerous and valuable works have perished. Historical studies were pursued with great vigour, and the historians of this period rose far above those of former times. We still possess some most excellent historical works which were written at that time; such as a few of the Lives of Cornelius Nepos, the History of the Jugurthine war and the Catilinarian conspiracy by Sallust, the Commentaries of J. Caesar and A. Hirtius, and a considerable portion of the voluminous History of Rome, by Livy. Each of these

¹¹ Gallius, xv. 11.

historians had his peculiar charms and beauties: each of them looked at history from a different point of view and accordingly wrote in a different spirit. The works of many others, such as Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius of Antium, Licinius Macer, T. Pomponius Atticus, Q. Aelius Tubero, Asinius Pollio, Varro, Cato, L. Luceius, the Memoirs of Sulla, and the Commentaries of the philosopher P. Volumnius who wrote the history of the war against Brutus, have been lost in the course of time, and are known only through the quotations of others.

Although Rome herself never produced any great artists, yet there arose in Italy such a love of works of art, especially after the war of Sulla against Mithridates, that it almost amounted to a mania among the wealthy Romans, and, in many instances, led to the most disgraceful robberies; for the governors of provinces, in the most unscrupulous manner, appropriated to themselves the ornaments of temples and public buildings, no less than those of private houses. We need only remember the conduct of Verres in Sicily, who was assuredly not the only man who acted in that rapacious manner, to form an opinion of the extent to which the robbery of works of art was carried. But statues, paintings, vases, and other moveable articles of ornament were not the only things taken and carried to Italy; means were devised for cutting away and removing even mural paintings: nor were these works of art used to adorn only the public places and buildings of the city; many more were carried to the private dwellings of the great, and to their villas in the country, which were lavishly stocked with these plundered treasures. In those villas they were generally kept hidden from public view, for the exclusive enjoyment of the wealthy; and this practice was carried to such an extent, that on one occasion, Agrippa delivered a speech, in which he proposed publicly to sell all the statues and paintings which were concealed in the villas of the great.¹³ This love of works of art created also a considerable traffic in them at Rome; and picture-dealers and statue-dealers

¹³ Plin. xxxv. 9.

were persons of some consequence among the Roman amateurs.¹² Eminent artists, moreover went to Rome in great numbers; though not so much with a view to get orders for new and original creations, as to make copies of the most renowned works of the earlier Greek masters.

But the ennobling influence of literature and the arts produced very little effect upon the moral and social condition of the majority of the Romans: wealth, and the love of luxuries and sensual pleasures, were opponents too powerful to be subdued by such gentle means; and the course of demoralisation could not be checked either by the censorship or by legal enactments. The licentiousness of the populace, the avarice of the great, the general effeminacy, combined with the most heartless cruelty, reached an almost incredible height. The Roman nobles erected palaces and villas, with which even our royal palaces, in point of grandeur and magnificence, can scarcely bear any comparison: mountains were levelled, lakes were dug, and portions of the sea changed into dry land, merely to gratify the whims and fancies of the wealthy; and the anecdotes of the extravagance of some surpass almost all belief. The furniture and ornaments of their dwellings were composed of the finest metals, and of the most costly species of wood, yet these materials were themselves of little value in comparison with the labour and skill that were lavished upon the workmanship. At their repasts the most exquisite dishes were brought together from all parts of the world; and, in order that they might not be restrained in their extravagant enjoyment of them, they had recourse to the disgusting practice of taking emetics, both before and after their debauches. The licentiousness and immorality among women was almost greater than among men, and the natural consequence was, that men preferred living in concubinage to entering the state of legal matrimony. Thus the number of free citizens constantly decreased, while that of freedmen increased with extraordinary rapidity. This state of things, which lasted till about the reign

¹² Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 23; Horat. *Sat.* ii. 3, 64.

of Vespasian, became so general, that it was found necessary to make enactments against celibacy, and to confer rights and privileges upon those who were fathers of a certain number of children born in legal wedlock. This corrupt state of domestic life naturally exercised an influence upon the education of the young, which was neglected by parents, and left to the care of Greek slaves (*paedagogi* or *custodes*), who taught their pupils the Greek language and manners, their mother tongue being little cared for. The whole of the education of children went in the wrong direction, for the national feelings of the Romans were thus, in early life, moulded into a corrupt foreign form. The better classes, of course, formed an exception, causing their children to be instructed in history, poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy; and what could not be acquired at home was afterwards sought in the great schools which were established in various parts of the eastern world.

The spirit of ancient Rome had thus completely disappeared from all the relations of life; the moral strength of the people was broken; the freedom of their fathers was gone. Rome had become unable to govern herself, and wanted the powerful hand of an absolute ruler: like an exhausted mother she had lost the power of producing truly great and good men. She was incapable of enjoying political freedom, which prospers only when it is supported by the manly virtues and the moral character of a nation. Thousands must have looked with disgust upon the perpetual struggles which had of late torn the republic to pieces, and must have felt that a tranquil enjoyment of life, which was with many the highest object of existence, was incompatible with the continuance of the republic. This class of persons must have hailed with delight the cessation of civil strife, and looked upon the sovereignty of Octavianus as the greatest boon that could have been obtained from Heaven.

CHAPTER XL.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY UNDER AUGUSTUS.

DURING the whole period of Roman history which now follows, the fate of the empire is so inseparably connected with that of its individual rulers, that its annals henceforth consist of little more than the biographies of the successive sovereigns. The reign of Octavianus, however, has a peculiar interest from the circumstance that it forms the transition from the republican to the monarchical form of government, and it is this gradual transition which we have to contemplate before we proceed with the narrative of the external events of his reign.

The battle of Actium had put an end to a long series of bloody and destructive civil wars; and Octavianus, having no longer to combat any adversary, now found it possible to restore the blessings of peace and order. During his long reign of forty-four years, from B.C. 30 till A.D. 14, republican freedom was gradually forgotten; the generation which had taken part in the late struggles soon died away; and those who retained a recollection of the horrid bloodshed that had stained the latter years of the republic could not wish to see those times restored: with very few exceptions, therefore, all seemed led to the conclusion that a mild monarchy is a happier state than a republic in a condition of dissolution and anarchy. In B.C. 29, when Octavianus returned to Rome from Samos, he was overwhelmed by the adulation and servility of the senate and people. Some of his friends advised him to lay down his powers and retire to a private station; but he followed the wiser counsel of Maecenas, who persuaded him not to abandon the republic again to the forlorn condition from which it had only just emerged. As it was evident that he was desirous of making the people forget

their former misery, as well as his own acts of cruelty, both the senate and the people received with enthusiastic joy the announcement that he consented to remain at the head of the republic. Being anxious, however, to avoid every appearance of a wish to obtain regal power, he refused to accept the title of dictator which was offered him, and was satisfied with the novel title of *Augustus*,¹ which was conferred upon him at the beginning of B.C. 27, on the proposal of L. Munatius Plancus. Along with this he accepted for ten years the title of *Imperator*,² which conferred upon him the military command of all the Roman armies, and afterwards allowed it to be renewed each time for five or ten years, with an affected reluctance, by which he endeavoured to impress upon the senate and people that he himself was most anxious to preserve the republican constitution; for his great plan was to acquire sovereign power without abolishing any of the republican forms, which accordingly were carefully retained. By this means he gradually concentrated in his own person all the different powers which, under the republic, had belonged to the different magistrates. Thus, in B.C. 23, he was invested with the tribunician power for life, whereby his person became for ever sacred and inviolable, like that of a tribune of the people. By virtue of this power he could annul any decree of the senate, and interfere with all the acts of other magistrates, while any one might appeal to him from any of the courts of justice; it, lastly, gave him the right to convoke the senate, and put to the vote any proposal he might think proper to make. In like manner he obtained the power of a censor, and the

¹ The name *Augustus* is probably connected with the word *augur*, and signifies the sacred or venerable, whence the Greek writers express it by *ἑβαστάς*. All the subsequent emperors assumed the title of *Augustus* as a surname, and every empress had the title of *Augusta*, though other female relations of an emperor also were sometimes honoured with

it. The full name of Octavianus now was *C. Julius Caesar Octavianus Augustus*. From the time of Hadrian the presumptive successor of an emperor was distinguished by the title *Cæsar*.

² The title *Imperator* (Emperor) was used by him as a prænomen, and afterwards remained so with all the Roman monarchs.

proconsular power in all the provinces of the empire. In B.C. 12, when Lepidus died, Augustus succeeded him in the office of pontifex maximus, and thereby obtained the superintendence of all religious and ecclesiastical matters, which enabled him to exercise an almost unlimited influence over the priestly colleges. All these powers, united as they were in his person, constituted him the real sovereign of the empire; but he took great care not to show openly that this was the case; and for this reason he did not keep the titles of those dignities for himself exclusively, but nominally left the consulship and other magistracies to others, so that the republic with all its forms apparently continued as before, while in fact the office of consul, and others, were mere names or titles by which the friends and partisans of the emperor were rewarded. The same caution with which Augustus exercised the various powers thus conferred upon him was manifest also in his private life, for he did not distinguish himself in any way from the rest of the citizens, but lived with the simplicity of a private person; towards his friends he behaved with the same cordiality and familiarity as before; in his leisure hours he took part in their games and amusements, and even laughed at their railleries. A court, in our sense of the word, did not exist at all; and the whole appearance of Augustus was that of a private citizen.

The senate had been disgraced by the introduction of unworthy members in the time of Caesar, and still more by the triumvirs; but as soon as Augustus had obtained the censorial power, he induced many to withdraw, excluded others, and limited the number of senators to 600.³ The ordinary meetings of the senate had hitherto taken place thrice every month, but Augustus reduced them to two in each month, with the exception of September and October, during which the senate had vacation. The relation between the emperor and the senate was at first quite undefined, and Augustus attended the meetings only under the republican title of *princeps senatûs*, by virtue of which he had the

³ Dion Cass. liv. 13, lv. 3; Tacit. Ann. iv. 23.

right of introducing any subject for discussion. In B.C. 24, he was formally exempted from all laws, a regulation which remained in force under his successors, while their edicts were as binding as laws or decrees of the senate had been before. During the latter period of his reign, Augustus rarely attended the meetings of the senate, but formed for himself a kind of state-council or committee, consisting of 20 senators, with whom he deliberated upon all subjects which were to be brought before the senate; and whatever he proposed appears to have been passed forthwith, without any discussion.⁴ The senate had formerly been the supreme court of justice in cases of crimes against the majesty of the republic; as the state had now become identified with the person of the emperor, Augustus left to the senate the decision of all cases in which the majesty of his person was violated, since it would have been odious for him to assume jurisdiction in such instances.

Augustus had no ministers in our sense of the word; but in all matters of importance, which he did not wish to be discussed in public, he availed himself of the advice of his friends, the most eminent among whom were M. Vipsanius Agrippa, C. Cilnius Maecenas, M. Valerius Messala, and Asinius Pollio, all men of great ability in some department or other. Maecenas was a Roman eques, descended from an illustrious Etruscan family; he loved ease and comfort, and was fond of indulging in the refined luxuries of life; but the influence he exercised on Augustus was very beneficial, for he succeeded in restraining the emperor's natural inclination to cowardice and cruelty; and at the same time that he was himself a promoter and supporter of everything that contributed to embellish and adorn social life, he also inspired Augustus with a similar desire. It may be said in general that Maecenas did more than any one else to render the age of Augustus brilliant and illustrious, especially by his patronage of literature and the arts, for which his name has become proverbial. We need not here discuss the question

⁴ Dion Cass. liv. 13; Sueton. Aug. 35.

whether his patronage of poetry and the arts was conferred from pure motives, or whether it was to satisfy his personal vanity; it is enough for us to know that he actually did nurture and cherish such men of genius as Virgil and Horace. At the time when Maecenas was intrusted with the administration of the city, he discharged his duties with great prudence and discretion. Agrippa was equally indispensable and useful to Augustus: he was a man of very great talent and had a strong attachment to republican institutions, but finding it useless to struggle against the current of events, he took an active and prominent part in the establishment of the monarchy, which through him acquired strength, stability, and dignity. It has been said, and with justice, that of all the men who rose to eminence during the civil wars, Agrippa was the only one whose elevation was a real blessing to the state. To him the city of Rome was mainly indebted for its architectural improvements and embellishments, which enabled Augustus, who himself erected a vast number of splendid buildings, to say, towards the end of his reign, that he had changed Rome from a city of huts into one of marble palaces.⁵ The great splendour of the city gave it a general appearance of happiness and prosperity, and increased among the people their love and admiration of their ruler. It was undoubtedly not a little owing to the influence of such men as these that Augustus was honoured by the senate and people with the appellation of *father of his country*.⁶

The people were not in any way deprived of the forms of republican freedom: Augustus even restored to the comitia the right of electing those magistrates whose appointment had been transferred to Caesar; but the whole was merely a form, for it was always a matter of course that the people should not elect

⁵ Agrippa, among many other edifices, built the *Pantheon* in the Campus Martius, which still exists in an excellent state of preservation, and bears the inscription *M. Vipsanius Agrippa consul tertium*, alluding to the year B.C. 27, in which he was

consul for the third time, and dedicated the Pantheon. It was dedicated to the gods connected with the Julian gens, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, J. Caesar, and others, and is now used as a church under the name of Santa Maria Rotonda. ⁶ Sueton. *Aug.* 58.

any one who was not recommended by Augustus ; and he was prudent enough not to interfere, when the people, as was sometimes the case, insisted upon having their own way.⁷ The legislative power of the assemblies died away very gradually : several laws are mentioned which were passed in the reign of Augustus in the old republican manner ; but in the time of his successor, Tiberius, we hear no more of such occurrences. The worship of the gods, which had lately been greatly neglected, was taken especial care of by Augustus ; in many instances he went far beyond upholding that which still existed, reviving old and forgotten superstitions and forms of worship. Whether this arose from his own superstitious feelings, or was done to make the people believe that he was endeavouring to restore the good old times, is a matter of uncertainty. But what seems to have engaged his attention more than any thing else was the restoration of peace and safety in the city, where it was not uncommon for assassins to roam about with their daggers in broad daylight,⁸ no one being bold enough to check them. Augustus extirpated these banditti, by suitable police regulations, with great resolution and firmness. He divided the whole extent of the city, including the suburbs, into fourteen regions, each with a separate local magistrate ; and each region was subdivided into *vici*, the affairs of each of which were managed by an officer called *vici magister*. This wise arrangement rendered it possible also to introduce an efficient city police, the *vigiles* or *cohortes urbanae*, who had to watch over the safety of the city, and to assist in cases of fire, riots, and the like. The whole administration of the city, and the superintendence of all its local officers as well as the *vigiles*, was given to a new magistrate created by Augustus under the title of *praefectus urbi*. Rome, which had before been almost like a den of robbers, now became a safe place, and the people had reason to be grateful to the emperor for the improvement. In like manner he divided the whole of Italy, from the foot of the Alps to the straits of Sicily, into a number of regions, each of

⁷ Vel. Pat. ii. 91⁸ Sueton. Aug. 32, 43.

which was probably presided over by some magistrate for the purpose of jurisdiction.

For his personal safety, Augustus established a body-guard of ten praetorian cohorts, each consisting of 800 or 1000 men, both cavalry and infantry; the whole body being commanded by the *praefectus praetorio*, an officer who, in the course of time, became second in importance only to the emperor himself.⁹ Each of these soldiers, or *praetoriani*, received double the pay of the ordinary legionary soldiers. But in order to avoid the appearance of military despotism, Augustus kept only three of these cohorts in the city, while the rest were quartered in the towns of Italy, until Tiberius, pretending that they were necessary for the safety of Rome, drew them all to the city, where they were kept in a fortified camp called *castra praetoria*. The whole of the military forces, over which Augustus had the supreme command, amounted to about 450,000: the principal parts of his navy were stationed in the ports of Misenum and Ravenna.

In order to keep peace in the countries which had been subdued by force, it became necessary to keep standing armies in them, especially in the distant provinces of Spain, on the Rhine, the Danube, and Euphrates; the standing camps (*castra stativa*) in which the troops were stationed, were, in many cases, gradually enlarged into towns. In B.C. 27, Augustus made an arrangement, by which the provinces were divided between himself and the senate. Those which were assigned to the senate (*provinciae senatoriae* or *populi*) were governed by persons appointed by the senate every year, but without the imperium, since Augustus himself had the proconsular imperium in all the provinces; they therefore had the power neither of levying armies nor of carrying on war, and were commonly designated proconsuls, though they might never have been invested with the consulship. The provinces which were given to the emperor (*provinciae Caesariae*), were governed by persons whom Augustus himself chose to appoint; and the term of their office also depended upon his discretion.

⁹ Sueton. *Aug.* 46, 49; Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 5; Dion Cass. lii. 24.

They bore the title of *legati Caesaris*, or *Augusti*, to which *pro praetore* was sometimes added. In this division of the provinces, Augustus took care to reserve for himself those which required a military force for their protection, while the more peaceful provinces, in which there was no occasion for keeping armies, were left to the senate. This arrangement, on the whole, remained in force down to the time of Constantine, though it would seem that the emperor sometimes made an exchange of one province for another with the senate. The government of Augustus exercised a most beneficial influence upon the provinces, and thenceforth their fate was incomparably better than it had been under the republic, for the governors now received salaries from the state, and a very strict superintendence was kept over them. Accordingly some of the provinces, especially those in which no armies were stationed, now entered upon a period of increasing prosperity. Egypt, which was of the greatest importance to Rome, on account of its being one of the principal places from which she drew her supplies of corn, was governed in a peculiar manner. To this post the emperor usually appointed a Roman eques, who was invested with almost regal power; and all other equites, as well as senators, were forbidden to visit Egypt; the object of this prohibition probably being that the inhabitants of the country might not be excited to revolt; for any such event would have produced very serious consequences for Rome and Italy.

These arrangements regarding the provinces were necessarily followed by a change in the administration of the finances, which had hitherto belonged to the senate alone. The civil wars had exhausted the public treasury, and the assignment of the public lands in Italy to the veterans had deprived the state of a considerable portion of its revenues. The division of the provinces was therefore made on these terms:—the income derived from the provinces of the senate went into the public treasury (*aerarium*), and out of it the senate had to defray the expenses of the civil government, but the revenue derived from the Caesarean provinces went into the treasury of the emperor (*fiscus*), not to

be confounded with the emperor's *private* purse, and out of it the armies were paid. All the domain land in the provinces, whether they belonged to the senate or to the emperor, was regarded as the property of the latter, who received the income from it, and might dispose of it at his pleasure. But besides these, there were several other sources from which a considerable revenue flowed into the *fiscus*; such as the tax levied on legacies and inheritances (*vicesima hereditatum*), the excise duties on all goods exposed for sale (*centesima rerum venalium*), the tax levied on persons living in celibacy (*uzorium*), and others. At a later time, the *aerarium* was completely swallowed up by the *fiscus*, and the latter then became the only public treasury, so that the whole finances of the empire were under the control of the emperors.

The improvement of morality, and the increase of the free population, likewise engaged the attention of Augustus, who made great efforts to introduce a better feeling among the people. In B.C. 17, a law was passed to prevent adultery, by which heavy penalties were inflicted, not only on the seducer, but also upon the conniving party. Another law, intended to regulate marriages (*de maritandis ordinibus*), was passed the year after; and in A.D. 9, there followed the celebrated *lex Papia Poppaea*, a kind of amendment of, and supplement to, the preceding one: it derived its name from Papius Mutilus and Poppaeus Secundus, who were consuls in that year. This law not only regulated and encouraged matrimony, and endeavoured to get rid of concubinage, but even conferred certain privileges on those who were fathers of at least three children (*jus trium liberorum*); though in later times these privileges were sometimes granted as a personal favour to persons who had no right to claim them. All these and many more regulations were unquestionably well meant, but they did not produce much improvement, for such evils as those against which they were directed can only be eradicated gradually. Augustus also made very useful provisions for preventing famine in the city: he promoted commerce and industry, made public roads, and executed several other public works of great utility. The large sums of money which were thus

put into circulation gave a fresh impulse to trade, by which Egypt and the eastern provinces were especially benefited. The reflecting part of the population, even if they saw through many of the selfish schemes of Augustus, must have acknowledged that his administration was productive of great blessings to the nation : the thoughtless populace, on the other hand, were so much taken up with the amusements, games, and public spectacles provided for them, and were kept in such good humour by the frequent distributions of corn, that they entirely forgot the loss of political freedom, and willingly served him who fed and amused them so well.

But notwithstanding the great caution with which Augustus acted, the mildness with which he ruled, and the care with which he kept out of sight every thing that might suggest the idea of despotism, several conspiracies, which were from time to time formed against his life, reminded him that there were still some persons in whom the love of republican government was not yet become extinct. The first attempt was made in B.C. 30, by M. Lepidus, a son of the ex-triumvir : his plot was formed before the return of Augustus from Actium, but Maecenas, who had the administration of the city, acted with great calmness and prudence, and without causing any sensation, quietly arrested Lepidus, and sent him into the east, to Augustus, who put him to death. In B.C. 22, Fannius Caepio, A. Murena, and others, formed a similar conspiracy, but this too was discovered, and those who had taken the lead in it were sentenced to death. The same was the fate of Egnatius Rufus, a senator, who, relying on the favour of the people, which he had acquired in his ædileship, at first defied the wishes of Augustus, and then formed a conspiracy against his life, which, like the former attempts, was discovered in time. Cn. Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, who in A.D. 4, was guilty of a similar crime was pardoned by the advice of Livia, the wife of Augustus, and even raised to the consulship. These repeated attempts, however, intimidated Augustus so much, that during the latter period of his life he never went to a meeting of the senate without wearing a breast-plate under his dress, to protect him against any sudden attack.

CHAPTER XLI.

WARS OF THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS—HIS FAMILY—HIS DEATH.

AN empire like the Roman could not remain in the enjoyment of perfect peace, however desirous Augustus might be to preserve it, in order to make the people feel the contrast between his reign and the latter period of the republic. Under the influence of this desire he undertook no wars which he did not think absolutely necessary for the safety of the empire; the object of his campaigns and conquests was only to secure the frontiers, which were then more threatened than ever, and to establish more firmly the Roman dominion in those countries which had been reduced shortly before his time. The Dacian tribes on the left bank of the lower Danube frequently crossed the river and annoyed the province of Moesia, especially in winter, when the river was frozen: in order to prevent these inroads, Augustus, in B.C. 27, sent his legate, M. Crassus, to the Danube. The Romans were victorious, but their success produced no lasting effect, for the Dacians still continued their incursions; and Rome was unsuccessful in her attempt to gain a firm footing north of the Danube.

In the same year Augustus himself set out for Gaul, intending, it is said, to go to Britain; but he turned aside, and went into Spain. He directed his course against the Cantabri and Astures, in the north of the peninsula, it being his object to subdue all Spain, and to make the ocean the boundary of the empire in that part of the world. The war against these warlike tribes lasted for some years, and Augustus did not return to Rome till B.C. 24, when his enemies submitted and gave hostages. During these campaigns Augustus founded several towns in Spain, the

most important of which were Augusta Emerita (Merida), and Caesar Augusta (Saragossa). Two years later the Cantabri again revolted, but were finally subdued, in B.C. 19, by Agrippa, who destroyed the flower of the nation.

In B. C. 24, Aelius Gallus, the governor of Egypt, undertook an expedition into Arabia Felix, which however turned out a complete failure: for diseases broke out among his troops; and his guides having led him by round-about ways into the most dangerous parts of the wilderness, he was in the end obliged to return without having effected any thing. The manner in which he had allowed himself to be misguided is clear from the fact, that his retreat occupied only sixty days, while he had spent six months in the expedition into Arabia. The failure of this enterprise encouraged Candace, queen of the Ethiopians of Meroë, to invade Egypt, in B.C. 22. She ravaged the country, and conquered the Roman garrisons of several towns; but C. Petronius, who had succeeded Gallus as governor of Egypt, defeated her in her own country, after she had sustained a severe loss. Augustus, to whom she applied for mercy, did not deprive her of her kingdom; he even relieved her from the tribute which Petronius had demanded of her. Free commerce with the interior of Africa was secured by a victory which L. Cornelius Balbus, the governor of the province of Africa, gained over the Garamantes, for which he was honoured, in B.C. 19, with a triumph.

In the mean time an event occurred in the east which seems to have filled with joy the heart of every Roman. Soon after Augustus' return from Spain, Tiridates, king of Parthia, was driven from his kingdom by Phraates. The exiled king took refuge at Rome, whither Phraates also sent an embassy to demand the surrender of Tiridates. Augustus refused to comply with this request, but consented to restore a son of Phraates, who had previously fallen into his hands, on condition of Phraates giving back to the Romans the standards which had been taken by the Parthians in the unfortunate campaigns of Crassus and M. Antony. This demand was complied with, in B.C. 20,

because Phraates was afraid of encountering the Roman arms, Tiberius being at the time engaged in restoring Tigranes to his kingdom of Armenia. Augustus was in Samos, where he spent the winter, as he had done the year before; and when the standards arrived, his vanity was so much gratified, that he struck medals to commemorate the event, and afterwards caused the standards to be hung in the temple of Mars Ultor which he built at Rome. Another very flattering circumstance happened while he was staying at Samos: there arrived ambassadors from the Scythians, and from an Indian king, Pandion, with presents, to solicit the friendship of Augustus, which the Indians seem to have endeavoured to obtain even before, while Augustus was in Spain.¹ When the emperor left Samos, an Indian gymnosophist accompanied him to Athens, and there burnt himself alive. As Augustus was returning to Rome, he met Virgil, who was on a journey to Asia; but being taken ill, Virgil returned with the emperor from Athens to Brundisium, where he died in October, B.C. 19.

Many parts of the Alps were still inhabited by free and independent tribes, and so long as they were unsubdued Italy could not be safe. In B.C. 25, while Augustus was engaged in Spain, a war against the Alpine tribes was commenced by an army under Terentius Varro, who began his operations by a campaign against the Salassi in the Graian Alps. They were subdued, after sustaining great loss, and the Roman general sold 36,000 of them into slavery; for the protection of Italy, the town of Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) was founded. It seems that this defeat stirred up all the nations, north of the Alps, on the upper Rhine and the Danube. The commotions in Gaul were suppressed by Agrippa: but on the Rhine, M. Lollius, a greedy legate, provoked the Germans dwelling on the eastern bank of the river; in consequence of which the Sigambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri, crossed the Rhine, and defeated the Romans in B.C. 16, probably in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Xanten.

¹ Oros. vi. 21.

Augustus, who entertained the greatest apprehensions in regard to these commotions, went himself to Gaul, and remained there until B.C. 13, for the purpose of regulating the affairs of the country, and of making the necessary preparations for securing the western banks of the Rhine. On his return to Rome, he intrusted the protection of those countries to Drusus, the son of his wife Livia by her first husband. Up to this time, Drusus and his brother Tiberius had been engaged in a war in Noricum, Raetia, and Vindelicia, and had so completely subdued all the Alpine tribes, even those living in the most secluded valleys, that henceforth we hear of no further attempt on their part to shake off the Roman yoke.² During that war, the Romans founded Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) in the south of Germany. When Drusus proceeded to the Rhine, Agrippa continued the operations in Pannonia; for the emperor's plan was to secure all the country between the Alps and the Danube, and when Agrippa died, in B.C. 12, Tiberius took the command of the war in Pannonia, and afterwards of that against the revolted Dalmatians, in which he ravaged the country of the Scordiscans in a frightful manner.

No sooner had Drusus undertaken the command on the lower Rhine, than he began to form the plan of subduing Germany, probably more with a view to crush that nation, than with the intention of gaining a permanent footing in a country which promised little booty, and was almost impassable to Roman armies on account of its immense forests and marshes. Drusus accordingly allied himself with the Batavi and Frisians, and having by means of a canal (*fossa Drusi*) joined the Rhine and Yssel, he sailed into the estuary Flevus (Zuidersee), and thus arrived in the Northern or German Ocean. After taking possession of some islands and the town of Burchana (Borcum), at the mouth of the Ems, he was obliged, by the approach of winter, to return. In the spring of B.C. 11, he opened the campaign by crossing the

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iii. 24, who quotes an inscription naming all the tribes that were subdued in this war.

Rhine, and penetrated into the country of the Usipetes, whom he subdued. He then attacked the Sigambri, and advanced into the country of the Cherusci as far as the river Weser, but there the approach of winter again obliged him to retrace his steps. As he was proceeding towards the Rhine he had to fight a severe battle, in which he was exposed to great danger. However, that he might not be compelled to give up the conquered country altogether, he founded the fortress of Aliso, near the sources of the Lippe, and having strongly garrisoned it, he returned to the Rhine. In the following year, the war was continued against the Sigambri and Bructeri with varying success. The Chatti also then rose against the Romans; but, in B.C. 9, Drusus marched into their territory, and having subdued them, advanced through the country of the Cherusci, as far as the river Elbe, the left bank of which was inhabited by the Longobardi (Lombards); but he did not cross the river. Want of provisions compelled him to retreat; on his way back, he fell from his horse, and having injured himself very severely, he died thirty days after, not far from the banks of the Rhine. His brother Tiberius, on hearing of the accident, hastened to his assistance: he found Drusus still alive, but he expired soon afterwards; and Tiberius then led his brother's army back to Gaul, and accompanied his corpse to Rome.

Tiberius was now appointed to the command of the forces of Drusus; and, in B.C. 8, he crossed the Rhine to continue the operations which his brother had commenced. But the Germans, with the exception of the Sigambri, sent ambassadors to sue for peace. The emperor refused to negotiate with them on any other terms than their absolute submission. Many Germans, with their chiefs, then came to the Roman camp, where they were treacherously arrested, and distributed as hostages among the towns of central Gaul. The Sigambri now rose in perfect fury against their faithless enemies, but Tiberius gained a decisive victory over them, and transplanted 40,000 Sigambri and Suevi to the left bank of the Rhine. Notwithstanding these achievements

the Romans were as yet unable to make Germany a tributary province.³ Tiberius returned to Rome, where he was rewarded for his victories with a triumph and the title of imperator, to which, in B.C. 6, the tribunician power for five years was added.

In B.C. 6, Tiberius, indignant at the conduct of his wife Julia, and at the distinctions conferred upon her sons by Agrippa, withdrew to Rhodes; and the command of the legions on the lower Rhine was entrusted to Domitius Ahenobarbus, the grandfather of the emperor Nero, a bold but at the same time a very prudent man. He retained the command for several years, and penetrated even beyond the river Elbe, into the country of the Semnones, which no Roman had previously reached. But Augustus forbade his successors ever again to cross the Elbe, lest they might stir up the tribes that dwelt beyond it. Domitius was succeeded by M. Vinicius. In A.D. 2, Tiberius, after a stay of upwards of seven years, returned from Rhodes to Rome: he was adopted by Augustus in A.D. 4, and in the following year again undertook the command of the legions on the Rhine. He began the campaign by the reduction of the Bructeri, who dwelt between the rivers Lippe and Ems, and renewed his connection with the Cherusci, while his valiant and prudent legate, Sentius Saturninus, attacked the Chatti from the upper Rhine. While Tiberius was advancing towards the Elbe, a Roman fleet sailed from the Rhine through the German Ocean to the mouth of the former river, up which it sailed, and joined the army of Tiberius. The Romans then defeated the Germans in a hard-fought battle, and the country between the Rhine and the Weser was then constituted a Roman province. Stationary camps and settlements were accordingly established in the country, which, in regard to civilisation, were beneficial to the barbarians, between whom and the Romans a friendly intercourse was now opened. Many of the Germans entered the Roman armies, and some of their chiefs were honoured, not only with the Roman franchise, but with the rank of equites.

³ Vell. Pat. ii. 97; Tacit. Ann. ii. 26.

Peace having been restored in that part of the country, Tiberius, in A.D. 6, determined to direct his forces against Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni. This people had originally inhabited the country between the rivers Maine, Rhine, and Danube, but had gradually extended their dominion as far as Bohemia. Their king Maroboduus ruled over a great kingdom, having regular political institutions, with a well organised army of 70,000 foot, and 4000 horse. He had taken up his residence in Bohemia to be as far away from the Romans as possible. Tiberius now formed the plan of attacking him on two sides; his legate, Sentius Saturninus, marched through the country of the Chatti towards Bohemia, while Tiberius himself set out with his legions from Illyricum. When the two armies had approached each other within the distance of only a few days' march, Tiberius was suddenly informed of a revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, which compelled him to give up the contemplated war against Maroboduus, lest, as he had reason to fear, the insurgents should invade Italy. He accordingly concluded peace with Maroboduus,⁴ and hastened to Pannonia, where two persons of the name of Bato were at the head of a formidable insurrection, and had already commenced ravaging Macedonia. In A.D. 7, Tiberius was joined by an army under Germanicus, but the Romans were at first unable to subdue the rebels; in the following year, however, the Pannonians and Dalmatians were obliged, by famine and pestilence, to sue for peace. Soon afterwards the war broke out afresh: the Romans now made desperate efforts, and conducted their operations with three armies. The fall of the fortress of Anderion at length compelled the rebels, forsaken by their leaders, to submit to Rome, in A.D. 9. The country between the Adriatic and the Danube was cruelly ravaged during this war.

⁴ It seems strange that Maroboduus, who must have known that Tiberius was preparing to make war against him, should be so easily prevailed upon to make peace, and remain quiet during

the war in Pannonia and Dalmatia; but we must suppose that the terms of peace granted by Tiberius were very favourable to Maroboduus.

At the time when Sentius Saturninus left the province of Germany, for the purpose of joining Tiberius in the war against Maroboduus, P. Quintilius Varus, who had previously been governor of Syria, where he had indulged his avarice with a rapacity worthy of a Verres, received the command of the legions stationed in Germany. There his haughtiness and avarice drew upon him the hatred of all, and the general aversion was increased by his rude attempts to introduce the language and customs of the Romans among the barbarians. A conspiracy was accordingly formed against him, and was headed by Arminius, a young Cheruscan chief, who had received a Roman education, and had been raised to the rank of an eque, but had at the same time imbibed a strong hatred and contempt of the Romans. He commanded a detachment of Cherusci in the army of Varus, and having caused an insurrection of the Germans in a distant part of the country he prevailed upon Varus to set out against the rebels. As the preconcerted insurrection broke out in several places at once, Varus divided his forces, and was in the end obliged to retreat. In the autumn of A.D. 9, while the Romans were marching heedlessly, the Cheruscan chiefs remained behind under the pretext of collecting their people; but when Varus and his legions had arrived in a thick forest, the Cherusci, joined by other tribes, fell upon the unsuspecting Romans. The latter continued their retreat under the most unpropitious circumstances, for while they were obliged to defend their rear and flanks against the enemy, they were further impeded by tempestuous weather and the marshy soil of the country. On the third day, the Germans made their final attack, and nearly all the Romans were cut to pieces, and their standards taken. Varus made away with himself; only a few escaped to Aliso and the banks of the Rhine. The conquests east of the Rhine were thus lost. When the news of the destruction of the Roman army reached Augustus, he is said to have been seized with rage and despair, and to have exclaimed, "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" it is stated, also, that from fear of

an outbreak among his praetorian guards, he dismissed the Germans who were serving among them.

The year after this defeat, Tiberius again undertook the command against the Germans, and was accompanied by Germanicus the promising son of his brother Drusus. They proceeded to the Rhine; but as Aliso had, in the mean time, fallen into the hands of the enemy and been destroyed, they did not venture to penetrate into Germany, but confined themselves to protecting the western bank of the Rhine. In A.D. 11, both returned to Rome; and their legates who remained behind, observed the same policy, which was also followed by their successors, who for some time contented themselves with compelling the Germans to keep on their own side of the Rhine.

In this manner the reign of Augustus came to its close. He had been uniformly successful in establishing his power, which, towards the end of his life, was as safe as if he had been born on the throne; and with the exception of the German war, all his military undertakings, whether conducted by himself or by his lieutenants, had been crowned with success. He was enabled thrice to close the temple of Janus, as a sign that peace prevailed throughout the empire. But notwithstanding all this outward success and prosperity, he was unhappy in his own family relations, and that partly through his own fault. He was one of those men whom fortune surrounds with outward splendour, but who enjoy little of the general happiness which they establish or promote. His domestic misfortunes must have embittered all his enjoyments. He was first married to Clodia, a daughter of the notorious P. Clodius and Fulvia; after having divorced her he married Scribonia, a relation of Sextus Pompeius, by whom he became the father of an only daughter, Julia; but Scribonia, too, was repudiated, and he then married Livia Drusilla, the wife of Tib. Claudius Nero, who was already mother of two sons, Tiberius Nero (afterwards the emperor Tiberius), and Drusus Nero. Livia was a woman of the greatest cunning and ambition: she was resolved, at any cost, to raise her sons by her former husband,

and to get rid of the relatives of Augustus himself. But she succeeded nevertheless in preserving the attachment of Augustus to the end of his life ; and while she connived at his foibles, she exercised over him almost unlimited power, especially during his latter years. M. Marcellus, the son of Augustus' sister Octavia, by C. Claudius Marcellus, was a young man of the highest promise, who enjoyed the esteem not only of his own relatives but of the whole Roman people. His favour with Augustus was so great that he adopted him, and gave him his daughter Julia in marriage ; so that the general belief at Rome was that Marcellus would succeed Augustus. These marks of favour irritated Agrippa, the friend of Augustus, to such a degree that he withdrew from Rome ; nor did he return, till in B.C. 23, a premature death had cut short the career of Marcellus at the age of twenty. The death of Marcellus, which was believed, though perhaps without reason, to have been accelerated by Livia, threw the whole Roman world into the deepest grief. His widow, Julia, was now obliged to marry Agrippa, whom Augustus seems then to have fixed upon as his successor. Julia became by him the mother of Caius Caesar (born B.C. 20) and Lucius Caesar (born B.C. 17), who were both adopted by Augustus, and at an early age raised to the highest honours and distinctions. When Agrippa died, in B.C. 12, Livia's son Tiberius was compelled, against his will, to abandon his wife Vipsania Agrippina, and to marry Julia, who had already become notorious for her dissolute conduct, though her father seems not to have been aware of it. But Tiberius, being dissatisfied no less with the wife forced upon him than with the distinctions heaped upon her sons, Caius and Lucius Caesar, withdrew in B.C. 6 to Rhodes, where, under the pretence of literary pursuits, he spent upwards of seven years in retirement, and where he probably formed those habits of dark reserve and mistrust which characterise his later years. In the mean time, the dissolute conduct of Julia became known to her father ; and in B.C. 2 he exiled her to the island of Pandataria (Santa Maria), off the coast of Campania, whither she was

followed by her mother, Scribonia. Julia's daughter, the younger Julia, who inherited the vices of her mother, was exiled in A.D. 9 to the island of Tremerus, off the coast of Apulia. In addition to these afflictions, Augustus had, in B.C. 8, to lament the death of the poet Horace, and that of his faithful friend Maecenas. His two grandsons, Caius and Lucius Caesar, likewise died in the bloom of youth. Caius was invested with the consulship for the year B.C. 1, and went to Asia. Phraates, king of Parthia, had then invaded Armenia; but a peace was concluded with him in A.D. 2, and as Caius was going to take possession of Armenia he was treacherously wounded by an unknown person. He proceeded as far as the Lycian town of Limyra, and there died in the month of February A.D. 4. His brother Lucius died eighteen months before at Massilia, on his way to Spain. It was suspected at Rome that the death of both had been occasioned by Livia, in order to secure the succession to her son Tiberius, who now returned to Rome: through her influence he was adopted by Augustus, and obtained the tribunician power for ten years. Tiberius himself was at the same time obliged to adopt Drusus Germanicus, the son of his late brother, Drusus Nero. Livia's object was now gained, for the succession was secured to her son, and through him to the family of the Claudii, which had been distinguished for its pride and insolence from the earliest times of the republic.

In the year B.C. 4, or according to, perhaps, the better authorities, in B.C. 3, Jesus Christ was born at Bethlehem in Judea,⁶ an event which, though at the moment it exercised no influence upon the world, was yet destined gradually to bring about the greatest and most salutary changes in the notions of men concerning the Deity and their views of morality.

⁶ Some chronologers place the birth of our Saviour in a.c. 2; and it is an acknowledged fact, that our common calculation of the years after Christ starts three or four years too late, so that at this moment instead of 1847

we ought to write 1850 or 1851. But the common and faulty calculation is retained for the purpose of preventing confusion. See Clinton, *Fast. Hed.* vol. iii. p. 256, &c.

In A.D. 14, Augustus, assisted by Tiberius, held a census, the third in his reign; and in the summer of that year, after the celebration of some games at Naples, he retired to Nola. His health had been greatly impaired for some years: after a short illness he died at Nola on the 19th of August, A.D. 14, in the same room in which his father had died. When he felt his end approaching, he assembled his friends around him, and asked them whether they thought he had played his part in life well; "If you do so," he added, "give me your applause." He expired in the arms of Livia, who is said by some writers to have poisoned him; the only reason for the statement perhaps being, that she kept his death secret until Tiberius had returned to Nola, where he was forthwith saluted as the successor of Augustus. The body of the emperor was carried by the decuriones or magistrates of Nola to Bovillae, whence it was conveyed by the Roman equites along the Via Appia to the city. There it was solemnly burnt in the Campus Martius, and his ashes were deposited in the mausoleum which he himself had built as a burial-place for the members of his family.

Augustus has pronounced judgment upon himself in the question he put to his friends on his death-bed; an accomplished actor he undoubtedly was, and great was the part he played. Public opinion in his own time praised him as a wise statesman and a mild ruler; with justice, for the empire under him enjoyed a period of great peace and prosperity, and many of the wounds inflicted on it during the civil wars were healed: although wars were carried on upon the frontiers, the body of the empire had never enjoyed so long and uninterrupted a time of peace. But if we turn away from the effects, and inquire into the motives of his actions, his conduct appears in a different light. Previously to his victory at Actium, he had been cruel, faithless to his friends, selfish, and in many instances cowardly: after that event, it seems that his own fears compelled him to strive to deserve the affection of the people; and supported by his friends, he learned to appear good, even when he was differently inclined.

But, admitting that none of his good actions sprang from a noble soul, and that his whole life was a series of hypocrisies, still it cannot be denied that the character which he was obliged to assume in order to gain his end was the source of incalculable benefit both to Rome and to the world at large. He was temperate even to abstinence, and averse to pomp and personal display; if he did not always exercise a proper control over his own passions, he yet did all that he could to improve the moral condition of the Romans. He has the undisputed merit of having introduced a better order and a more perfect organisation into the unwieldy mass of the empire. His reign derives additional lustre from a comparison with the cruelties, vices, and imbecilities of those who succeeded him: and it will ever remain one of the most remarkable periods in the history of man; for in it was first formed and consolidated that system of government and administration which has determined the character of European civilisation.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS—HIS WARS—SEJANUS AND HIS INFLUENCE—
TYRANNY OF TIBERIUS, AND HIS DEATH.

WHEN Augustus died, Tiberius was fifty-six years old. In his early youth his education had been conducted with great care, though there was no prospect of his ever becoming the successor of Augustus, until the death of C. and L. Caesar, the sons of Agrippa and Julia. During the whole period from the time when he arrived at the age of manhood down to the death of Augustus, he showed great activity and talent, whether at the head of an army or in the council, whereby he attracted considerable attention. He had, however, a strong inclination to vice, though by his great power of dissimulation he succeeded in keeping it concealed. This circumstance made him extremely reserved and distrustful of everybody, a disposition which increased as he grew older. The withdrawal of Tiberius to Rhodes offended Augustus so much, that he afterwards refused him permission to return, and even allowed persons to speak of him with disrespect, without resenting it; but Livia nevertheless prevailed upon her husband to allow him to come to Rome, as soon as C. and L. Caesar were dead. During the period which then followed, Tiberius carried on great and important wars in Germany, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. Augustus in his will appointed him heir to two-thirds of his property: and though no formal steps had been taken to secure the succession to Tiberius, yet all secret preparations to that effect having been made by Livia, the praetorian cohorts were at once prevailed upon to take the oath of allegiance to him. Even before Tiberius went to

Rome, he gave orders to murder Agrippa Postumus, who was living in exile, and who, being the only surviving son of Agrippa and Julia, might have put forth some claim to succeed his grandfather. There can be little doubt that Livia instigated Tiberius to this murder.

When Tiberius arrived at Rome from Nola, he gave a true specimen of his character; for he who knew no fear on the field of battle was always in dread of some secret enemy, and was afraid to say or do things at Rome by which he might compromise himself. His great object was to take formal possession of the sovereignty; yet, being afraid of the senate, he declined the imperium when it was offered to him: he thus obliged the senate to entreat him to accept, for the public good, that which was in reality the highest object of his ambition. The reign of Tiberius, from A.D. 14 to A.D. 37, if we except the German war, is less remarkable for military exploits than for the tyrannical mode in which he governed, and for the political changes which he introduced. We shall first give an outline of the wars which were carried on in his reign.

In the very year in which he obtained the imperial dignity, formidable insurrections broke out among the legions in Pannonia and on the Rhine. In the former country, the soldiers had reason to complain, because they had been kept in their camps longer than was required by law. Tiberius was obliged to yield to their demand: their service was lightened, and the advantages which they were to have at the expiration of their period of service, were secured to them; but the leaders of the insurgents were put to death. Among the legions on the Rhine, Tiberius was very unpopular; and as soon as they were informed of the death of Augustus, they called upon their commander, Germanicus, to undertake the government of the empire. Germanicus was the adopted son of Tiberius, and possessed the love and admiration of his troops, but he nobly and generously refused the offer; and having quieted the soldiers, he led them from *Castra Vetera* (Xanten) against the Marsians in Westphalia. In the following

year he penetrated into the country of the Chatti, and saved Segestes, who had always been a friend of the Romans, and was now besieged by Arminius, his son-in-law. Thusnelda, the wife of the latter was taken prisoner on that occasion, and afterwards carried to Rome. Arminius now exerted all his energy to rouse his people and the neighbouring tribes to a vigorous resistance against their common enemies. Germanicus, dreading to march through this most difficult country, sailed with a fleet from the mouth of the Rhine to that of the Ems, and thence advanced into the interior of the country; while his legate, A. Caecina, set out from *Castra Vetera* by land, to join the forces of Germanicus. When the Romans arrived in the place where Varus and his legions had been defeated, Germanicus buried the remains of his countrymen, which were still covering the ground, and then returned to the coast. During his voyage along the Frisian shore to the mouth of the Rhine, his fleet suffered severely from storms; and A. Caecina, who on his return to *Castra Vetera* was pursued by the Germans, likewise sustained considerable loss. But Germanicus was not discouraged: in A.D. 16 he crossed the Rhine and advanced as far as the Weser, where, at a place called *Idistavisus*, he defeated Arminius, and soon after gained a second and brilliant victory. After having erected a trophy on the field of battle, the Romans returned to the Rhine—Germanicus by sea, and the legions by land. This return also was not effected without great loss of ships and men.

These victories of Germanicus and his great popularity amongst his soldiers excited the fear and suspicions of Tiberius, who was at all times unwilling to give to his generals an opportunity of distinguishing themselves at the head of their armies. Tiberius therefore resolved to leave the Germans to their internal quarrels, and recalled Germanicus, who in A.D. 17 celebrated a triumph over the Cherusci, Chatti, and Angrivarii, during which solemnity it became evident that Germanicus was the darling, not only of the army, but of the Roman people. Tiberius therefore sent him to the east, where Parthia and Armenia were in commotion in

consequence of the dethronement of Vonones, king of the Parthians, by Artabanus. At the same time, Tiberius sent out Cn. Piso, a personal enemy of Germanicus, as governor of Syria, with secret instructions, it was supposed, to thwart Germanicus. Plancina, Piso's wife, assisted her husband, and annoyed Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, who accompanied him in all his campaigns, whenever she had the opportunity. Germanicus, though well aware of all this, devoted himself most earnestly to the objects of his mission: he placed the crown of Armenia on the head of Zeno, made Cappadocia a Roman province, and left Q. Servaeus, in command of an army in Commagene. He afterwards satisfied his noble curiosity and love of knowledge by a visit to the wondrous country of Egypt, where he sailed up the Nile from Canopus to Syene; but this excursion gave great offence to Tiberius, since no Roman of rank was allowed to visit Egypt without the emperor's permission. On his return to Syria, Germanicus found everything neglected, and the enmity between him and Piso openly declared. Soon afterwards, Germanicus was taken ill, and died in the neighbourhood of Antioch, A.D. 19, probably of poison which had been administered to him by Piso and his wife. His death was the cause of great grief to every one, except Tiberius, who alone showed no symptom of regret. Piso was afterwards accused of the murder of Germanicus, but the investigation was stopped by the sudden death of Piso, which was perhaps caused by the command of Tiberius: he may have dreaded the disclosures which might be made; but the suspicion of Piso's guilt remained unshaken.

In A.D. 19, Drusus, the only son of Tiberius, by Vipsania, commanded an army on the Danube, the expedition being intended to humble the Marcomannian king, Maroboduus. Catualda, a young prince of the neighbouring tribe of the Gothones, probably in concert with the Romans, attacked the capital of Maroboduus in Bohemia, and made himself master of it. Maroboduus now took refuge with the Romans, and Tiberius permitted him to spend the remainder of his life at Ravenna in Italy. The Romans

left Bohemia in the hands of Catualda, who, however, was soon afterwards expelled from his kingdom, and was ordered by the Romans to take up his abode at Forum Julium (Frejus) in the south of Gaul. About the same time insurrections broke out in Gaul, in consequence of the heavy taxes which the people had to pay. In the country of the Treviri, the rebels were headed by Julius Florus, and in that of the Aedui by Julius Sacrovir; but in A.D. 21, the legate, C. Silius, easily subdued the insurgents, and took possession of Augustodunum, which had been the principal seat of the war. The peace of the province of Africa was disturbed by the Numidian Tacfarinas, but it was soon restored by a nephew of Sejanus, C. Junius Blaesus, who in A.D. 22 gained a victory over Tacfarinas. In A.D. 28 the Frisians, being iniquitously oppressed by the Romans, revolted, and recovered their independence, the legate L. Apronius being unable to subdue them.

With these exceptions the reign of Tiberius was not disturbed by foreign enemies, and its history is almost confined to the emperor's proceedings at home. He well knew that, during the long reign of his predecessor, the people had gradually lost their interest in political matters, and he could therefore without any risk venture to transfer the functions which had till then belonged to the assembly of the people, to the senate, which at the same time became the highest criminal court to inquire into all offences committed against the state. The senate in its abject servility sanctioned everything which the emperor wished; and the readier it was to submit to his caprices and arbitrary measures, the further he went in abusing his power, and the more boldly and openly did he carry out his tyrannical designs. Hitherto the crime of high-treason (*crimen majestatis*) had been regarded as a crime against the people or the republic; but Tiberius declared guilty of it every one who either by deed, speech, or writing, should offend the majesty of his person. Things of a similar kind had occurred in the reign of Augustus, but under Tiberius the whole proceedings were reduced to a perfect system, the

regulations of which entered into the most minute details. This measure called forth at once a host of denouncers (*delatores*), who formed a sort of secret police against whom no person of virtue or wealth was safe, and who in their turn increased the emperor's timidity, and the suspicion with which he looked upon every one. Many of the best and noblest citizens fell victims to these informers; for the senate gradually got into the habit of condemning every one that was brought before them, and of looking to nothing but the emperor's pleasure. During the first six years of his reign, things went on pretty evenly, for he felt constrained to assume a certain moderation in his conduct: he took pains with his appearance when he came into public, treated great men with distinction, and kept a strict economy in the finances of the empire; but after the death of Germanicus, of whom he had been afraid, he gradually began to give the reins to his evil passions. He had no friend whatever, for he knew no one whom he could trust; and the only being for whom he had any regard was his mother Livia, of whom he stood in awe down to her death, in A.D. 29, though real affection between them had ceased to exist many years before.

One man, however, M. Aelius Sejanus, discovered the means of gaining his sovereign's confidence: his character was very like that of his master. He was appointed prefect of the praetorian guards, and was a person of great talent and activity; but his powers were employed for evil purposes, and he could be as servile as he was naturally proud and ambitious. He maintained himself in his influential position from A.D. 20 to A.D. 31. He alone knew how to convince the emperor that he could follow his own inclinations with more impunity than he imagined, and he was thus a most convenient adviser for Tiberius. During the period of his influence, he was the instrument of the emperor's despotism in a series of revolting crimes and cruelties; nor did Tiberius, who was otherwise extremely jealous, ever attempt to curtail his powers, which were rendered more formidable to every one by the military force he had at his command. In order to

have his soldiery ever ready at hand, he prevailed upon Tiberius, in A.D. 23, to assemble all the praetorian cohorts in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they were stationed in the castra praetoria, which formed a kind of citadel for the city. This measure was productive of the most direful consequences to the future destiny of the empire, as the soldiers gradually learnt that they had in reality all power in their own hands. A plan was formed by Sejanus to get rid of all the relatives of his master, and by this means to secure the succession to himself. In order to gain his end with perfect safety, he persuaded the emperor, who knew no enjoyment except that of sensual lust, to withdraw, in A.D. 26, from Rome to Capua, thence to Nola, and finally to the island of Capreae (Capri), in the Bay of Naples, the access to which was guarded by a military force. There the tyrant unseen and undisturbed abandoned himself to the most disgusting sensual pleasures, and sometimes amused himself with inflicting the cruelest tortures upon those whom the senate had condemned.

The period at which Tiberius withdrew to Capreae, is the beginning of the most frightful portion of his reign, for Sejanus now ruled at Rome as if he had been the monarch of the empire, and forthwith set about carrying his plans into effect. Drusus Caesar, the only son of Tiberius by his first wife Vipsania, was the presumptive heir: in cunning and dissimulation he was not inferior to his father; but as he had distinguished himself in the war in Germany, Tiberius showed him marks of great favour. In A.D. 28, Sejanus, who had entered into an adulterous intercourse with Livia the wife of Drusus, got rid of him by poison, in order that he might marry Livia. Tiberius, who was ignorant of the cause of his son's death, bore it with that cool equanimity which is in most cases a proof of the total absence of natural affection and feeling. Sejanus, unconcerned about everything else, prosecuted his plan with unremitting zeal; the persons against whom his deadly weapons were next directed were those of the family of Germanicus, Agrippina and her three sons. In

A.D. 29, Sejanus caused Agrippina and two of her sons, Nero and Drusus, to be exiled: Nero was soon got rid of; and in A.D. 33, Agrippina and Drusus were killed by starvation. Caius (afterwards the emperor Caligula), the youngest son, alone escaped; and by his cunning flatteries he even induced Tiberius to admit him into Capreae. All the friends of the family of Germanicus were put to death by the command of Sejanus, and many made away with themselves that they might not fall into his hands. The death of Livia, the aged mother of Tiberius, in A.D. 29, at length freed Sejanus from everything by which he had hitherto been restrained. But his increasing arrogance at last roused the fear and suspicion of Tiberius; and when Antonia, the aged mother of Germanicus, opened his eyes to the conduct of his favourite, he addressed a letter to the senate, in which he accused Sejanus of high treason. When the letter was read, all were filled with delight at the fall of the monster. Macro arrested Sejanus, and the senate, ever ready to obey, condemned him to death. After he was executed, the populace dragged his body into the Tiber: all his friends and relatives were put to death by the most cruel tortures, and their property was confiscated. Apicata, the former wife of Sejanus, then revealed his murder of the emperor's son Drusus. Macro, a man who had all the vices of Sejanus without any of his redeeming qualities, and had distinguished himself in apprehending him and in taking vengeance on his family, was soon afterwards appointed praefectus praetorio. Macro's rule was as tyrannical as that of his predecessor, and no citizen was safe: he exercised the same influence over Tiberius, and was as faithless to him as his predecessor had been. The emperor himself became more mistrustful, misanthropic, and cruel than before. Caius Caesar now formed with Macro a connection of the basest kind, the object of it being to get rid of Tiberius, who had latterly withdrawn from Capreae to a villa near Misenum, which had once belonged to Lucullus. His debauches and perpetual fears had exhausted him, and thrown him into a state of lethargy; and as no one

thought that he would recover, Caius was forthwith proclaimed emperor. But Tiberius came to life again, and as it was feared that he would take terrible vengeance for the hasty proclamation of a new sovereign, Macro, in order to save himself and Caius, caused his aged master to be suffocated with beds and pillows, in March A.D. 37, when he had reached the age of 78. The news of his death was received at Rome with the greatest joy, and many called out "Down with his body to the Tiber."

In estimating the character of Tiberius, we must distinguish between two periods; for during his reign he scarcely ever displayed any of the great qualities which he had manifested during the earlier part of his life. After his accession he became worse and worse, and in his old age his conduct was perfectly contemptible and disgusting.

CHAPTER XLIII.

C. CALIGULA—CLAUDIUS.

CAIUS CAESAR,¹ the son of the noble-minded Germanicus and Agrippina, raised the greatest hopes in the breast of every Roman, for all expected that he would resemble his father in character, as he did in the lineaments of his countenance; and his accession was hailed by the people with enthusiastic joy. The soldiers proclaimed him, and the senate readily conferred the sovereign power upon him, without heeding the will of Tiberius, who had made his own grandson the co-heir of Caius. Caius was now only 25 years old, and Tiberius, with whom he had ingratiated himself by his flattery and cunning servility, had conferred upon him the highest distinctions. For some time the enthusiasm of the people appeared to be justified, for his first actions showed great moderation and even generosity: he recalled many persons from exile, refused to listen to the delatores, abolished the tax levied on goods exposed for sale, allowed the administration of justice to take its fair course, and even restored the comitia, of which the people had been deprived by Tiberius. He further amused the people with splendid games, though by his extravagant liberality and his donations to the populace he exhausted the well-stocked treasury which his predecessor had left. He performed the duties of an affectionate relative in solemnly burying the remains of his mother and brother who had died in exile, but he forgave with too much indifference all those who had been instrumental in bringing about their fall.

¹ He is commonly called Caligula, a nick-name which he received as a boy in the camp of his father, and

which is derived from *caligae*, a sort of boots worn by the soldiers.

This happy state of things had scarcely lasted eight months, when he was seized with an illness, probably the consequence of his irregular mode of living, for he seems to have always been, in fact, of a savage and voluptuous disposition, which, however, he carefully concealed. In bodily health he recovered, but his mental powers seem to have been destroyed, and from that moment he was an altered man. His actions thenceforth were those of a complete madman: he yielded to all the secret and savage passions of his soul, without any control being exercised over them either by himself or by others. He immediately ordered Tiberius, the grandson of his predecessor to be put to death, alleging that he had wished him not to recover from his illness; and his own friends, who had vowed their lives for his recovery, were compelled to carry their vows into effect by making away with themselves. He commanded also his grandmother Antonia, Macro, the prefect of the praetorian guards, and Macro's wife, Ennia Naevia, to put an end to their lives. His thirst for blood increasing with the number of his victims, murder with him became a matter of pleasure and amusement. But this was not his only vice: his cruelty was equalled by his voluptuousness and obscenity. He had first lived in an incestuous intercourse with his sister Drusilla, and when she died, A.D. 38, he wandered about Italy bewailing her loss like an insane person, and paying divine honours to her. He afterwards married Lollia, a woman of immense wealth, whom he soon abandoned; in her place he took Caesonia for his wife, and she contrived to retain her influence over him. But his licentiousness and profligacy were so great, that no Roman lady was safe against his attacks. He at length went so far in his madness, as to declare himself a god; and he would often appear in the streets of Rome in the disguise of Bacchus, Apollo, Venus, or Diana, and command the people to worship him. The wealthiest Romans were appointed his priests, a dignity for which they had to pay large sums of money. He even conferred the consulship upon his favourite horse Incitatus.

The sums of money which he squandered surpass almost all belief: one specimen may suffice to show the senseless manner in which he spent it. He ordered a bridge to be constructed between Baiae and Puteoli, a distance of upwards of three miles, for no other purpose but that he might be able to boast of having walked over the sea as over dry land; because some astrologer had once declared that there was as little chance of Caligula's succeeding to the throne, as there was of his walking across the bay. The regular revenues of the empire not being sufficient to afford him the means for the execution of his wild schemes, he sold his own estates by public auction, imposed unheard-of taxes, and had recourse to robbery and every kind of extortion; in short, there were no means however base and degrading which he did not employ for the purpose of getting money. When Rome and Italy were exhausted, being obliged to seek other resources, he marched in A.D. 39, with a large army across the Alps into Gaul, under the pretext of a war against the Germans, but in reality with a view to extort money from the Gauls, the wealthiest of whom were put to death that he might obtain possession of their property. When he came to the Rhine, he ordered some of the Germans who served in his body-guard to cross the river and hide themselves: he then caused messengers to bring him information that the enemy was there; whereupon, he suddenly sprung up from his meal, and with a detachment of his guards hurried across the river, cut down some trees, and in the evening returned with the Germans whom he had found in their hiding place, and whom he treated as prisoners of war. In A.D. 40, he set out on an expedition into Britain, and marched to the coast. He then sailed out into the sea a short distance, and afterwards ordered his soldiers to collect shells on the beach, which he called the spoils of the ocean. After having committed in Gaul the most horrible cruelties, he returned to Rome, where his absurd self-deification must have convinced every one of his madness. Actors, gladiators, and prostitutes, were now his favourite companions.

A conspiracy had been formed against this monster as early as A.D. 39, by Lentulus Gaetulicus and M. Lepidus, but it was discovered and the two leaders were put to death: at the same time his two sisters, Julia and Agrippina, were sent into exile as guilty of adultery, and as privy to the conspiracy. Another plot was subsequently formed against him by some officers of the praetorian cohorts, a body of troops which, until then, had kept Rome under the most terrific military despotism, and which had always been most liberally treated by Caligula. This new conspiracy was headed by Cassius Chaerea, Cornelius Sabinus, and others; and four months after the emperor's return from Gaul, on the 24th January, A.D. 41, he was murdered in his own palace while he was attending the rehearsal of some actors who were to perform in the theatre. His wife Caesonia, and his daughters, were likewise murdered; and the corpse of the emperor, which was only half burned, was secretly buried by his friends.

Some of his murderers seem to have been actuated by a republican spirit, and this suggested among the senators the fantastic idea of restoring the republic. The matter was gravely and warmly discussed; but insurmountable difficulties presented themselves, and the senators soon became aware that in reality the praetorian cohorts had all the power in their own hands: the latter on their part insisted upon being governed by a monarch. During the tumult in which Caligula was murdered, Tib. Claudius Drusus Nero, the son of Drusus and Antonia, and the brother of Germanicus, concealed himself in the palace from fear of being seized upon by the conspirators; but being discovered there by the praetorians, they dragged him forth from his concealment, proclaimed him emperor, took the oath of allegiance to him, and on the following day he was recognised by the senate and people. Claudius was born on the 1st of August, B.C. 10, and had now arrived at the age of 51. He was of a sickly constitution from his childhood, and his own mother is said to have called him a *portentum hominis*. His mind seems to have been really defective, for all his actions showed a remarkable want of tact and judgment;

and in consequence of this natural defect he was ill-treated by his whole family, who were in fact ashamed of him. Claudius felt this contempt keenly, and sought comfort and recreation in literary pursuits, in which he displayed great industry and diligence. His cowardice, and the timidity which overcame him whenever he attempted to do any thing in public, were the results of the ill-treatment he had experienced in his early years. It cannot, indeed, be denied that during his reign he committed many acts of cruelty, but they were the consequence of weakness and imbecility rather than of wickedness or malice, and he certainly does not deserve to be called a tyrant.

Up to the time of his accession, Claudius had never taken any part in public affairs, though he had several times been invested with the consulship. On his accession he gave a donation of nearly one hundred pounds to each soldier of the praetorian cohorts, which was the first example of what afterwards became a regular custom on the accession of a new emperor. His first act was the proclamation of an amnesty for all who had attempted to restore the republic; and only a few of the murderers of Caligula were put to death. His next measures show the same kind and amiable disposition, and are a proof that if he had been left alone, or had been guided by honest advisers, his government would have afforded little ground for complaint. But his natural timidity being abused and increased by those who surrounded him, led him into a series of cruel actions, for which he is branded in history as a tyrant. He was very unhappy in his marriages. His first wife, Plautia Urgulanilla, by whom he had two children, Drusus and Claudia, was suspected of having made an attempt upon his life, in consequence of which she was divorced. He then married Aelia Petina, who was likewise dismissed soon afterwards. At the time of his accession he was married to his third wife, the profligate Valeria Messalina. Having been always shut up within the walls of the palace, he had no friends except his wives and his freedmen; and being of an affectionate disposition, and feeling the want of unfolding his heart to some

one, the persons with whom he lived in daily intercourse, acquired unlimited influence over him. Messalina, and the freedmen Narcissus, Pallas, Callistus, and others, thus persuaded him to put to death many of the most distinguished persons of the time ; and the number of their victims was increased, in A.D. 42, on the discovery of a conspiracy which had been formed by Annius Vinicianus, and Camillus Scribonianus, the governor of Dalmatia. In A.D. 48, Messalina went so far in her profligacy as publicly to solemnise her marriage with C. Silius, a handsome young Roman eques. This was more than Claudius could brook, and he accordingly ordered her to be put to death. Through the intrigues of his freedmen he was now induced to marry his niece Agrippina, a daughter of Germanicus ; a choice worse, if possible, than any of the former ones. Agrippina and Pallas prevailed upon him to set aside his own son Britannicus by Messalina, and to adopt Nero, Agrippina's son by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, in order to insure to Nero the succession to the sovereignty. The philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca, who had been exiled, was now recalled to educate Nero, and to prepare him for his high station. In order to secure the praetorian cohorts, Agrippina caused their prefect, who was favourably disposed towards the children of Messalina, to be removed, and got Burrus Afranius appointed in his stead. Burrus, who was initiated in her plans, and was a man of great talent, undertook, with Seneca, the training of young Nero. At length, when Claudius saw through these intrigues and openly expressed his dissatisfaction, Agrippina hastened to secure the succession for her son by the murder of her husband. Locusta, a woman well skilled in preparing poisons, was hired by her to prepare a poisoned dish of mushrooms, of which the emperor was very fond ; but as it produced only vomiting, the physician Xenophon, under the pretext of attempting to ease the vomiting, put a quill dipped in poison down the throat of Claudius, which caused his death on the 13th of October, A.D. 54.

The government of Claudius, in so far as he was not under the influence of his wives and freedmen, was mild and popular, and

he made several useful legislative enactments. Besides his literary occupations, he was extremely fond of building; and several architectural plans, which had been devised by his predecessors but abandoned as impracticable, were carried out by him. He thus constructed the celebrated Claudian aqueduct (*aqua Claudia*), built a new fort with a lighthouse at Ostia, and conducted the waters of lake Fucinus, by means of a tunnel, into the river Liris. With regard to his literary productions, we have great reason to regret the loss of these works; for though none of them may have had much merit as literary compositions, yet he wrote in so honest and straight-forward a spirit that he was censured for it by his own relatives. He composed a history of his own times, memoirs of his life, and, in the Greek language, histories of Carthage and Etruria.

During his reign several wars were carried on in Britain, Germany, Syria, and Mauritania. The disputes respecting the succession in Parthia and Armenia after the death of Artabanus, being artificially kept up by the Romans, led to the Parthian wars, which broke out in A.D. 50, and were carried on under Claudius and Nero, the Parthians endeavouring, by all means, to make themselves masters of Armenia. In Germany the war was continued from the beginning of Claudius' reign against the Chauci and Marsians, who were severally defeated by the Roman legates. After the death of Arminius quarrels also broke out among the Cherusicans and other tribes, of which the Romans made the most advantageous use, and in which the noblest German families perished. As Italicus, a son of Arminius' brother Flavius, the only person of the kingly family still surviving, lived at Rome, the Cherusicans, in A.D. 47 applied to Claudius for a king, and he generously sent them Italicus, reminding him of his duties towards his own country and people. Italicus gained considerable popularity, but a discontented faction compelled him to take to flight: he was restored by the aid of the Longobardi, but still the state of the Cherusicans was violently shaken by these commotions. In the same year, Domitius Corbulo was successful

in the north-west of Germany: he subdued the Frisians, and was on the point of invading the interior of the country, when Claudius ordered him to withdraw his garrisons from the eastern bank of the Rhine. Corbulo accordingly confined himself to the defence of the left bank, and employed his soldiers in cutting a canal to connect the Meuse and the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Düsseldorf. In A.D. 50 the capital of the Ubii, in which Agrippina had been born, was raised by Claudius to the rank of a colony, under the name of Colonia Agrippina (Cologne): it remained thenceforth the chief town in lower Germany, and *Castra Vetera* sank into insignificance.

In A.D. 42 the Mauritians, who had revolted the year before, were subdued by the legate Cn. Hosidius, and their country was constituted a Roman province, being divided into two parts, the one called Tingitana and the other *Caesariensis*, each being governed by a Roman eques. No Roman army had entered Britain since the days of Julius Caesar, but a noble Briton of the name of *Bericus*, who had been expelled by his countrymen, prevailed upon Claudius to undertake the conquest of the island; and accordingly, in A.D. 43, a Roman army, under the command of A. Plautius Silvanus, invaded Britain. Claudius himself followed soon afterwards, but not being of a warlike disposition, and having obtained an opportunity of celebrating a triumph, he speedily returned. His legate, however, defeated the Britons on the river Thames, and took their town of *Camalodunum*. The war continued for nine years, during which *Vespasian* (afterwards emperor), who commanded one legion and was accompanied by his son *Titus*, made such progress, that he is said to have fought thirty battles, taken possession of the Isle of Wight, subdued several tribes and occupied twenty towns. *Caractacus*, a chief of the tribe of the *Silures*, and the valiant defender of British liberty, made the greatest efforts to repel the enemy; but he was overcome by the superior skill of the Romans: his wife and daughters fell into the hands of the conquerors, and his brothers surrendered. He then sought the protection of *Cartismandua*,

queen of the Brigantes, but she betrayed him, and delivered him up to the Romans, in A.D. 51. The British chief and his family were carried to Rome and exhibited there in a sort of triumph; but the conduct of Caractacus was so noble and intrepid, that Claudius was induced to pardon him and his friends. The south-eastern part of Britain was now constituted a Roman province.

In the beginning of his reign Claudius restored Agrippa to his grandfather's kingdom of Judaea and Samaria; but after Agrippa's death, in A.D. 44, the administration of the country was again entrusted to Roman governors, whose acts of oppression drove the people to repeated insurrections, which at last ended in the destruction of Jerusalem.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NERO—SERV. SULPICIOUS GALBA—SALVIUS OTHO—A. VITELLIUS.

FOR some time after the murder of Claudius, Agrippina kept his death a secret; but all at once the gates of the palace were thrown open, and her son Nero was presented by Burrus to the praetorian guards as their master. On being carried to the praetorian camp, and promising the soldiers rich donations, Nero was proclaimed emperor. The senate confirmed the decision, and the people quietly submitted. Nero was born at Antium, on the 15th December, A.D. 37, and was now only seventeen years old: he was naturally not devoid of talent and taste, but he had been brought up at a voluptuous court, and in the midst of intrigues, by his mother, a woman full of malice and ambition; he had been trained by Seneca and Burrus, two men anxious to obtain the favour of the court and to accumulate wealth; and he found himself, on his accession, surrounded by a servile people, flattered by the senate and a host of friends who were ready to applaud every folly and crime, or at least to excuse any thing he might choose to do. Under such circumstances the beginning of his reign was not worse than might have been anticipated; and if his inclination to debauchery and his vanity had been checked in time, his reign might have been happier. The first five years of it, in fact, formed, as it was, so striking a contrast with the remaining period, that in later times the *quinquennium* of Nero was looked upon as one of the most prosperous periods of the empire. During that time Nero reduced the taxes of the provinces, counteracted the love of luxuries, and raised the authority of the senate, while Seneca and

Burrus endeavoured to suppress any dangerous outbreak of his passions; but his ambitious and domineering mother wished to govern, and in some instances actually did so, in her son's name; and as Burrus and Seneca opposed her designs, it became manifest that the struggle must end in the destruction either of Agrippina or of her opponents. The jealousy between Agrippina and her son soon broke out into an open quarrel, and she threatened to support the claims of Britannicus the son of Claudius, and to raise him to the throne. Nero's fears now drove him to commit a crime which at once revealed his real character: he ordered Britannicus, a boy scarcely fourteen years old, to be poisoned at an entertainment, at which Agrippina herself, and Nero's wife Octavia, the virtuous daughter of Claudius and Messalina, were present. His associates, his amours with Acte a freedwoman, his lascivious and dissolute habits, and his excessive fondness for theatrical amusements, thenceforth corrupted him more and more. He had never loved his wife Octavia, and his aversion to her increased from the moment he became acquainted with the beautiful but dissolute Poppaea Sabina, the wife of his friend Salvius Otho, who connived at her conduct, and was easily got out of the way by being made governor of Lusitania in Spain, A.D. 58. Nero's passion for this woman was probably the cause of his murdering his mother, for as Poppaea Sabina wanted to marry him, she prevailed upon him to get rid of Agrippina, who was an insurmountable obstacle to this scheme. A plan for this purpose was devised by Anicetus, the commander of the fleet at Misenum. Agrippina, under pretence of a reconciliation with Nero, was invited to come to Baiae; on arriving she was put on board a boat, which was constructed in such a manner as to fall to pieces at a certain distance from the coast. But Agrippina saved herself by swimming, and went to her villa on the Lucrine lake, where she was assassinated by Nero's command, and with the approbation of Burrus and Seneca. The base and servile senate even degraded itself by congratulating the matricide on the accomplishment of this feat. Nero was soon seized with

bitter remorse, but he drowned all his better feelings by fresh riots and the most extravagant debauchery, and the flatteries of the senate helped him to forget his crime.

One of his favourite occupations was chariot driving ; but his ambition was to get credit as a musician, an actor and a poet. After the death of Burrus, probably by poison, and the withdrawal of Seneca in A.D. 62, Nero began to feel more at liberty : he banished his wife Octavia to the island of Pandataria, where she was soon afterwards murdered, and then married the adulteress Poppaea Sabina. Tigellinus, a most licentious and unprincipled person, being appointed prefect of the praetorian cohorts, as the successor of Burrus, contrived to gain the full confidence of the despot. In A.D. 64, a dreadful conflagration broke out at Rome, which lasted for six days, and in which by far the greater part of the city and its monuments became a prey to the flames : it was believed that this destruction was the work of Nero, who wanted to see a vivid representation of the burning of Troy. This belief may have originated in a piece of scandal, without any foundation : the emperor, however, attributed the calamity to the yet obscure sect of the Christians, against whom he instituted a cruel persecution. Soon after the conflagration he set about re-building the city on an improved plan, and with wider and more regular streets. The means for carrying out this undertaking were obtained by oppression, extortion, and robbery. His own palace, called the golden house, was built on a scale of magnitude, and with a splendour which were unrivalled. The idle populace was kept in good humour by being fed and amused with the spoils of the provinces, which were plundered to such an extent that the empire was brought to the verge of dissolution.

In A.D. 65, Nero's tyranny led to the organisation of a formidable conspiracy against him, which was headed by L. Calpurnius Piso ; but it was discovered and betrayed by a freedman, Mili-chus, and the discovery was followed by a number of executions. Piso, the poet Lucan, and many others, were put to death ; and

Seneca, who was suspected of being an accomplice, had the favour of being allowed to die by opening his own veins. After this followed the death of Poppaea Sabina: while she was with child, Nero, in a fit of brutal passion, kicked her, the consequence of which was fatal. He now wanted to marry Antonia, a daughter of Claudius, but as she declined the honour she was put to death; he then married Statilia Messalina, with whom he had before kept up an adulterous intercourse, and whose husband he had killed. Virtue, in whatever form it appeared, was an object of the tyrant's fear and hatred, to which many of the noblest and most respected persons fell a sacrifice. In A.D. 66, Tiridates, king of Armenia, came to Rome to receive his crown from the hands of Nero; and the year after this solemnity, Nero went to Greece to take part as a cithara player in the great games at Olympia and on the Isthmus. At the Isthmian games he proclaimed the freedom of Greece; but the country had to pay dearly for this visit of the sovereign; towns and temples were plundered, and the price of provisions rose to an enormous height. A singer, whose voice was louder than that of the emperor, was put to death. The aged general Corbulo, one of the few who still deserved the name of Romans, was summoned in an affectionate letter to come to Greece; he obeyed, but when he was informed that Nero had given orders to kill him, he anticipated the tyrant by making away with himself. It would be disgusting and tedious to go through the long catalogue of Nero's crimes and follies, and we must refer those who wish to become acquainted with all the details, to Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dion Cassius.

In the autumn of A.D. 67, Nero was recalled from Greece by his freedman Helius, whom he had entrusted with the administration of the city in his absence. On entering Rome in triumph he exhibited the numerous crowns, with which the flattery of the Greeks had honoured him. Not many months after his return, in A.D. 68, an insurrection headed by Julius Vindex broke out in Gaul, in consequence of the grievous oppression to which that country had been subjected. Vindex, who soon

had a large army at his command, offered the sovereignty to Servius Galba, who was governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, and was very popular with the soldiers. As Galba learnt at the same time that Nero had sent orders to put him to death, he harangued the soldiers against the tyrant, and was proclaimed emperor, though he assumed only the title of legate of the Roman senate and people. Nero was at Naples when he received intelligence of the commotion in Gaul, but he gave himself little concern about it; when, however, he returned to Rome and was informed of the proclamation of Galba, the news threw him into a violent fit of passion: the senate declared Galba a public enemy. Verginius Rufus, governor of Upper Germany, being unfavourable to Galba's elevation, marched with an army into Gaul, and being supported by a great part of that country laid siege to Vesontio (Besançon). Vindex came to its relief, and the two generals had an interview, at which an amicable arrangement seems to have been made; but by some misunderstanding Vindex was killed, whereupon the soldiers proclaimed Verginius Rufus emperor, but he steadily refused to accept the dignity. Owing to these circumstances, Galba was beginning to lose all hopes, when he received from Rome the unexpected news that the praetorians recognised him as their ruler. Nero's ruin was accelerated by a famine which was raging at Rome, and by the exertions which he made to raise the means for attacking his enemies. Nymphidius Sabinus, who with Tigellinus was the commander of the praetorian cohorts, availed himself of a report, that Nero was going to take refuge in Egypt, to induce the praetorians to proclaim Galba. Nero was soon deserted by every body: in the night he fled from Rome to the house of Phaon, one of his freedmen, where he spent a whole day in fear and terror: when his pursuers found him, he, with the help of his secretary Epaphroditus, gave himself a mortal wound, of which he expired on the 9th of June A.D. 68, at the age of 31. With him became extinct the house of the Claudii, which had hitherto claimed a sort of right to the imperial dignity, though the

hereditary character of the monarchy had never been legally established. The subsequent rulers and heirs to the throne retained the titles of Augustus and Caesar; but the praetorian guards thenceforth assumed the right of electing their sovereign, and the sanction of the senate became a mere ceremony. The legions in the distant provinces also began to feel that they might exercise the same prerogative, and frequently raised men to the throne in opposition to those proclaimed by the praetorian guards.

Armenia had fallen into the hands of the Parthians in the beginning of Nero's reign, and in A.D. 54 Domitius Corbulo had been sent thither to conduct the war. This able general compelled the Parthian Vologeses to withdraw from the country; and Tiridates, the brother of Vologeses, who had been made king of Armenia, was expelled in A.D. 58. Two years later Corbulo took the towns of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, whereby he became complete master of Armenia, and Nero now conferred the kingly dignity upon Tigranes; whereupon Corbulo withdrew to Syria, leaving some troops to protect the new king. But in A.D. 61 the affairs of Armenia were again troubled: the Parthians invaded the country, with the intention of recovering the throne for Tiridates. Corbulo's successor, L. Caesennius Paetus, being unable to maintain his ground was obliged to evacuate Armenia, and Tiridates again ascended the throne, but under a promise that he himself would go to Rome to obtain the sanction of Nero. This took place in A.D. 66.

In the early part of Nero's reign, affairs were tolerably quiet on the Rhenish frontier: various useful works were executed there to prevent the river overflowing its banks, and L. Vetus formed the grand design of uniting the Saone and the Moselle by a canal, which would at once have opened an unbroken line of water communication between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean, but his plan was frustrated by the jealousy of Aelius Gracilis. In Britain, the oppressive yoke of the Romans and their rapacity called forth an alarming insurrection in A.D. 61.

While the governor Suetonius Paulinus was absent on an expedition to the island of Mona, for the purpose of destroying that principal seat of the British religion, the people, under their heroic queen Boadicea, took up arms: one Roman legion was wholly destroyed, and the most important colonies were taken and reduced to ashes. Paulinus, however, speedily returned and defeated the insurgents in a great battle in which about 80,000 Britons are said to have fallen. Boadicea put an end to her own life; but either the Romans were unable to bring the war to a close, or Petronius Turpilianus, the successor of Paulinus, preferred a peaceful administration to the labours and toils of war. At the time when Nero was enjoying his triumphs in Greece, the whole nation of the Jews rose in arms against their Roman oppressors, and the proconsul, Cestius Gallus, with his army, was put to flight; whereupon in A.D. 67, Nero appointed Vespasian, who had already distinguished himself in Britain, to conduct the Jewish war with three legions; and made Licinius Mucianus governor of the province of Syria.

The extinction of the race of the Claudii was followed by disputes about the succession and by civil wars, there being no one who had any legal claim to the throne. Servius Sulpicius Galba, on being informed of his proclamation and recognition by the senate, came to Rome accompanied by Salvius Otho, the governor of Lusitania. Galba was descended from an ancient and noble family, and had been invested with the highest dignities; he had been governor of Aquitania, Africa, Upper Germany, and latterly of Hispania Tarraconensis, of which he had conducted the administration for a period of eight years. He had been a distinguished general and a man of unblemished character; but he was now at the advanced age of 73, and had come under the influence of his unworthy freedmen. The praetorians had been gained over to his interest by the promise of rich donatives; but his avarice, which prompted him to give them with a niggardly hand, and his severity in restoring and maintaining discipline among the soldiers, made him extremely unpopular.

The arbitrary manner moreover in which he acted under the influence of his three favourite freedmen, T. Vinius, Cornelius Laco, and Icelus, showed that his reign would not be much better than that of Nero. The legions in Germany and Africa having openly declared their dissatisfaction with him, he forthwith commanded their generals to be put to death, and appointed A. Vitellius, a noble but vulgar and vicious man, to undertake the command of the legions on the Rhine. There can be no doubt that Galba intended, by his unpopular measures, to restore order and discipline, and to do good service to the empire; but he was blind to the real cause of his unpopularity: attributing it to his old age, and to his having no heir, he adopted Pius Licinianus, a noble young Roman, who was to be his coadjutor and successor. But by this act he only increased his unpopularity: for when he presented his adopted son to the senate, and to the praetorians, he neglected to give the latter the donative customary on such occasions. Salvius Otho, the effeminate and contemptible husband of Poppaea Sabina, who had hoped to be adopted himself, actuated by disappointment formed a conspiracy with the praetorians, over whom he exercised almost unbounded influence. This conspiracy broke out six days after the adoption of Licinianus. Galba, not knowing for some time what to do, at last resolved to meet the rebels; but as he was crossing the forum he was cut down by some horsemen who had been waiting for him. An attack was also made upon the life of Licinianus, but the faithful and courageous centurion, Sempronius Drusus, warded off the deadly blow. Licinianus then took refuge in the temple of Vesta, from which, however, he was dragged forth and murdered, and many more of Galba's friends shared his fate. Galba reigned from June A.D. 68 to January A.D. 69.

Salvius Otho, who had been proclaimed by the praetorians, was now saluted emperor by the servile senate; and through the blood-stained streets of the city he proceeded to the Capitol to offer up the customary sacrifice. The praetorians, who now had an emperor of their own choice, even assumed the exercise

of the supreme power, for they appointed their own commander, and gave the office of praefect of the city to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian. Otho was at this time scarcely able to prevent them from making a general massacre among the senators, who were suspected of being dissatisfied with their choice. It seems, however, that he had soon afterwards so far recovered his power, that he was enabled to distribute rewards and punishments as he thought fit; and some of the criminals who had distinguished themselves in the reign of Nero and had escaped punishment, such as Tigellinus, were put to death. In the meantime, on the second of January, A.D. 69, the legions of the Rhine, which were dissatisfied with Galba's rule, had proclaimed their own commander, A. Vitellius, emperor; and it was in vain that Otho endeavoured by negotiations to prevent the outbreak of a civil war. A dreadful struggle now ensued between Otho and Vitellius. The latter sent his legates, A. Caecina and Fabius Valens, with an army across the Alps, with which they occupied the country between the Alps and the river Po. Otho sent an army under the command of his brother Titianus against the enemy; he was victorious in several engagements, but lost the decisive battle near Bedriacum, between Verona and Cremona. Otho was advised by his friends not to despair, but to await the arrival of the legions from Moesia; but it was all in vain, for a few days after the battle, on the 16th of April, A.D. 69, he made away with himself at Brixellum, advising his friends to become reconciled to Vitellius.

Otho's army now surrendered to Vitellius, a man whose disposition was perhaps not bad, but whose manners were brutal, and who was remarkable for an almost beastly voracity. With his legions, which on their march indulged in the wildest excesses, Vitellius now came to Rome, where he was recognised by the senate and people. He had spent all his life in base vulgarity, and was devoid of mental energy and resolution, squandering his own property no less than that of others upon the soldiers, who were the only persons that seemed to deserve his attention.

He connived at every thing they did, and was wholly unconcerned about the affairs of the empire. His contemptible conduct soon excited general indignation, and the legions of Syria, Judæa, Moesia, and Pannonia, declared against him. Vespasian, who was conducting the war against the revolted Jews with great success, was urged by Mucianus the governor of Syria, and by Titus, to assume the sovereignty; and during his stay at Alexandria he was proclaimed emperor by Tiberius Alexander, the governor of Egypt. He forthwith prepared for war against Vitellius, leaving his son Titus to conduct the siege of Jerusalem. Antonius Primus, the commander of the legions on the Danube, and a staunch supporter of Vespasian, without waiting for the new sovereign's commands marched with his army into Italy. In the neighbourhood of Bedriacum he met the army of Vitellius, who himself remained at Rome, unable to make up his mind what course to pursue. Antonius Primus, though his forces were far inferior in number to those of the enemy, gained a decisive victory, and the town of Cremona was plundered and reduced to ashes. He then slowly advanced towards Rome, and all the towns on his way surrendered: Vitellius was abandoned by all except the prætorians and the populace of Rome. Flavius Sabinus, Vespasian's brother, was compelled to take refuge in the Capitol. When the hostile army arrived, a frightful massacre took place in the city: the Vitellians stormed the Capitol and murdered Sabinus, and the Capitoline temple was destroyed by fire. But the prætorian camp being taken by Antonius Primus, Vitellius was dragged forth from his palace and murdered in a brutal manner, on the 20th of December, A.D. 69, after a reign of scarcely eight months. All this happened at Rome, in the absence of Vespasian, who still continued his stay at Alexandria; the affairs of Rome being regulated by Mucianus and Vespasian's son Domitian.

CHAPTER XLV.

T. FLAVIUS VESPASIANUS—TITUS—T. FLAVIUS DOMITIANUS.

VESPASIAN, who now ascended the throne as the first of the Flavian family, was the true restorer of the state : and, with all his faults, he was the very person that Rome required. He was a man of humble origin, active, industrious, and simple in his habits : he was also an able general, and had risen without any one being able to charge him with extortion or rapacity in the provinces where he had been employed, a circumstance which is the more remarkable as he is said to have been fond of money. He enjoyed the esteem of all the soldiers. He did not arrive at Rome until the end of the summer, A.D. 70, when he found the praetorians subdued by the influence of Mucianus. Domitian, who in the mean time had exercised the imperial power in his father's name, had committed several acts of tyranny and cruelty in taking vengeance on his personal enemies, and had given proofs of what Rome might expect from him should he ever come to the throne. Although Vespasian had been chosen by the armies, yet, like his predecessors, he received the imperium from the senate. He at once set about restoring discipline, excluded unworthy persons from the senate, deprived several equites of their rank, and raised the most illustrious men from the provinces, as well as from Italy, to the places which had thus become vacant. By this measure Rome virtually ceased to be the exclusive mistress of the world, inasmuch as distinguished provincials also obtained a share in the government. He further watched over the proper administration of justice, suppressed the odious class of denouncers, stopped the trials for high-treason

against the person of the sovereign, and, above all, put an end to the profligacy of the higher classes. His economy in the management of the finances often approached to parsimony, but at that period the state required large sums for its maintenance, and for the preservation of its security on the frontiers; he was liberal, however, whenever the public good required it. In order to increase the revenues, he restored to their former condition of provinces, several countries which had been declared free by Nero, and also re-imposed or increased tolls and taxes. He must have spent enormous sums upon the rebuilding of the Capitoline temple, the construction of the gigantic amphitheatre, or Colosseum, which even in its ruins excites the wonder and admiration of the beholder, and the building of the Temple of Peace and the public library. He was the first who appointed public teachers of rhetoric, with an annual salary of 100 sesterces. In private life he was very condescending, fond of wit and cheerful company, and his example, together with several enactments which he made against the disgusting habits of the wealthy Romans, produced a great change in their mode of living: what he was deficient in were the feelings of a gentleman, and of a person of education: he himself aspired to no intellectual distinction, and had a singular dislike to all persons who were any thing beyond what may be called practical men. Hence arose his aversion to philosophers, more especially to the Stoics, who, with their republican sentiments and unreserved expression of opinion, seemed to him little better than revolutionists. It was in consequence of this feeling that Helvidius Priscus, the son-in-law of the noble Pætrus Thrasea, who from the first had indulged in vehement invective against the emperor, was put to death in A.D. 74, though Vespasian declared that the execution had taken place contrary to his will: in the same year all Stoic and Cynic philosophers were expelled from Rome.

The first year of Vespasian's reign is remarkable for the capture of Jerusalem, by his son Titus. It was defended by a triple wall, and by a host of 600,000 men; but owing to the

party spirit prevailing in the city, it fell into the hands of the Romans on the 2nd of September, A.D. 70 : upwards of a million of Jews are said to have perished ; and their city was destroyed. The Jews being forbidden to re-build it, lost their independence for ever : they were scattered over the whole of the Roman empire, and every one of them had to pay an annual tax of two drachmae. Out of the money thus raised, the Capitoline temple was restored : the arch which was erected at Rome, to commemorate the victory of Titus over the Jews, still exists, and bears witness to that memorable event.

Before Vespasian's arrival at Rome, a formidable insurrection, headed by Claudius Civilis, broke out in the country of the Batavi between the rivers Meuse and Waal. The Batavi were joined by German tribes, and their example was followed by the Lingones and Treviri, under their leaders Classicus and Julius Tutor. They even compelled a Roman legion in Gaul to declare itself in favour of Gallic independence. The period of anarchy at Rome had been well chosen by the insurgents ; but the accession of Vespasian, and the energetic measures which he took, deprived them of this advantage. Petilius Cerialis was sent against the rebels ; after several engagements, in which he fought bravely, he first subdued the Treviri, and then compelled Civilis, after a two-fold defeat, to sue for peace. The Batavi now submitted to Rome, and were thenceforth obliged to pay their tribute as before.

In the following year, A.D. 71, Cerialis obtained the administration of Britain : he was accompanied thither by Cn. Julius Agricola, the son-in-law of the historian Tacitus, who had, as legate, the command of one legion. Disturbances had taken place among the Brigantes, but they were soon quelled. In A.D. 77, Agricola was himself appointed to be governor of Britain, a post which he retained until A.D. 85. During that period, he not only conquered all England, but the south of Scotland as far as the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth. He carried his victories even into the Highlands of Scotland, though without

permanently subjecting the country to Rome. His administration of Britain was less disturbed by insurrection than that of his predecessors; for by the prudence, fairness, and justice of his measures, he conciliated the Britons, and rendered the Roman dominion endurable by them.

There can be no doubt that the reign of Vespasian was extremely beneficial to the Roman world; and though he committed some acts which can scarcely be excused, still his conduct on the whole was as good as could be expected from a ruler at the time in which he lived. He had been first married to Flavia Domitilla, by whom he had three children, Titus, Domitian, and Domitilla: she died before the accession of her husband, who from that time lived in a marriage of conscience with Caenis, a woman of low birth, but good character. Towards the end of his reign, a conspiracy was formed against his life by A. Caccina and Epirus Marcellus, but it was discovered, and the ringleaders were put to death. Soon afterwards, Vespasian was taken ill at his villa near Catiliae, in the country of the Sabines, where he used to spend the summer season, and on the 23rd of June, A.D. 79, he died at the age of seventy.

Immediately after his accession, Vespasian had conferred the title of Caesar upon his son Titus, whom he destined to become his successor. During the latter period of his life, the government had in reality been in the hands of Titus; and the manner in which he had conducted himself created considerable apprehensions, turning public opinion much against him for the many acts of cruelty which he committed. But after his accession a change took place in his character: its prevailing features, during his short reign, were kindness and benevolence; and these features, which are always most highly prized in a ruler, secured him the attachment of the people to such a degree, that he was called "the love and delight of mankind," (*amor et deliciae generis humani*). This attachment increased in proportion as the people had reason to dread his brother Domitian. The reign of Titus, though short, offered him ample opportunity for showing

his kindly disposition. In the month of August, A.D. 79, there occurred a fearful eruption of Mount Vesuvius, accompanied by a violent earthquake, during which three towns situated on the Bay of Naples were destroyed, Herculaneum and Stabiae being buried under streams of burning lava, and Pompeii under masses of ashes which were thrown out by the volcano. To relieve the unfortunate people who had escaped from the catastrophe, but had lost their homes, Titus is said to have given away almost all his property. Portions of these towns, especially of Pompeii, have been disintombed in modern times, and are, to us, the most precious repositories of ancient art: they give us a clearer insight into the construction of ancient houses and towns, and into the domestic life of the ancients, than any other remains of antiquity. In the following year, an immense fire broke out at Rome, which raged for three days, and destroyed the best parts of the city, including the Campus Martius and the Capitoline temple; no sooner had this calamity passed away, than a vehement pestilence began to rage, which carried off numbers of people both at Rome and in Italy. In A.D. 81, Titus celebrated the inauguration of the Colosseum, which had been begun by his father, and of the magnificent *Thermae* which he himself had built, with most splendid games and amusements. After these solemnities he went to the country of the Sabines; where, on the 13th of September, A.D. 81, he died in the same villa in which his father had breathed his last. Common report said that his death had been caused by his brother Domitian; and all the people mourned as over the death of a father. As far as foreign countries are concerned, the reign of Titus was perfectly quiet; and, with the exception of the above-mentioned calamities, Rome enjoyed peace and comfort. Agricola was in the mean time pursuing his victorious career in Britain, where he penetrated as far as the river Tay, and fortified the frontiers between the Clyde and the Forth.

Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian, who was as unlike him as possible: he is said to have made several attempts

to kill, not only his brother, but even his father. His character had become manifest during the short period between his father's proclamation and his arrival in Italy; even at that time he lived in a sort of eastern harem, in which he gratified his lusts. His father, who knew his disposition, kept him away from public affairs as much as possible; and this example was followed by Titus, who, however, always showed him great confidence and forbearance. During the reign of his two predecessors, Domitian occupied himself with poetical and other literary compositions; but his nature was not ennobled by these pursuits. He was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers on the day of his brother's death; and during the first years of his reign things went on pretty well, for his conduct was a sort of mixture of vice and virtue: he kept a strict superintendence over the provinces, and made some useful legal enactments. He forbade, for example, the castration of male children, and restricted the excessive cultivation of the vine, whereby the growth of corn had been neglected. He also took an active part in the administration of justice; but in his later years he turned this very practice into an instrument of tyranny, for assisted by a host of informers he made justice an instrument of the most brutal cruelty and tyranny that ever disgraced a sovereign's throne. The cause of this change in his conduct, independently of his natural bias for every thing bad, appears to have been his boundless ambition, wounded pride, jealousy of others, and a fear and cowardice which were awakened and roused by the failure of his undertakings and by the busy zeal of denouncers. In order to gain the favour of the soldiers he raised their pay, while the good will of the populace was secured by games and donations; but to obtain the means necessary for these things he had recourse to confiscations, and wealthy persons were denounced as guilty of high treason for no other purpose than that the emperor might become possessed of their property.

In A.D. 84, Domitian undertook an expedition against the Chatti, which seems to have been crowned with some success.

since he constructed the frontier wall between the free Germans and those subject to Rome. Upon this he celebrated a triumph, and assumed the name of Germanicus, which appears on some of his coins. In the same year, Agricola, at the foot of the Grampians (*Mons Grampius*) gained a glorious victory over the Caledonians, who were commanded by their chief Galgacus: he also sent out an exploring expedition to examine the yet unknown coasts of Scotland; but when he was upon the point of subduing the whole country, he was recalled by Domitian, whose jealousy could not bear to see his success. Agricola returned to Rome, and spent the remaining eight years of his life in retirement, in order that he might not attract the tyrant's attention.

In A.D. 86, the warlike nation of the Dacians, under their king Decebalus, crossed over to the southern bank of the Danube, and defeated Ap. Sabinus, the legate of Moesia. Domitian himself took the field against the enemy, but he left the real management of the war to his legates, while he, reposing within a neighbouring town in Moesia, ascribed all the victories to himself, and the reverses to his generals. On the whole, the Romans were unsuccessful against the enemy. The Quadi and Marcomanni, who were bound by treaties to support the Romans, having refused to do so, Domitian in A.D. 90, marched against them; but he was defeated by them also, and the consequence was that he was obliged to conclude a humiliating peace with Decebalus. Still, on his return to Rome, he did not blush to celebrate a triumph over the Dacians, and to assume the surname of *Dacicus*. In the following year, L. Antonius, the commander of two legions, in Upper Germany, rose against Domitian: the insurrection might have been fatal had not the storm been averted by a sudden overflow of the Rhine, which prevented the German auxiliaries, whom Antonius expected, from joining him, and left the rebel an easy conquest to L. Appius Norbanus.

Domitian could not deceive himself by the vain attempts which he made to deceive others, and his mortification at being defeated by the Dacians made him still more ferocious and

rapacious than he had been before: he ordered himself to be called Lord and God (*Dominus et Deus*), and to be worshipped with divine honours. The senate, in its abject servility, condemned the noblest and worthiest persons to death: the Arulenus Rusticus was killed because in one of his works he had praised Pactus Thrasea and Herennius Senecio for having mentioned with approbation the conduct of Helvidius Priscus. All philosophers, and among them the noble Epictetus, were expelled from Rome; and the Christians, whose number was then considerable at Rome, and who counted some persons of high distinction among them, were likewise persecuted and murdered in great numbers. The times were so fearful, that no man ventured to express his real thoughts, having always to dread some secret informer. But the tyrant's own cruelty and excess brought about his ruin. He had resolved to put to death his wife Domitia, and some of the officers of his court; but they received secret information of his intention, and formed a plot against him. The conspirators secured a freedman, who was to obtain access to the emperor's bedroom, and there to present a letter to him. The plan succeeded, and while Domitian was reading the letter, the freedman plunged a dagger into his belly. A violent scuffle ensued, until the other conspirators entered. The tyrant fell after receiving seven wounds, on the 18th of September, A.D. 96. The senate soon afterwards passed a decree to efface his name from all public monuments, while the soldiers, who were still attached to him, attempted to proclaim him a god.

CHAPTER XLVI.

M. COCCEIUS NERVA—M. ULPIUS TRAJANUS—P. AELIUS HADRIANUS.

HITHERTO the emperors had always been Romans, or at least natives of Italy, but after the time of Domitian we frequently find foreigners, as Spaniards, Illyrians, Pannonians, and even Africans and Orientals clothed with the imperial purple. After such terrific times as those of Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, the Roman world must have yearned for better days, and its longing was not in vain, for there now followed a series of five rulers, whose reigns form the happiest period in the history of the Roman empire.

M. Cocceius Nerva, a venerable senator of the age of 64, was proclaimed emperor by the people and soldiers immediately after the murder of Domitian. He was a native of the town of Narnia in Umbria, and enjoyed the respect of all classes. The praetorian guards acquiesced in his proclamation, though he was not a man to their taste. Nerva, who for this reason was obliged to be very cautious, punished only a few of those who had made themselves notorious under his predecessor. He stopped the trials for high treason, recalled many persons from exile, and diminished the oppressive taxes. But the praetorians, under their commander Casperius Aelianus, began to mutiny, and in defiance of the emperor they not only put the murderers of Domitian to death, but compelled him publicly to express his approval of their execution. Nerva felt the humiliation keenly, and in order to strengthen his power, adopted M. Ulpian Trajan, a man of unblemished character, and a distinguished general, who was then commanding the legions in Lower Germany. Only three

months after this adoption, Nerva himself died of a fever on the 27th of January, A.D. 98. The object which he pursued in his short reign was to combine two most opposite things, political freedom and the sovereign power of the monarch. His care was also directed towards raising the populace from the degradation in which they were living, for which purpose he purchased and distributed lands among the poor.

Trajan was the first Roman emperor who was not a native of Italy, having been born in the Spanish town of Italica, on the Guadalquivir, not far from Seville. After his adoption, he quietly entered upon his new dignity at Cologne, and then set out for Rome. When he entered the city on foot, in A.D. 98, with a small retinue, he was received with enthusiastic applause, for his noble figure, his kindliness, and condescension, at once gained him the affection of the people. The very first year of his reign was marked by noble acts: after taking possession of the sovereign power, he punished the principal denouncers, and banished many of them to the barren islands round Italy. The most turbulent among the praetorians were likewise taken to account. By these and similar measures, he strengthened and secured his power. The same year is also marked by what may be regarded as the first effort towards a public system of education at Rome; this was the establishment by Trajan of an institution, out of the funds of which freeborn, but poor boys and girls, were to be educated. Trajan, in all his actions, appears as one of the noblest and ablest rulers that Rome ever possessed: although he was not free from weaknesses, still he deserves the name of the Best, more than any of his predecessors; and for more than two centuries after his death, the senate used to hold him up, to the newly-elected emperors, as a model of goodness. He possessed and practised all the virtues which adorn a ruler, a general, and a man: he was great in his designs, and persevering in their execution; skilful in the art of war, fair in the administration of justice, simple and unassuming in his manners, affable to every citizen, and a faithful

friend : he was equally anxious for the welfare of the provinces and for that of Italy ; economical in his private life, but liberal and generous in all matters calculated for public use or ornament. A man with such virtues may fairly claim our indulgence for certain weaknesses which are censured in him by Roman historians. In his reign, Rome, Italy, and the provinces, were adorned with magnificent buildings, bridges, roads, and useful institutions, such as the Ulpian library at Rome (*Bibliotheca Ulpia*). The senate was allowed to conduct its deliberations with perfect freedom, the people again assembled in their comitia, and the magistrates were unshackled in the discharge of their duties. Trajan himself submitted to the laws like any other citizen, but at the same time he understood the art of governing a nation better than any of his predecessors. He was married to Plotina, a woman of high character, but he had no children by her. She, and his own sister Marcina, are among the most estimable women in Roman history : the great improvement which, from that time forward, is perceptible in the conduct of Roman ladies of rank, was undoubtedly the result of their example and of the influence they exercised.

Trajan, who before his accession had distinguished himself as a general, now directed his attention principally to war and great architectural works. His first war was that against the Dacians, for he deeply felt the disgrace of paying them the tribute with which Domitian had purchased peace. Trajan accordingly refused to pay it : and at the end of A.D. 100 marched with an army of 60,000 men into the country of the Dacians, who were still governed by their warlike prince Decebalus. Trajan took his capital of Zarmizegethusa, and after having defeated the king in several battles, compelled him to sue for peace, which was granted to him in A.D. 102, on condition of his giving up a part of his territory. The emperor then returned to Rome, and obtained from the senate the surname of Dacicus. But in A.D. 104 the Dacians again rose against the Romans : to facilitate his operations against them, Trajan caused a stone bridge to be

constructed across the Danube, in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Arnetz, in Hungary; and in the following year he marched into Dacia. Decebalus was so hard pressed by the invader and his able legates, Lucius Quietus, and Hadrian, that in despair he made away with himself; whereupon Dacia (the modern countries of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania) was constituted a Roman province, and received several Roman colonies, which secured the dominion and spread the manners and civilisation of Rome among the barbarians. Trajan now celebrated a second triumph over Dacia, and caused a column to be made recording his victory, and representing in relief his exploits in Dacia. This column, the celebrated *Columna Trajana*, was about 150 feet high, and was erected, in A.D. 114, in the forum built by Trajan, and is still one of the most remarkable monuments of Rome.

In the year in which Dacia was made a Roman province, Cornelius Palma, the legate of Syria, subdued the whole of Arabia Petraea. There now followed a few years during which the empire enjoyed profound peace, until in A.D. 114 the Parthians again began to threaten the eastern frontier. Chesroes, their king, expelled Exodares king of Armenia from his dominions, and raised his own brother Parthamasiris to the throne. When the emperor arrived in Armenia he received the homage of the people, and made Armenia a Roman province. Abgarus, king of Osrhoene, submitted to him; and after the capture of the town of Nisibis, the whole of Mesopotamia recognised the supremacy of Rome. Trajan spent the following winter at Antioch: during his stay there that city and the whole of Syria were shaken by a severe earthquake. Next spring he crossed the Tigris, subdued Assyria, and thence proceeded to Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthians, who seem to have been prevented by internal feuds from offering a resolute resistance to the invader. After the conquest of Parthia, Trajan sailed with a fleet down the Tigris into the ocean, (the Persian Gulf,) but an insurrection of the conquered nations obliged him to return. His legates,

however, succeeded in repressing the revolt, and destroyed the towns of Nisibis, Edessa, and Seleucia. Trajan raised Parthaspates to the throne of Parthia. In the spring of A.D. 117, he entered the southern part of Arabia, and while he was besieging the town of Hatra he was taken ill: intrusting the conduct of the war to Hadrian, who had accompanied him on his eastern expedition, he hastened to return to Rome; but on his way thither he died at Selinus, in Cilicia, on the 9th of August, A.D. 117. His remains were afterwards carried to Rome in a golden urn, and deposited in his own forum under the column recording his Dacian victories.

Trajan seems to have made no provision for determining the succession: there were indeed reports that he had intended to make Neratius Priscus his successor, or that in his illness he had adopted Hadrian; but the latter report seems to have been the work of Plotina, who, by a well-meant forgery, wished to make the world believe that her husband had adopted him. For this reason she concealed the death of Trajan for a few days, whereby she gained time to communicate with Hadrian, who was then with his army at Antioch, and to publish the false document purporting to be her husband's will, with some appearance of probability. Hadrian accordingly entered upon the government, on the 11th of August, A.D. 117, at Antioch, where he was proclaimed emperor;¹ and the Roman senate, to which he addressed a letter, readily recognised him. Hadrian was descended from a family of Hadria, in Picenum: his father was married to an aunt of Trajan, who was appointed one of Hadrian's guardians on his father's death. Through the influence of Plotina, who was very partial to him, he married Julia Sabina, a granddaughter of Trajan's sister Marcina, from which time he daily rose in the emperor's favour.

¹ There is a chronological inconsistency in our authorities on these transactions; for if Trajan died at Selinus on the 9th of August, and Plotina concealed his death "for a

few days," how could Hadrian have been proclaimed emperor at Antioch, nearly 300 miles from Selinus, on the 11th of August?

On his accession, the Roman empire was in a perilous condition: the Parthians, who had just been conquered by Trajan, revolted, and were successful in several engagements; Moesia was harassed by an invasion of the Sarmatae and Roxolani; other provinces also were in a state of insurrection. Hadrian now showed his wisdom by giving up the recent conquests in the east, which it would have been impossible or at least extremely difficult to maintain. He accordingly renounced all the conquests east of the Euphrates, restored Assyria and Mesopotamia to the Parthians, and recognised Chosroes as their king: Parthamaspates was indemnified by a small neighbouring principality, and Armenia restored to the rank of an independent kingdom. Having thus settled the affairs of the east, Hadrian, in A.D. 118, returned to Rome, whence he shortly afterwards set out with his army for Moesia. Here again his object was not conquest, but merely to secure the Roman possessions; he accordingly concluded a peace with the Roxolani, for which he had probably to pay a heavy sum. As he was proceeding against the Sarmatae, he received intelligence of a conspiracy which had been formed by his personal enemies, Nigrinus, Lucius Quietus, Palma, Celsus, and other persons of high rank. After the discovery of the plot, the four leaders were put to death by command of the emperor himself, according to the general opinion, though he earnestly denied the fact. The belief that he had ordered their execution roused public feeling against him, and, apprehending an outbreak at Rome, he left the command of the armies in Pannonia and Dacia in the hands of Marcus Turbo, one of his generals, who had just suppressed a rebellion in Mauritania, and himself returned to Italy, where he endeavoured to obliterate the prevailing suspicion by liberal donations, games, and gladiatorial exhibitions. One act, which was sure to win him the favour of the people, was his cancelling an enormous sum of money due to the state as taxes, namely, all the arrears of the last fifteen years. He further courted the favour of the senate, and promised never to punish a senator without its sanction: at the same time he

found it advisable to remove his former friends from their office of prefects of the praetorians. He divided Italy into four regions, for the purpose of better jurisdiction, a consular being placed at the head of each region; the offices in the palace, the army, and the administration of the state were regulated according to a new system, which, on the whole, remained unchanged until the time of Constantine the Great.

The war against the Sarmatae was in the mean time continued by his legates, and seems to have lasted for several years. In A.D. 119 he began his memorable journey through all the provinces of his empire, many of which he traversed on foot. It was undertaken from a desire to promote the happiness of his subjects by personal inspection of the manner in which the administration was carried on, and to remedy evils wherever they existed; though there can be no doubt that his own curiosity, and a singular restlessness of mind, also had a share in determining him to enter upon the undertaking. These travels occupied the greater part of his reign. He first visited Gaul and Germany, whence he proceeded, in A.D. 121, to Britain. There he secured the northern part of England against the invasions of the Scots, by a wall 80,000 paces in length, extending from the mouth of the Tyne to the Solway. Remains of this wall are known to this day, under the name of the Picts' wall. On his return to Gaul he adorned the town of Nemausus (Nismes) with splendid buildings, and then went to Spain, where he spent the winter. In A.D. 122, he returned to Rome, but soon afterwards set out for Achaia, and the provinces of the east. At Athens he appears to have remained for three years: it was his favourite place, and he honoured it above all other cities in the empire. After a visit to Sicily he again returned to Rome. In A.D. 129, he visited Africa, and thence proceeded to the east: he again made a long stay at Athens, to see the completion of the numerous and magnificent buildings which had been commenced during his former visit. During his progress in Asia, he examined with great strictness into the conduct of the governors of the

provinces, and did all he could to conciliate the princes of the neighbouring kingdoms. From Asia he proceeded through Syria into Egypt, where he restored the tomb of Pompey with great splendour. During his stay in Egypt, his favourite, Antinous, a Bithynian youth, for whom he entertained an unnatural affection, was drowned in the Nile: his death was the cause of deep and lasting grief to Hadrian. From Egypt he returned to Rome, where, in A.D. 131, he promulgated a collection of laws, under the title of *Edictum Perpetuum*, which had been drawn up by the jurist Salvius Julianus.

Not long after the emperor's return to Rome a formidable insurrection broke out among the Jews living in Syria. A colony named Aelia Capitolina had been established on the site of Jerusalem, and pagan worship had been introduced there; Hadrian, moreover, had issued an edict forbidding the Jews to practise the right of circumcision. These things were more than the Jews could bear, and, under their leader, Barcochab, they rose in arms with the most desperate fury. The war which lasted for several years, and in which 580,000 Jews are said to have perished, was not brought to a close until Julius Severus came over from Britain, and finally succeeded in paralysing or annihilating the Jews, who were thenceforth forbidden to live at Jerusalem, or in its immediate vicinity. Numbers of them were sold into slavery, and the great dispersion of the nation dates from this time. After the Jewish war, another threatened to break out in the east with the Albanians; but Hadrian averted the danger by sending rich presents to them, and to Pharasmanes, king of the Iberians, who had stirred them up, and whose feelings were by this means so changed that he even paid a visit to Hadrian at Rome.

After returning from his travels Hadrian lived until his death, partly at Rome and partly at Tibur, where he built a magnificent villa on so grand a scale that even its ruins occupy the space of a considerable town. The many fatigues and hardships he had undergone had so impaired his health, that in A.D. 135 he was seized with a dangerous illness, which proved to be dropsy, and

this led him to think of a successor. Having himself no children, he adopted, under the name of L. Aelius Verus, L. Ceionius Commodus, a noble and handsome youth, but of an effeminate character: the young man, however, did not prove to be of that assistance to the emperor which had been expected; and being of a weakly constitution, he died on the first day of the year A.D. 138. Hadrian now adopted Arrius Antoninus (afterwards the emperor Antoninus Pius) and presented him to the senators, assembled around his bed, as his successor: at the same time he obliged Antoninus to adopt the sons of Aelius Verus, L. Commodus Verus, and M. Annius Verus (afterwards the emperor M. Aurelius). These arrangements, however, did not restore peace to his mind. Some of his most worthy friends, who had opposed the adoption of L. Aelius Verus, were put to death; his illness made him daily more suspicious and cruel: many persons of rank were executed; and many more would have fallen victims, had it not been for the precautions taken by Antoninus. At last, when Hadrian found that his illness was incurable, he requested a slave to run him through with a sword: this, however, was prevented by Antoninus. He made several more attempts to commit suicide, but without success. At length he was removed to Baiae, where he hoped to find at least some relief, but he soon afterwards died on the 10th of July, A.D. 138, at the age of sixty-three. He was buried in the villa of Cicero, near Puteoli. The senate, indignant at the many acts of cruelty which Hadrian had committed during the last three years of his life, wished to annul his enactments, and refused him the customary divine honours; but Antoninus prevailed upon them to be lenient towards him, on the ground that, during his illness, he had not been in the full possession of his mental faculties; from this act of filial kindness towards his adopted father, Antoninus derived the surname of Pius.

The reign of Hadrian formed, on the whole, a very peaceful and happy period. His policy was not to extend the boundaries of the empire, but to secure the old provinces, and to promote

their welfare by a fair and just administration. But as his presents and kindness to the barbarians might have been insufficient to ward off their attacks, he always kept his armies in most excellent condition. He was the first Roman emperor who seems to have understood his real position as monarch of the Roman empire, which, under him, became more consolidated than it had ever been before. He formed for himself a council (*consistorium principis*) with a regular organisation, which gradually deprived the senate of its jurisdiction. Its president was always a jurist, who may, therefore, be looked upon as a minister of justice. Jurisprudence made great progress in his reign, and the *Edictum perpetuum*, which he promulgated, forms an era in the history of Roman law. Hadrian was a patron and practical lover of art and literature: he was very ambitious of praise, and was anxious to make as many friends as possible; but he had the weakness to believe that he excelled them all, and in everything, which often rendered him troublesome and unbearable.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ANTONINUS PIUS—M. AURELIUS—L. COMMODUS ANTONINUS.

ANTONINUS PIUS was descended from a family of Nemausus, in Gaul, but he himself was born at Lanuvium, on the 19th of September, A.D. 86. His adoption by Hadrian was owing solely to his virtue and merits; for he had distinguished himself in the administration of Asia by surpassing wisdom and mildness, and had shown the same qualities in his management of one of the four regions of Italy. From A.D. 138 to A.D. 161, during the reign of this prince, who, of all the emperors, was the most virtuous, and one of the noblest beings that ever lived, the empire enjoyed such peace as had never before fallen to its share: owing to the almost total suspension of wars, crimes, and violence, the history of his reign is nearly a blank. All the thoughts and energies of this wise and amiable ruler were directed towards one object,—the happiness of his people. The informers disappeared entirely, and confiscations are scarcely heard of: his simple habits, his courtesy to every one, the patient attention with which he listened to every thing that was brought before him, and his impartiality in the administration of justice, secured to him the love and admiration of the provincials no less than of the Romans. Good governors were allowed to remain in their provinces for many years, and the farmers of the public revenue were compelled to abandon their extortions. Whenever a calamity happened in any part of the empire, Antoninus afforded relief to the sufferers with unsparing liberality: such was the case when Asia and Rhodes were devastated by an earthquake, and in A.D. 153, when Narbonne, Antioch, and Carthage were partially destroyed by conflagrations.

In his foreign policy Antoninus strictly adhered to the principles of his predecessor, for no attempt was made to increase the extent of the empire; but, at the same time, all rebellions within and aggressions from without were promptly crushed, either by persuasion or by armed demonstrations. Hence the movements of the Germans, Dacians, Mauritanians, Greeks, and Egyptians, produced no effect on the empire: the only commotion of any consequence occurred in Britain, which was repeatedly invaded by the Brigantes; but there the legate Lollius Urbicus, in A.D. 141, defeated the enemy, and formed a rampart of turf, somewhat beyond the line along which Agricola had constructed his wall, to stop the inroads of the Caledonians. The renown of the wisdom and virtues of Antoninus spread throughout the world, and embassies came to him from the most distant parts of the east to seek his alliance and friendship: the Parthians abandoned an attempt upon Armenia merely in consequence of his remonstrances; the Scythians submitted their disputes to his arbitration; and the barbarians on the Upper Danube received a king from his hands.

He devoted equal care to the physical and intellectual improvement of his people: the interests of education and literature were promoted in all parts of the empire by the honours and distinctions conferred upon rhetoricians and philosophers, who, without any reference to sect or school, were everywhere appointed to teach publicly, and received annual salaries of 600 sesterces. In A.D. 141, he founded an institution for the education of poor orphan girls, whom he styled *puellae alimentariae Faustinae*, in honour of his wife Faustina, who had died in that year.

In private life Antoninus was equally distinguished: he lived as a private citizen, accessible to all, like a father to his children: he took no notice of the irregularities of his wife, which, to a certain extent, must have been known to him, and after her death loaded her memory with honours. The peace of his reign, his own fervent piety and scrupulous observance of religious rites, gained for him, among his contemporaries, the reputation

of a second Numa. The first Apology for the Christian religion, addressed to him by Justin the Martyr, procured protection and toleration for the Christians, who then existed in large numbers, both at Rome and in the provinces. After his accession, Antoninus never appeared at the head of his armies : he refused also to travel through the provinces, that they might not be burthened with the expense of maintaining his court. He was fond of the pleasures of a country life, and his excursions were limited to his villas in Campania. He died on the 7th of March, A.D. 161, in his villa at Lorium, at the age of 75.

The long peace of his reign, though beneficial in many respects, greatly increased the indolence and effeminacy of the Romans : the legions also, stationed in their camps, and spending their time in idleness, lost their warlike spirit, without which the empire could not be safe for any length of time. By his wife Faustina he had two daughters and two sons : one of the daughters, Faustina, was married, in A.D. 145, to M. Aurelius ; his two sons appear to have died long before their father ; so that, according to the established order, Antoninus was succeeded by his adopted son, M. Aurelius.

M. Aurelius Antoninus, commonly called the Philosopher, was born at Rome, in A.D. 121. He had shown, from his childhood, an extreme love of truth, and thirst for knowledge : his education had been conducted with the greatest care by the celebrated rhetoricians, Herodes Atticus and Cornelius Fronto, and by the stoic philosophers, Junius Rusticus and Apollonius. During the reign of Antoninus he had been the constant companion and adviser of that noble-minded man, and the most perfect harmony existed between them until the death of Antoninus. In March, A.D. 161, he undertook the government of the empire, and at once admitted his adopted brother, Ceionius Commodus, or, as he is commonly called, L. Verus, who was eight years younger than himself, to a full participation in the sovereign power. This arrangement, a pure act of grace on the part of M. Aurelius, was intended to be of advantage, not only to the

monarch himself, but to the whole empire; for M. Aurelius was of a weakly constitution, and took more delight in philosophical and literary pursuits than in war; while L. Verus was young, active, and skilled in all manly exercises, though he was addicted to debauchery and to the indulgence of voluptuous propensities, which he had hitherto carefully concealed.

Storms had long been gathering on two parts of the Roman frontier, in the east and north. The former broke out first: the Parthian king, Vologeses III., who had been restrained by the remonstrances of Antoninus Pius, now began a series of ravaging inroads into the Roman provinces, and cut to pieces a whole legion at Elegia. L. Verus, after having been betrothed to Lucilla the daughter of his colleague, accordingly proceeded, in A.D. 162, with an army to Syria. On arriving at Antioch, he determined to remain there, and to leave the command of the armies to his generals. While he was plunging himself into luxuries and voluptuousness, Avidius Cassius compelled the Parthians to retreat, invaded Mesopotamia, destroyed Seleucia, with the royal palace at Ctesiphon, and penetrated as far as Babylon: another general at the same time made himself master of Armenia, and restored the legitimate king, Soaemus, to his throne. Vologeses was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace, and to give up Mesopotamia to his conquerors. After the conclusion of this war, in A.D. 166, L. Verus, accompanied by a host of actors returned to Rome, and celebrated a triumph, which was soon followed by the outbreak of a fearful pestilence, during which the celebrated physician, Claudius Galenus, who had come to Rome from Pergamus, practised his art with great skill.

The movements which were going on in the north were more dangerous than those which took place in the east, and extended from the sources of the Danube to the Illyrian border. Numbers of barbarous tribes, including the Marcomanni, Alani, Jazyges, Quadi, Sarmatae, and many others were in motion, and both emperors set out against the foe. The contest which now began

was continued with varying success, during the whole reign of M. Aurelius, whose head quarters were generally in Pannonia. The barbarians, overawed by the power displayed by the Romans submitted and sued for peace, which enabled the emperors, in A.D. 169, to return to Rome; but when they reached Altinum, in the country of the Veneti, L. Verus was seized with apoplexy and died. The only good that can be said of him is, that he did not thwart the wise plans of his colleague. Towards the end of the same year, M. Aurelius again set out for Germany, and prosecuted the war against the Marcomanni with great vigour and extraordinary efforts. On one occasion, a fierce battle was fought on the frozen Danube; but the most important victory was that gained by the emperor over the Quadi, in A.D. 174: the Romans were rescued from a most perilous situation by a sudden storm; and this signal success of their arms, which was at the time attributed to the interposition of Heaven, seems to have struck terror into the barbarians, who now sought and obtained peace on condition of their withdrawing from the Danube. The emperor was prevented from following up this victory by the news of an insurrection in Syria, which threatened to become very dangerous. The emperor's wife Faustina, began to be alarmed about her husband's declining health, and feared lest the government should fall into the hands of another family, since her own son, Commodus, who was born in A.D. 161, was yet too young to succeed his father. She accordingly desired Avidius Cassius, the governor of Syria, to be prepared for everything, and offered him her hand and the throne if he would assist in the execution of her schemes. While these negotiations were going on, a report reached Syria that M. Aurelius had died, and Avidius Cassius forthwith caused himself to be proclaimed emperor. The falseness of the report soon became known; but Cassius, thinking his offence beyond forgiveness, resolved to maintain his power, and in a very short time made himself master of all Asia on this side Mount Taurus. While M. Aurelius was making preparations against the usurper, Cassius was assassinated by a centurion of

his own army. M. Aurelius, however, set out for the east, to restore peace and tranquillity; and his conduct, as well after his arrival there as before, cannot but excite the highest admiration of every friend of humanity: not one man was put to death with the emperor's consent; few were punished at all; and the papers of Cassius were burnt without being read, in order that no further disclosures might be made. During this expedition, Faustina, who accompanied her husband, died in Cilicia, perhaps by her own act, that she might escape the punishment she deserved.

Having paid a visit to Egypt and Athens, M. Aurelius, after an absence of eight years, returned to Rome, in A.D. 176, and celebrated a triumph. He gave to every citizen a donation of eight gold pieces, made his son Commodus his colleague in the sovereignty; and celebrated the nuptials between him and Crispina. No sooner were these solemnities over, than a fresh insurrection of the Marcomanni once more called M. Aurelius away from Rome. In the month of August, A.D. 177, he accordingly marched with Commodus from Rome, which he was never to see again. His campaigns were very successful: the Marcomanni, Hermunduri, Quadi, and Sarmatae, were routed one after another, and everything seemed to indicate that they would soon be finally crushed. But the shattered constitution of M. Aurelius now gave way, and he died at Vindobona (Vienna) or Sirmium, on the 17th of March, A.D. 180, at the age of fifty-nine; not without a suspicion that his son Commodus had accelerated his death.

The most striking features in the character of M. Aurelius were his devotedness to the study of philosophy, and the affectionate familiarity which he kept up with those who had instructed him in his early life. No monarch was ever more widely or more deeply beloved than he; it was thought impious for any man not to have in his house some picture or statue of the emperor. His whole life was an unbroken practical demonstration of the doctrines of the philosophy which he had embraced.

He was severe and conscientious towards himself, gentle and merciful towards every one else. We still possess his *Meditations*, a work which would do honour to any man in any age, and in which he is portrayed with all his amiable, affectionate, and benevolent sentiments. Although he personally had an aversion to war, yet he firmly and manfully undertook the command of his armies whenever the safety of the empire required it. The veneration which the people entertained for him was so great, that, after his death, it was believed that he had been some good genius sent from heaven to bless mankind, and that he had now returned to his real home. There is only one thing for which he seems to deserve censure, and that is, his sanctioning, in A.D. 177, a cruel persecution of the Christians in Gaul; this conduct is the more surprising, as it was contrary both to his own principles of toleration and to the example set him by his predecessor. It must be supposed that, in this instance, he was guided by evil advisers, for many of the philosophers of his age entertained sentiments of the bitterest intolerance against the new religion.

His unworthy son, M. Commodus Antoninus, then not twenty years old, succeeded his father as a matter of course. His education had been superintended with the utmost care and vigilance, and conducted by the ablest and most distinguished men of the time; but all their teaching, and the example set him by his father, were lost upon him; and those who knew him well discovered that he was, at an early age, addicted to base pleasures and sensuality. It was a weakness in Aurelius that he did not adopt some one of his generals, and make him his successor. Immediately after the death of his father, Commodus hastened to make peace with the Marcomanni and Quadi, in order that he might be able to return to Rome, and indulge in the pleasures of the capital without restraint. The love and veneration entertained by every one for his father, were transferred to him like an inheritance, and at his first appearance in the city, as emperor, he was greeted with the most enthusiastic acclamations. For a while the hopes of men were not disappointed: the only thing

they might have complained of was his lavish distribution of money among the populace and soldiers. But a change in his conduct was produced in A.D. 182, by a conspiracy formed against him by his own sister, Lucilla, who seems to have been jealous of the rank and influence of her brother's wife, Crispina. Her scheme, which was frustrated by the rashness of the assassin who aimed the deadly blow, all at once awakened the slumbering ferocity of Commodus, and the whole of his remaining life is an uninterrupted series of sanguinary and disgusting excesses. Every pretext was seized for indulging in the most savage cruelty: false accusations, vague suspicions, much wealth, high birth, great learning, or any prominent virtue, were sufficient to point out and doom his victims. Nearly all the friends of his father, and others who had risen to eminence under him, were put to death. The cruel and detested Perennis was made commander of the praetorians, and to him were left all the cares of the government, while the tyrant abandoned himself to the most shameless and brutal debaucheries. His wife Crispina was convicted of adultery and exiled; and Marcia, a woman who was well disposed towards the Christians, became his concubine. During the time that he was weltering in vice, he displayed a most contemptible vanity and love of popular applause, which he sought to gratify in the most extraordinary manner. He often danced, sang, played the charioteer and buffoon, disguised himself as a pedlar or horse-dealer, and officiated as a priest in the foreign superstitions that were then in vogue at Rome; but his greatest ambition was to display his skill in the handling of martial weapons: he fought as a gladiator in the circus more than 700 times, and slew many thousands of wild beasts and human beings, for which he demanded to be worshipped as a second Hercules.

In A.D. 186, the legions stationed in Britain were roused by the tyrannical severity with which Perennis treated the soldiers, and an embassy of 1500 soldiers was despatched to Rome to demand his deposition and punishment. Commodus was obliged to yield,

but he gave the command of the praetorians to a Phrygian freedman, Cleander, who was even more cruel and avaricious than his predecessor, but enjoyed the especial favour of Commodus. Shortly after this, while all Italy was suffering from plague and famine, the city populace, during the Circensian games in A.D. 189, rose against Cleander, literally tore him to pieces, and destroyed his whole family. During these scenes Commodus gratified his lusts in a harem, which is said to have contained 300 concubines, and butchered the best of the senators as if they had been wild beasts. But, as in all similar cases, he was working his own downfall. Having determined to put to death the consuls who were to enter on their office on the first of January A.D. 193, he intended to enter the senate-house with a band of gladiators for that purpose. His mistress, Marcia, to whom he communicated this plan, cautioned him against its danger, and was warmly supported by Laetus, the prefect of the praetorians, and by Eclectus, an imperial chamberlain. Commodus treated their advice with scorn and indignation, and withdrew to his apartment, where, as usual, he drew up a list of the persons who were to be killed the next day. This list was accidentally carried by one of his dwarfs to Marcia, who, seeing her own name and those of her two supporters at the head of it, at once communicated the discovery to them. No time was to be lost : it was resolved to poison him that evening ; but as the poison operated slowly, a celebrated athlete, Narcissus, was hired, who strangled the tyrant in the night of the 31st of December, A.D. 192. When his death, which was at first cautiously attributed to apoplexy, became known, it diffused a general joy throughout Rome, except among the praetorians, upon whom he had always lavished the most liberal donations. The senate cursed the tyrant, and ordered that his body, like that of a vile malefactor, should be dragged through the streets with iron hooks and cast into the Tiber ; but Pertinax, who had been proclaimed his successor, was humane enough not to allow it, and the body was interred in the mausoleum of Hadrian.

During the whole of his reign, Commodus had not troubled himself in the least about the affairs of the empire, but its integrity was nevertheless maintained by the valour of his legates. Disturbances had broken out in Britain, where the Caledonians had invaded the country south of the line of fortification, defeated the Roman army, and spread devastation far and wide; but they were repelled by Ulpus Marcellus, who drove them back into their country, and brought the war to a close in A.D. 184. The Frisians, beyond the Rhine, were conquered in A.D. 191. There are few characters in history which inspire so unmingled a feeling of disgust and detestation as that of Commodus; for while he possessed all the qualities that can disgrace human nature, his whole history does not present a single trace of a generous action or a kindly feeling.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS—CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE—LITERATURE AND
THE ARTS DURING THE FIRST TWO CENTURIES OF THE EMPIRE.

FROM this time forward the praetorian guards, whose presumption and arrogance had risen to the highest pitch during the reign of Commodus, exercised a most frightful military despotism, and the legions in the provinces followed their example. As it frequently happened that the different bodies of troops did not agree among themselves, or acted independently of one another in the proclamation of an emperor, we find examples of two, three, or four emperors being proclaimed at once, who had to fight for the sovereignty until only one of them survived. The praetorians carried their disgraceful conduct so far that, in A.D. 193, they literally sold the sovereignty to Didus Salvius Julian, for the payment of 30 sesterces to every one of them; thus realising the prophecy of Jugurtha. Great men, such as Diocletian and Constantine, endeavoured to prevent the downfall of the empire by dividing it into the eastern and the western empire; but it was of no avail; and in A.D. 476, the Germans, under Odoacer, established their dominion in Italy, after the dethronement of Romulus Augustulus. From the reign of Commodus there is nothing but an irregular succession of emperors, who, with few exceptions, are distinguished only for tyranny and baseness, or impotence and weakness; nothing but a perpetual repetition of civil wars and murders which are wearying and disgusting to the mind. Civil order, military discipline, patriotism, national spirit, and all great and noble feelings disappear from the Roman world; emperors are proclaimed and murdered, both at Rome and in the provinces, at the mere caprice of the soldiers. A

history presenting such spectacles at every step contains little or nothing to elevate or ennoble the heart and mind of man, and ought certainly not to be chosen as a subject for youthful minds to dwell upon. Those who wish to obtain full and satisfactory information upon the history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire may find it in the masterly work of Gibbon.

It had been the system of Augustus to preserve rather than to enlarge the extent of the empire: his attempts to conquer Arabia and Ethiopia probably arose from a desire to facilitate and increase the commerce of the Romans with the far distant east; but the climate did not allow them to establish themselves permanently in those countries. His arms were more successful in the north of Spain, where he extended his dominion to the Atlantic Ocean; and in the country south of the Danube, where the Romans became masters of Vindelicia, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia.

The wars against the Germans were undertaken with a view rather to protect Gaul than to make any conquests beyond the Rhine, which river remained, on the whole, the frontier between the Germans and Romans. The conquest of Britain had commenced under Claudius, and was carried farthest by Agricola. In the reign of Trajan the empire acquired its greatest extent: for, on the north of the Danube, he conquered Dacia, and in the east, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria: part of Arabia also became subject to Rome; and a Roman fleet was stationed in the Red Sea, for the purpose of sailing to India. But his successor, Hadrian, gave up all these conquests with the exception of Dacia, and again made the Euphrates the eastern boundary. The aggressions in the north and east, however, still continued; and the Mauritanians, or Moors, began to invade Spain as early as the time of M. Aurelius.

The monarchy had been virtually established by Augustus, though he was more concerned about the substance than the show of power; but his successors, who were not under the necessity of proceeding with the same caution, were not satisfied

with the substance of monarchical power, they also assumed its outward form and appearance. The authority of the senate sank in proportion as that of the emperor, and the despotism of the soldiers increased; and after the time of Hadrian, when the sovereign settled the most important affairs of the empire with his privy council, the republican publicity of all transactions concerning the state ceased. The tyranny of some of the emperors rose to an incredible pitch, for they were not bound by any laws, and were always sure of the support of the populace and soldiers, provided they fed, paid, and amused them liberally. This led, in the end, to the dissolution of all civil government, and the establishment of that unbridled military despotism which finally ruined the empire. The praetorians supported the purple-clad despots, it is true; but at the same time they looked upon them as their own creatures, and felt, therefore, no scruples in murdering them, or selling their dignity. The succession to the empire was not regulated by any law; the idea of an hereditary monarchy did not take root among the Romans until a much later time. The only way in which the question about the succession was settled was for the actual emperor, by adoption, to point out the man by whom he wished to be succeeded; and if the latter was approved of by the soldiers, the recognition by the senate, which was a mere formality, followed as a matter of course. The senate itself scarcely ever ventured to raise a person to the imperial dignity who had not been previously proclaimed by the soldiers.

Laws (*leges*) passed by the people in their assembly entirely disappear after the reign of Augustus: the laws mentioned after that time are ordinances of the senate (*senatusconsulta*), formed on the proposal or by the order of the emperor. Added to these were the imperial ordinances or constitutions (*constitutiones principis, rescripta, decreta, mandata, edicta*), which at first were not binding as general laws, but came to be so in the course of time. The edicts of the praetors lost their former importance, since those magistrates were obliged to submit to the opinions

of the jurists, who gradually became great authorities. Hadrian ordered the principal praetorian edicts to be collected into one body (*Edictum perpetuum*), and the Roman law thus became reduced to a regular system. The emperor himself formed the highest court of appeal; and, for the purpose of deciding upon cases of appeal, or any other extraordinary cases that might be brought before him, he was assisted by a special council, which must be distinguished from his state council: such at least was the case with Hadrian. Offences against the state or the person of the emperor were tried by the senate, which, even in the early period of the empire, had degraded itself into a mere tool in the hands of the ruler. Civil cases continued to be tried at Rome by the praetors and the prefects of the city, assisted by a number of judges.

Augustus, who was well aware that the safety of the monarchy depended, in a great measure, upon the safety of the capital, had made some excellent police regulations. A prefect of the corn-market (*praefectus annonae*) superintended the stores and corn trade: public buildings, works of art, streets, aqueducts, and the cleansing of the bed of the river, were likewise placed under special inspectors. The superintendence of the public games was transferred from the aediles to the praetors, and the sums required for their celebration were furnished from the public treasury. But these and many other useful regulations could not be productive of much permanent good, for the demoralisation went on increasing every day, and many of the emperors themselves publicly defied every law of decency.

Italian agriculture, which had received its death-blow during the latter period of the republic, was completely crushed by the establishment of numerous villas, which, with their parks and pleasure grounds, baths, ponds, and groves, often equalled large towns in extent; and most of the remaining districts were changed into pasture land. Manufactures and industry could not thrive at Rome from the want of an active and industrious middle class; the Romans being either enormously wealthy, or living in

abject poverty. In the reign of tyrants, the populace were never under the necessity of working, or gaining their living by honest labour ; for the means of subsistence, as oil, bread, wine, and meat, were lavishly distributed among them by the rulers, at the expence either of the public treasury or of their private purse. Sometimes such donations were a remedy for momentary suffering, but they contributed, more than anything else, to throw the people into that state of indifference and idleness which brought them to the lowest stage of degradation ; and no emperor seems to have been able to conceive the idea of bettering the condition of the people by compelling them to be active and industrious. Such a populace was just as strong a support of despotism as the praetorian guards ; despots consequently, could not be expected to improve its condition. All trades and manufactures in the city were generally in the hands of freedmen and foreigners ; but the wealthy Romans had usually such hosts of slaves, of every description, that all their wants could be satisfied at home without their being obliged to have recourse to the ordinary tradesmen of the city. The gross brutality and total absence of every feeling of humanity in the population of Rome are shown most strikingly in their passionate fondness for the bloody scenes of the circus : the sight of murder, and of men in the agonies of death, was to them a source of pleasure and delight ; and their cries for bread were often mixed with shouts demanding murderous games. Even Titus was obliged to yield to the clamour of the people, and to give gladiatorial games for several days, in which thousands of unfortunate gladiators were compelled to destroy one another. In like manner Trajan, after his Dacian victory, had to amuse the populace with games which lasted 103 days, and which, in the number of gladiators and wild beasts that appeared in the circus, surpassed every similar exhibition seen at Rome. All imaginable instruments and artifices of sensuality, voluptuousness, and debauchery, were carried from the east to Italy ; and the city of Rome, which

became a place of resort for persons of all nations, was at the same time a pool of corruption for all. It is revolting to read of the shameless crimes and profligacies which prevailed in the days of a Caligula, a Nero, and a Domitian; and we should turn away from the history of Rome in disgust and despair, were it not that, now and then, a noble being passes across the scene to show that virtue had not altogether forsaken the empire.

The commerce of the Romans had increased in proportion as their wants were multiplied. All the countries from the Atlantic Ocean to the Euphrates were open to Roman merchants, whose traffic was facilitated by the numerous military roads which had been made in all parts of the empire: Myos-hormus, Dioscurias (Sebastopolis), Alexandria, Massilia, Gades, Byzantium, Antioch, Palmyra, Seleucia, and the islands of Naxos, Delos, Cos, and Rhodes, were for a long time the great marts whence the Romans imported their luxuries, slaves, and other commodities.

The saying of the Greeks, that the language of men is like their lives, is confirmed by the history of Rome. The corruption of the Latin language was a necessary consequence of the altered form of government, and of the languor and indolence into which the nation sank. The cultivation of their mother tongue had begun to be neglected in the early part of the empire, and Greek became the language of all fashionable circles, where the education of children was conducted by Greek tutors and governesses. The vast number of slaves and foreigners who came to Rome from all parts contributed not a little towards this corruption; the old and powerful simplicity of the language disappeared, and the desire to speak and write in a striking and piquant manner produced that hollow pomp and tinkling of words which we meet with as early as the time of Nero.

In the reign of Augustus, Roman literature had reached its highest perfection, but its decline began even before his death; for the establishment of the monarchy put an end to all free

public oratory, and eloquence was thenceforth cultivated only in funeral orations, or encomiums, and in the rhetorical schools. With the accession of Tiberius the flourishing period of literature came to its close; the corruption of taste began; the oppression of the ruler on the one hand, and the moral depravity of the people on the other, crushed all free development of intellectual life, which the establishment of libraries, and schools, and the appointment of salaried teachers, were unable to restore. But while intellectual activity decreased at Rome, it became extended in the provinces, which now began to participate in the literature of the capital; booksellers are mentioned at Lyons in Gaul, and they undoubtedly existed in all the great towns of the west. The depravation of taste, both in regard to purity of diction and to the manner of handling a subject, may be seen in the poems of Lucan, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Papinius Statius. whose epics are bombastic and learned, but devoid of the genuine spirit of poetry. The character of the age afforded ample materials for bitter satire, and produced Persius, Juvenal, Petronius, and Martial, whose works however, in point of taste and refinement, are greatly inferior to the satires of Horace. The *Æsopic* fable was successfully cultivated in verse by Phaedrus, in the reign of Tiberius. After the time of Commodus we scarcely meet with a poet deserving of the name.

Latin prose likewise degenerated after the reign of Augustus: the philosopher Seneca, the instructor of Nero, exercised an injurious influence upon it by his rhetorical and affected style; an influence which was combated, though in vain, by the great rhetorician Quintilian. In the time of Hadrian and the Antonines, there sprang up a singular fondness for old-fashioned and rare words and expressions, as we see in the works of Apuleius and Fronto. Historical writing laboured under still greater disadvantages; for at that time men were obliged to be as cautious in what they said of their contemporaries, and even of men of a by-gone age, as in any modern state where the censorship

exercises its despotism. Thus the emperor Claudius was compelled to suppress his history of the civil wars because he had treated the subject in too honest a manner; and Arulenus Rusticus and Herennius Senecio were put to death because they praised men whom they thought deserving of commendation but whom Domitian hated. Notwithstanding all this, there arose some historians of eminence, both in regard to their style and to their method of treating their subjects. Among these we must mention Velleius Paterculus (a contemporary and flatterer of Tiberius), Suetonius, and, above all, the great Tacitus, a man who stands pre-eminent and alone in the corrupt age in which he lived. After the time of Commodus, historical composition sank to the lowest state; the only historian of any note, during the remaining period of the empire, was Ammianus Marcellinus, about A.D. 360.

Augustus had given a great impulse to the arts, especially to architecture, by which he and his friends adorned Rome, but his successor entirely neglected it. Nero was fond of the arts, but his bad taste prevented him from doing much good. Vespasian established a picture-gallery in the Temple of Peace; and many an artist must have found employment in the construction of the Arch of Titus and the Colosseum. The reign of Hadrian was the last flourishing period of the arts, though the productions of that age are more distinguished for finish and neatness than for simplicity and sublimity. The most important monuments executed at that period were the column of Trajan, the *Thermae*, the *Odeum*, the arches of Trajan at Ancona and Beneventum, the *Olympium* at Athens, the magnificent villa of Hadrian near Tibur, and the numerous statues of Antinous and the emperors.

While Rome was thus fast sinking in every respect, the Christian religion was quietly rising and spreading itself, and by the blessings it was fitted to confer upon mankind was destined to make an ample compensation for the falling greatness of Rome.

The number of Christians had already become considerable in the western as well as the eastern parts of the empire ; and neither the terrors of persecution, nor the opposition of pagan philosophy, was able to stop its slow but steady progress ; for it contained all that was calculated to afford peace and comfort, and to inspire a certain hope of better things, for which oppressed and suffering humanity was longing.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.	A.U.	
753	1	Foundation of Rome.
753-717	1-37	Romulus. The senate 200.
715-673	39-81	Numa Pompilius. Regulation of the year and of religious ceremonies.
674-641	82-113	Tullus Hostilius. Fall of Alba and origin of the plebs.
640-617	114-137	Ancus Marcius. The founder of the plebeian order. Extension of the city and of its territory. Ostia founded.
616-579	138-175	Tarquinius Priscus. The senate increased to 300. Great works of public utility undertaken.
578-535	176-219	Servius Tullius. Division of the whole people into 30 tribes. Institution of the <i>comitia tributa</i> , the <i>census</i> , and the <i>comitia centuriata</i> .
534-510	220-244	Tarquinius Superbus. The constitution of Servius abrogated.
509	245	Expulsion of Tarquinius and establishment of the republic. First treaty with Carthage.
508-507	246-247	War with Porsenna. Rome besieged.
503	251	Death of Valerius Publicola.
501-496	253-258	War with the Latins.
496	258	Battle of Lake Regillus. Death of Tarquinius Superbus. Conclusion of the mythical period of Roman history.
495	259	Insurrection of the plebs.
494	260	First secession of the plebs: appointment of tribunes of the plebs. Treaty concluded by Sp. Cassius with the Latin confederacy.
493	261	War with the Volscians. Corioli taken.
486	268	League concluded by Sp. Cassius with the Hernicans. First agrarian law proposed.
485	269	Sp. Cassius beheaded. Q. Fabius defeats the Aequians and Volscians.
484-483	270-271	The Curiae assume the right of electing magistrates.
483-475	271-279	War with Veii.
482	272	Consulship of C. Julius and Q. Fabius, chosen by the centuries.
481	273	The tribune Icilius endeavours to obtain the execution of the agrarian law of Sp. Cassius.

B.C.	A.U.	
479	275	M. Fabius conciliates the plebeians. The consul K. Fabius, proposes to distribute lands among the plebeians.
477	277	Defeat of the Fabii by the Etruscans.
476	278	Recovery of the Janiculum from the Etruscans.
475	279	Impeachment of C. Servilius by the tribunes.
473	281	The tribune Genucius assassinated.
472-471	282-283	Publius Volero, trib. pl. carries bills to the effect that the trib. pl. shall be elected by the comitia tributa, and that that assembly may pass <i>plebiscita</i> binding upon all the people.
471	283	Ap. Claudius, the consul, deserted by his army.
470	284	Ap. Claudius is impeached, and commits suicide.
468	286	Struggles between the patricians and plebeians.
465-446	289-308	Wars with the Aequians and Volscians.
463	291	Pestilence at Rome.
462	292	C. Terentillus Arsa, trib. pl. proposes a revision of the laws.
461-456	293-298	Struggles between the two orders. The same tribunes re-elected every year.
458	296	Defeat of L. Minucius. Cincinnatus dictator.
457	297	Tribunes increased from five to ten.
456	298	The tribune Icilius compels the senate to take the plebiscitum into consideration.
454	300	Embassy sent to Greece.
451	303	The decemvirs enter on their office. Laws of the twelve tables promulgated.
450-449	304-305	Second appointment of Decemvirs. Two additional tables of laws compiled. The patricians and their clients incorporated in the local tribes.
449	305	Defeat of two Roman armies by the Sabines and Aequians. Betrayal of Dentatus.
448	306	Death of Virginia. Second secession to Mons Sacer. Valerian laws increasing the power of the plebeians. Impeachment of the Decemvirs.
447	307	Defeat of the Aequians, Volscians and Sabines.
446	308	Defeat of the Aequians at Corbio.
445	309	The tribune C. Canuleius proposes a bill to establish the <i>connubium</i> between the two orders. His colleagues propose another, that one of the consuls shall always be a plebeian.
444	310	Consular tribunes elected.
443	311	The censorship instituted, and <i>duumviri navales</i> appointed.
440	314	Famine at Rome.
439	315	Cincinnatus dictator. Sp. Maelius killed.
438	316	Revolt of Fidenae. War with Veii.
435	319	Fidenae re-conquered.
431	323	War with the Aequians and Volscians.
428	328	War with Veii.
423-418	331-336	War with the Volscians and Aequians.

B.C.	A.U.	
407	347	Unsuccessful war with the Volscians. Pay decreed by the senate to the troops.
405-396	349-358	Siege of Veii. The city taken in the latter year by M. Furius Camillus, dictator.
393	361	Distribution of the Veientine territory among the plebeians.
391	363	War with Vulturni. Camillus goes into exile. The Gauls invade Etruria.
390	364	Battle of the Allia. The Romans defeated by the Gauls. Rome taken and plundered.
389	365	Rome re-built. The Latins and Hernicans renounce their alliance with Rome. The number of the tribes increased to twenty-five.
389-385	365-369	Wars with the Etruscans, Volscians, and Aequians.
385	369	War with Velitrae. Manlius condemned by the curiae, and treacherously killed.
383	371	The Pomptine district assigned to the plebeians.
382	372	War with Praeneste.
381	373	Camillus, consular tribune.
380	374	T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, dictator, takes Praeneste.
376	378	Conclusion of the war against Antium.
376-367	378-387	Struggles between the two orders; anarchy at Rome. C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, trib. pl. every year. Their legislation intended to improve the condition of the plebeians and to increase their political power.
371	383	Consular tribunes elected. War with Velitrae.
368	386	Camillus and P. Manlius appointed dictators; Camillus appointed again, and defeats the Gauls.
366	388	L. Sextius first plebeian consul. First appointment of praetor.
365	389	Death of Camillus. Plague at Rome.
363	391	L. Manlius dictator.
362	392	Impeachment of Manlius. Earthquake at Rome. Self-devotion of M. Curtius.
361	393	War with the Hernicans: defeat of the plebeian consul, L. Genucius. App. Claudius, dictator. Inroad of the Gauls. T. Quinctius Pennus, dictator. Single combat of T. Manlius.
360	394	War with the Tiburtines and Gauls, who are defeated.
359	395	The Tiburtines attempt to surprise Rome by night.
358	396	War with Tarquinii. Renewal of the alliance with Latium. C. Sulpicius defeats the Gauls. C. Poetelius, trib. pl., proposes a law <i>de ambitu</i> .
357	397	C. Licinius fined for an infraction of his own law. Ten per cent. made the legal rate of interest. Privernum taken.
356	398	Defeat of the Etruscans. C. Marcius Rutilius, first plebeian dictator, defeats them a second time.
354	400	Slaughter of Etruscan prisoners.
353	401	War with Caere.

B.C.	A.U.	
352	402	Appointment of commissioners for a general liquidation of debts.
351	403	War with the Tarquinians and Faliscans.
350	404	The Gauls encamp in Latium.
349	405	Single combat of M. Valerius Corvus. Defeat of the Gauls by L. Furius Camillus.
348	406	Renewal of the treaty with Carthage.
347	407	Reduction of the rate of interest to five per cent.
346	408	War with the Volscians. Satricum taken.
343	411	Commencement of first war with the Samnites. Defeat of the Samnites by M. Valerius Corvus.
342	412	Insurrection of the plebeians at Rome, and of the army at Capua. Valerius appointed dictator. General cancelling of debts: various laws passed to diminish the power of the patricians.
341	413	Peace and alliance with the Samnites.
340	414	P. Decius and T. Manlius, consuls. The Romans reject the proposals of the Latins, and declare war against them. Self-devotion of Decius, and defeat of the Latins. Dissolution of the Latin confederacy, and distribution of their domain.
339	415	Renewal of war with the Latins. Q. Publilius Philo, dictator, succeeds in passing three bills to abolish the veto of the <i>curiæ</i> on the measures of the <i>comitia centuriata</i> and <i>tributa</i> , and ordaining that one of the censors shall always be a plebeian.
338	416	Subjugation of Latium concluded.
336	418	Peace with the Gauls.
330	424	Revolt of Fundi and Privernum.
329-328	425-426	Colonies sent to Anxur and Fregellæ.
327	427	War with the Neapolitans.
326	428	Commencement of the second Samnite war. The Samnites defeated by Q. Fabius Maximus at Imbrinium. A law carried that no plebeian shall become a <i>sextus</i> .
321	433	Surrender of the Roman army at the Caudine forks.
320-319	434-435	L. Papirius Cursor defeats the Samnites.
318-317	436-437	Truce with the Samnites.
315	439	The dictator Fabius, defeated by the Samnites.
314	440	Several defeats of the Samnites. Revolt of Capua.
313	441	Many towns taken by the Romans. Colonies founded.
312	442	The consul Valerius defeats the Samnites. App. Claudius, censor; divides all the low people among all the tribes; constructs the Via Appia. Cn. Flavius publishes a calendar of the <i>dies fasti</i> and <i>nefasti</i> .
311	443	War with Etruria breaks out. The Samnites defeated.
310	444	The Samnites defeat the consul C. Marcius. L. Papirius Cursor, dictator, defeats the Samnites. Q. Fabius Maximus defeats the Etruscans.
308	446	Q. Fabius Maximus defeats the Samnites and their allies.
307	447	Fabius, proconsul, takes Allifæ.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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B.C.	A.U.	
306	448	War with the Hernicans. The Samnites defeated.
305	449	Defeat of and truce with the Samnites.
304	450	Peace concluded with Samnium. The Aequians defeated. The Censors place all the low people in the four city tribes.
300	454	The Ogulnian law passed, ordaining that four of the pontiffs and five of the augurs shall always be plebeians.
299	455	Two new tribes formed of Aequians. The Roman territory invaded by the Gauls.
298	456	Commencement of the third Samnite war. The Samnites defeated at Bovianum; the Etruscans at Volaterrae.
297	457	Defeat of the Samnites and Apulians.
295	459	Great defeat of the Samnites, Etruscans, and Gauls at Sentinum. Self-devotion of the consul P. Decius Mus.
293-291	461-463	Famine and epidemic at Rome.
293	461	Samnites totally defeated. First sun-dial set up at Rome.
292	462	Defeat of Q. Fabius Gurgus by the Samnites. Final defeat of the Samnites.
291	463	Execution of C. Pontius, the Samnite general.
290	464	Peace concluded with Samnium. War with the Sabines. Assignments of land in their territory.
287	467	Last secession of the plebs. Q. Hortensius, dictator, abolishes the veto of the senate on the legislative measures of the plebs.
285	469	The Gauls besiege Arretium and defeat the Romans. Utter defeat of the Gauls and Etruscans.
282	472	The relief of Thurii. The Tarentines attack a Roman fleet.
281	473	War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus.
280	474	Pyrrhus defeats the Romans on the Liris.
279	475	The Romans defeated by Pyrrhus near Asculum. Defensive alliance concluded between Rome and Carthage.
278	476	Truce with Pyrrhus, who goes to Sicily. The Romans defeat various nations of Italy.
277	477	War in Samnium. Capture of Croton.
276	478	Pyrrhus returns to Italy.
275	479	Total defeat of Pyrrhus near Beneventum. He abandons Italy.
273	481	Treaty concluded with Ptolemy Philadelphus.
272	482	Conclusion of the war in Southern Italy. Tarentum taken. The era of a great change in the manners and mode of living among the Romans.
269	485	First issue of silver coins at Rome.
268	486	Commencement of the last Samnite war.
266	488	Brundisium taken. Subjugation of Italy completed. Change in the mode of filling up vacancies in the Senate.

B.C.	A.U.	
264	490	Alliance formed with the Mamertines. The Romans land in Sicily and attack the Carthaginians. First gladiatorial exhibition at Rome.
263-241	491-513	The first Punic war.
263	491	Peace with Hiero. Aediles required to defray the expenses of the public festivals and games.
262	492	Agrigentum taken. The first Roman fleet built.
260	494	Duilius obtains the first naval victory over the Carthaginians.
259	495	Attack on Sardinia and Corsica. Conspiracy at Rome.
258	496	Successes of the Romans in Sicily.
257	497	Naval victory off Tyndaria.
256	498	Naval victory off Ecnomus. The Romans land in Africa.
255	499	Regulus takes Tunia, but is defeated and taken prisoner. Naval victory off Cape Hermaeum. The Romans quit Africa. The Roman fleet wrecked.
254	500	The second Roman fleet built. Panormus taken.
253	501	Tib. Coruncanius first plebeian pontifex maximus.
252	502	The Roman fleet wrecked.
250	504	Metellus defeats the Carthaginians at Panormus. The Romans reject the proposal for a peace. Third fleet built. Lilybaeum besieged.
249	505	Claudius Pulcher defeated. The Roman fleet wrecked.
248	506	The Carthaginians land in Italy. Hamilcar Barca appointed their general.
247-244	507-510	Sieges of Lilybaeum and Drepana.
243	511	Hamilcar defeated by C. Fundanius. A second praetor appointed.
241	513	Naval victory off the Aegatian islands. Peace concluded with Carthage. Sicily the first province. Revolt of Falerii.
240	514	The first tragedy produced at Rome by Livius Andronicus.
239	515	Ennius the poet born.
238	516	Sardinia and Corsica taken. War with the natives and with the Gauls. Hamilcar goes to Spain.
232	522	Agrarian law of the tribune C. Flaminius.
229	525	War with the Illyrians. Embassies to Athens and Corinth. Death of Hamilcar.
228	526	Treaty with Hasdrubal.
227	527	Plautus the comedian born.
226	528	Italy invaded by the Gauls.
225	529	Defeat of the Gauls in Etruria.
224	530	The Boii submit. The Romans cross the Po.
223	531	The Insubrians defeated by C. Flaminius.
222	532	The war with the Gauls concluded at the battle of Clastidium. Formation of the province of Gallia Cisalpina.
221	533	Death of Hasdrubal. Pacuvius the poet born.
219	535	Second Illyrian war. Siege of Saguntum by Hannibal. First medical shop opened at Rome by a Greek.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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B.C.	A.U.	
218-202	536-552	The second Punic war.
218	536	Hannibal crosses the Alps into Italy. Battles of the Ticinus and the Trebia. War in Spain.
217	537	Battle of Lake Trasimennus. Q. Fabius Maximus <i>elected</i> dictator.
216	538	Battle of Cannae. Revolt of Capua and many other cities. The war begins to turn in favour of the Romans. Death of Hiero. Successes of the Romans in Spain.
215	539	Hannibal repulsed at Nola. Capua blockaded by the Romans. Hannibal encamps near Rome. Commencement of the first Macedonian war. Sumptuary law of C. Oppius.
214-212	540-542	Siege of Syracuse by Marcellus.
212	542	Hannibal takes Tarentum. The Romans defeated in Spain.
211	543	Capua taken by the Romans. Scipio Africanus appointed to the command in Spain. Takes New Carthage. The Aetolians desert Philip of Macedonia and join the Romans.
209	545	Tarentum re-taken by Fabius. Scipio defeats the Carthaginians near Baecula.
208	546	Hasdrubal sets out for Italy. The Carthaginians evacuate Spain.
207	547	Hasdrubal arrives in Italy; is defeated on the Metaurus and slain. Insurrection in Scipio's army. The Aetolians make peace with Philip.
206	548	Scipio crosses over into Africa; concludes a treaty with Syphax.
205	549	Scipio chosen consul, though under the legitimate age; goes to Sicily. Peace concluded between the Romans and Philip.
204	550	Scipio lands in Africa; defeats the Carthaginians and Syphax. <i>Lex Cincia muneralis</i> .
203	551	Death of Cn. Naevius, the poet.
202	552	Hannibal quits Italy for Africa. Battle of Zama. Peace concluded. Philip forms an alliance with Antiochus the Great. Sextus Aelius Catus promulgates the legal formulae.
201	553	Peace ratified. Scipio returns to Rome. The Roman dominion extends over Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and a great part of Spain; Carthage and Numidia dependent on it. The senate appointed guardian of Ptolemaeus Epiphanes, king of Egypt.
200	554	The Gauls in Italy reduced to obedience. Commencement of the second Macedonian war, and of that against the Ligurians.
198	556	Philip defeated at Antigoneia by Flaminius.
197	557	Battle of Cynosephalae; Philip defeated; peace concluded.
196	558	Flaminius proclaims the independence of Greece. Antiochus takes possession of the Thracian Chersonesus. Hannibal takes refuge at his court.

B.C.	A.U.	
195	559	War with Nabia. Order restored in Spia by Cato. Repeal of the Lex Oppia. Terence born.
194	560	Flaminius returns to Rome in triumph.
193	561	The Aetolians invite Antiochus into Greece.
192	562	Antiochus enters Europe. War with Nabia.
191	563	Antiochus and the Aetolians defeated at Thermopylae. Peace with the Aetolians. The Romans defeat the fleet of Antiochus.
190	564	Antiochus defeated by L. Scipio at Magnesia. Peace concluded with him.
189	565	War with the Aetolians. Peace concluded. War with the Galatians in Phrygia.
187	567	Scipio is accused by Cato of embezzlement, and retires from Rome.
185	569	Death of Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus).
184	570	Cato, Censor, expels L. Quinctius Flaminius from the senate. The senate forbids the erection of a theatre in Rome.
183	571	Hannibal dies by taking poison. Death of Scipio Africanus.*
182	572	Commissioners sent into Macedonia. Masinissa encroaches on the territory of Carthage.
181	573	The Ligurians transplanted to Samnium. War breaks out in Spain. Orchian sumptuary law passed.
180	574	The Villian law relating to magistracies passed.
179	575	Peace restored in Spain by Tib. Sempronius Gracchus. Death of Philip of Macedonia. Perseus recognized as his successor.
178-177	576-577	War with the Istrians. Revolt in Sardinia and Corsica. Subjugation of the former.
174	580	The Carthaginians compelled to submit to Masinissa's encroachments. The streets of Rome ordered to be paved.
172	582	Eumenes goes to Rome to denounce Perseus.
171	583	Perseus declares war against Rome.
171-168	583-586	Third Macedonian war.
168	586	Aemilius Paulus defeats Perseus at Pydna: end of the kingdom of Macedonia. The affairs of Greece settled and Epirus punished. Third Illyrian war; conquest of Illyricum. A Roman embassy compels Antiochus Epiphanes to quit Egypt.
167	587	Aelian and Fufian law passed to check the power of the tribunes.
164	590	The Romans declare Antiochus V. king of Syria.
162	592	The Romans divide Egypt between Philometor and Ptolemy.
161	593	Fannian sumptuary law passed.
155	599	The Athenians send an embassy to Rome.
153	601	War in Spain against the Celtiberians and Lusitanians.

* Vide notes 7 and 8, p. 340, for the various dates assigned to these events.

B.C.	A.U.	
152	602	The Carthaginians take up arms against Masinissa. A law passed to levy the troops by lot.
151	603	The Achaean hostages allowed to return to Greece.
149-146	605-608	The third Punic war.
149	605	A pretender to the throne of Macedonia comes forward. <i>Lex Calpurnia de pecuniis repetundis</i> .
148	606	Carthage besieged. Death of Masinissa and Cato. Insurrection in Greece. Battle of Pydna.
148-140	606-614	War with the Lusitanians under Viriathus.
147	607	P. Cornelius Scipio (Africanus Minor) chosen consul to conduct the war in Africa. War declared between Rome and the Achaeans. Metellus defeats Critolaus.
146	608	Scipio's command continued. Carthage taken and razed to the ground. Mummius defeats the Achaeans, takes Corinth, Thebes, and Calchia, which are plundered and destroyed.
143	611	Another pretender in Macedonia defeated. That country formed into a Roman province. Scipio censor.
143-133	611-621	War against Numantia.
140	614	A peace made with Numantia, but afterwards denied by Q. Pompeius. Assassination of Viriathus.
138	616	D. Junius Brutus subdues Lusitania.
137	617	A peace made with Numantia, but declared invalid by the senate.
134	620	Scipio elected consul and sent against Numantia. Insurrection of slaves in Sicily.
133	621	Numantia destroyed; a Roman province formed in Spain. Death of Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamus. Tiberius Gracchus elected tribune of the people; his legislation and murder.
132	622	Defeat of the slaves in Sicily. Scipio returns from Spain.
131	623	Both the censors plebeians.
131-130	623-624	War in Asia Minor.
129	625	War in Asia Minor concluded. The kingdom of Pergamus formed into a Roman province. Death of Scipio. C. Papirius Carbo carries a law relating to the mode of voting.
126	628	The tribune M. Junius Pennus carries a law ordering all aliens to quit Rome. Destruction of Fregellae. Flaccus defeats the Salluvii, and lays the foundation of the Roman dominion in Gaul.
126-122	628-632	War with the Allobroges and Arverni.
124	630	Caius Gracchus returns to Rome from Sardinia.
123	631	C. Gracchus elected tribune of the people. The Balearian islands subdued.
122	632	C. Gracchus re-elected. Carries a law giving judicial functions to the equites. Endeavours to confer the Roman franchise upon the Italians.
121	633	Optimius consul. C. Gracchus fails in his suit for the tribuneship; his murder. Formation of a Roman province in Gaul.

B.C.	A.U.	
119	635	C. Marius, tribune of the people.
118	636	Death of Micipsa.
117	637	Dalmatia subdued. Murder of Hiempsal.
112	642	Death of Adherbal.
111-106	648-648	War against Jugurtha.
110	644	The Romans compelled by Jugurtha to agree to a peace which the senate refuses to ratify.
109	645	Q. Caecilius Metellus undertakes the command against Jugurtha. The consul M. Junius Silanus, defeated by the Cimbri.
107	647	C. Marius, consul, undertakes the management of the war against Jugurtha. The Cimbri defeat the consul L. Cassius Longinus.
106	648	The war against Jugurtha brought to a close by its capture.
105	649	The Cimbri defeat Q. Servilius Caepio and Cn. Manlius Maximus.
104-103	650-651	Marius's second and third consulship.
102	652	Marius in his fourth consulship completely defeats the Teutones near Aquae Sextiae.
102-99	652-655	Servile war in Sicily.
101	653	Fifth consulship of Marius. Marius and Catulus defeat the Cimbri near Verona. Agrarian law carried by Saturninus.
100	654	Sixth consulship of Marius. Execution of Saturninus and Glaucia. C. Julius Caesar born, 12th of July. Insurrection in Spain.
98	656	War with the Celtiberians.
96	658	The Romans obtain the kingdom of Cyrenaica.
95	659	Law carried by Licinius Crassus and Mucius Scaevola forbidding the Italians to exercise the privileges of Roman citizens.
92	662	Sulla receives an embassy from the king of the Parthians and restores Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia.
91	663	M. Livius Drusus legislates respecting the administration of justice and the extension of the franchise. His assassination.
90-88	664-666	The Social or Marsic war.
90	664	L. Julius Caesar carries a law conferring the franchise on all the Latins.
89	665	The Marsians and Vestinians defeated at Asculum. The franchise granted to all the confederate towns of Italy and the Latin franchise to the Transpadani.
88	666	The Umbrians and Etruscans receive the Roman franchise. The Samnites alone continue the war. Commencement of the first war with Mithridates. Sulla consul, marches to Rome and outlaws Marius and his friends.
87	667	Cinna and Octavius consuls. Civil war in Italy between the Marian and Sullanian parties. Marius returns.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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B.C.	A. U.	
		Rome. Massacre of his opponents. Sulla carries on the war against Mithridates in Greece.
86	668	Seventh consulship and death of Marius. Peace with the Samnites, who receive the Roman franchise. Athens taken by Sulla. L. Valerius Flaccus murdered by Fimbria in Asia.
85	669	Sulla defeats Archelaus at Chaeronea and Orchomenos. Negotiations commenced.
84	670	Interview between Sulla and Mithridates. Peace concluded. Fourth consulship and death of Cinna.
83-81	671-672	Second war with Mithridates.
83	671	Sulla returns to Italy. Civil war.
82	672	Sulla enters Rome. First proscription. Sulla appointed dictator for an indefinite period. Sertorius goes to Spain.
81-80	673-674	Legislation of Sulla. Establishment of an oligarchy: colonies founded: the Roman franchise conferred on 10,000 slaves.
79	675	Sulla lays down the dictatorship.
79-72	675-682	War against Sertorius in Spain: concluded in the latter year by his assassination.
78	676	Death of Sulla. Disputes between Lepidus and Catulus.
78-67	676-687	War against the pirates in the Mediterranean.
77-72	677-682	War against the Thracians.
76-74	678-680	Attempts made to repeal various parts of Sulla's legislation.
74-63	680-691	Third Mithridatic war.
74	680	Siege of Cyzicus by Mithridates: the town relieved by Lucullus.
3-71	681-683	Servile war in Italy under Spartacus: Verres proprætor in Sicily.
72	682	M. Lucullus subdues the Bessi and crosses the Danube.
70	684	Cn. Pompey and M. Crassus, consuls. Sulla's laws respecting the tribunes and the administration of justice repealed.
69	685	Lucullus besieges Mithridates and Tigranes at Tigranocerta: the city taken.
68	686	Insurrection in the army of Lucullus.
67	687	Pompey invested for three years with the supreme command in the Mediterranean. Brings the war against the pirates to a close. Crete subdued by L. Metellus. Lucullus superseded in his command.
66	688	Pompey appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates, whom he defeats on the Euphrates; concludes a peace with Tigranes. Catiline's first conspiracy.
65	689	Caesar becomes the avowed head of the Marian party.
63	691	Cicero consul: discovers and frustrates Catiline's second conspiracy. Death of Mithridates: Pompey constitutes Syria with Phœnicia a Roman province: besieges and takes Jerusalem.

B.C.	A.U.	
62	692	<p> Catiline defeated and slain. Pompey lands in Italy Caesar appointed praetor. </p>
61	693	Pompey arrives at Rome. Caesar in Spain.
60	694	Caesar returns to Rome. The so-called first triumvirate.
59	695	<p> Caesar's first consulship; carries an agrarian law. Receives the provinces of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years. </p>
58-50	696-764	Caesar's campaigns in Gaul.
58	696	Clodius tribune; Cicero goes into exile and is outlawed.
57	697	<p> Cicero recalled. Pompey invested with extraordinary powers. Ptolemy Auletes king of Egypt comes to Rome. </p>
55	699	<p> Second consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Caesar's administration of Gaul prolonged for five years. Caesar crosses the Rhine and lands in Britain. Ptolemy Auletes restored by A. Gabinus. Crassus goes to Syria. </p>
54	700	Second invasion of Britain by Caesar. Crassus enters Mesopotamia.
53	701	Caesar again crosses the Rhine. Death of Crassus, and destruction of his army by the Parthians. Death of Clodius. Riots at Rome.
52	702	<p> Insurrection in Gaul. Caesar besieges Gergovia and takes Alesia and Vercingetorix. Pompey sole consul for five months. </p>
51	703	Cicero appointed governor of Cilicia. Marcellus proposes measures hostile to Caesar.
50	704	Caesar enters Cisalpine Gaul: gives up two legions at the request of the Senate.
49	705	Commencement of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Pompey quits Italy. Caesar goes to Rome. Campaigns in Spain, Africa, &c. Caesar dictator for eleven days.
48	706	<p> Caesar follows Pompey into Greece. Battle of Pharsalus. Assassination of Pompey. Alexandrine war. Caesar appointed dictator for a whole year. M. Antony governs in Italy. </p>
47	707	Pharnaces defeated by Caesar, who returns to Rome, restores order there, and is named dictator for another year. Lepidus, master of the horse.
46	708	<p> African war. Defeat of the Pompeians at the battle of Thapsus. Death of Cato, and surrender of Utica. Caesar reforms the calendar. </p>
45	709	<p> War against the sons of Pompey in Spain. Battle of Munda, and conclusion of the war. Caesar appointed consul for ten years, and dictator and censor for life. <i>Aediles cereales</i> appointed. </p>
44	710	<p> Fifth consulship of Caesar; he adopts his great nephew, M. Octavius: endeavours to obtain the title of king; is assassinated on the 15th of March. M. Antony and Dolabella consuls. Octavius arrives at Rome. Pre- </p>

B.C.	A.U.	
		parations for civil war. Antony declared by the senate a public enemy.
43	711	Civil war in the north of Italy between Antony and the senate. Octavianus consul. The murderers of Caesar outlawed. Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus form the triumvirate. The second proscription. Death of Cicero on the 7th of December. Ovid born.
42	712	War in Greece between the republican party and the triumvirs. Battle of Philippi: death of Cassius. Second battle of Philippi, and death of Brutus. Distribution of lands among the veterans in Italy.
41	713	War of Perusia. Antony in Asia and Egypt.
40	714	War with the Parthians. Antony returns to Italy. War between him and Octavianus. A new alliance formed between them at Brundisium.
39	715	Interview between the triumvirs and Sextus Pompeius. Antony goes to Athens.
38	716	War between Octavianus and Pompeius.
37	717	Antony comes to Tarentum with 300 ships. The office of the triumvirs continued for five years longer.
36	718	Pompeius attacked in Sicily, and compelled to flee into Asia. Lepidus ceases to be one of the triumvirs. Antony commences the war against the Parthians, but without success.
35	719	Pompeius put to death at Miletus. Octavianus wages war against the Japydes and Pannonians. Antony repudiates Octavia.
34	720	Antony invades and subdues Armenia. Octavianus proceeds to Dalmatia.
33-32	721-722	Second and third consulships of Octavianus, who remains at Rome. War declared against Antony at the end of the latter year.
31	723	Battle of Actium, in which the fleet of Antony and Cleopatra is totally defeated, 2nd of September. Octavianus proceeds to the East.
30	724	War in Egypt. Death of Antony and Cleopatra. Egypt made a Roman province. Conspiracy formed by M. Lepidus, who is arrested and put to death.
29	725	Octavianus returns to Rome and celebrates a threefold triumph. The Temple of Janus closed. End of the Roman republic.
27	727	Octavianus receives the titles of <i>Augustus</i> and <i>Imperator</i> . Division of the provinces between him and the Senate. War with the Dacians.
27-24	727-730	Augustus conducts the war in Spain against the Cantabri.
25-15	729-741	War against the Alpine tribes, who are at length completely subdued.
24	730	Augustus formally exempted from all laws. Unsuccessful expedition into Arabia Felix.
23	731	Augustus is invested with the tribunician power for life. Death of his nephew Marcellus.

B.C.	A.U.	
22	732	Conspiracy against Augustus discovered and suppressed. Candace invades Egypt.
20	734	War in Africa. The Parthians restore the Roman standards. Ambassadors come to Augustus from the Scythians and India.
19	735	Death of Virgil.
16	738	The Romans defeated by the Germans.
16-13	738-741	Augustus in Gaul.
12	742	Death of Lepidus. Augustus becomes pontifex maximus. Death of Agrippa. Tiberius marries Julia. War in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Germany.
12-9	742-745	Campaigns of Drusus in Germany; his death in the latter year.
10	744	The Emperor Claudius born.
8	746	Tiberius defeats the Germans, and transplants 40,000 of them to the left bank of the Rhine.
6	748	Tiberius receives the tribunician power for five years, and retires to Rhodes.
or 3	750 or 751	Birth of Christ.*
1	753	Caius Caesar made consul and sent to Asia.
A.D.	A.U.	
2	755	Julia exiled: Tiberius returns to Rome.
4	757	Tiberius adopted by Augustus. Death of Caius Caesar.
5	758	Tiberius assumes the command on the Rhine. The country between the Rhine and the Weser formed into a province.
6	759	Preparations for war against the Marcomanni. Revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians.
9	760	Lex Papia Poppaea passed.
7-9	760-762	War with them, and their submission in the latter year.
8	761	Death of Maecenas and Horace.
9	762	Destruction of the Roman army under Varus by the Cherusci, and loss of the province east of the Rhine.
14	767	Census held. Death of Augustus at Nola, 19th of August.
14-37	767-790	Reign of Tiberius.
14	767	Insurrections among the legions in Pannonia and on the Rhine.
14-16	767-769	Campaigns of Germanicus in Germany.
17	770	Germanicus triumphs at Rome, and is sent into the East. Death of Ovid.
19	772	Death of Germanicus near Antioch. Campaigns of Drusus in Germany.
20-31	773-784	Sway of Seianus.
21	774	Subjugation of Gallic insurgents.
22	775	War in Numidia.
23	776	The <i>castra praetoria</i> formed at Rome. Drusus poisoned by Seianus.
26	779	Tiberius withdraws to the island of Capreae.

* Vide note, p. 374.

A.D.	A.U.	
28	781	Revolt of the Frisians.
29	782	Tiberius's relatives banished. Death of his mother Livia.
31	784	Fall and execution of Seianus.
33	786	Death of Agrippina and Drusus.
37	790	Tiberius murdered by Macro, in March.
37-41	790-794	Reign of Caligula.
37	790	Put to death many of his own relatives and friends. The emperor Nero born.
38	791	Death of Drusilla.
49	792	Caligula goes into Gaul. A conspiracy against him discovered and suppressed.
40	793	Sets out on an expedition to Britain.
41	794	Caligula murdered, 24th January.
41-54	794-807	Reign of Claudius. Wars with the Germans.
41	794	The emperor proclaims an amnesty.
42	795	A conspiracy discovered. Mauritania divided into two provinces.
43-51	796-804	War in Britain.
43	796	Claudius in Britain.
44	797	Death of Agrippa. Judaea and Samaria placed under Roman governors.
47	800	The Cherusicans apply to Claudius for a king. The Frisians subdued.
48	801	Execution of Messalina. Claudius marries Agrippina, whose son, Nero, he adopts.
50	803	War with the Parthians. Colonia Agrippina founded.
51	804	Caractacus taken prisoner and sent to Rome. The south-eastern part of Britain formed into a province.
54	807	Claudius poisoned, 13th of October.
54-68	807-821	Reign of Nero.
54-59	807-812	Nero governs with prudence and moderation.
54	807	War with the Parthians in Armenia.
56	809	Britannicus poisoned.
58	811	Tiridates driven out of Armenia.
60	813	Agrippina, Nero's mother, murdered by his order. Complete subjugation of Armenia.
61	814	Insurrection in Britain under Boadicea.
62	815	The emperor's wife, Octavia, banished, and soon afterwards murdered. The Parthians again invade Armenia.
64	817	Conflagration at Rome. First persecution of the Christians.
65	818	A conspiracy against Nero discovered and suppressed. Lucan, the poet, and Seneca put to death.
66	819	Tiridates, king of Armenia, comes to Rome to receive his crown from the emperor.
67	820	Nero goes to Greece, and enters the contests at the Olympian games. Insurrection of the Jews. Vespasian appointed to the command against them.
68	821	Insurrection in Gaul. Servius Galba proclaimed emperor. Nero kills himself on the 9th of June.
68-69	821-822	Reign of Galba. A. Vitellius appointed to command on

A.D.	A.U.	
		the Rhine. Otho forms a conspiracy against Galba, who is murdered in the forum, January A.D. 69.
69	822	Reign of Otho. The praetorians appoint their own commander. Vitellius proclaimed emperor by the legions on the Rhine. War between Otho and Vitellius. Otho kills himself on the 16th of April.
69	822	Reign of Vitellius. Vespasian proclaimed emperor at Alexandria. The army of Vitellius defeated at Bedriacum. Rome taken and Vitellius killed, on the 20th of December.
69-79	822-832	Reign of Vespasian. Order and discipline restored. The Colosseum built.
70	823	Vespasian arrives at Rome. Jerusalem taken by his son Titus. War in Gaul.
71	824	Disturbances in Britain. Agricola goes thither.
74	827	Helvidius Priscus put to death.
77	830	Agricola appointed governor of Britain.
79	832	Conspiracy formed against the emperor, but discovered : he dies on the 23rd of June.
79-81	832-834	Reign of Titus. Peace throughout the empire.
79	832	Eruption of Vesuvius, and destruction of Herculaneum, Stabiae and Pompeii.
80	833	Great fire at Rome followed by a pestilence.
81	834	Inauguration of the Colosseum. Death of Titus, on the 13th of September.
81-96	834-849	Reign of Domitian.
84	837	The emperor conducts a war against the Chatti, and assumes the name of Germanicus. Agricola defeats the Caledonians under Galgacus.
85	838	Agricola recalled to Rome.
86	838	Birth of the emperor Antoninus Pius.
86-90	839-843	War against the Dacians.
90	843	War against the Quadi and Marcomanni : Domitian defeated by them, concludes a peace with the Dacians.
91	844	Insurrection and defeat of L. Antonius in Germany.
95	848	Persecution of the Jews and Christians.
96	849	Conspiracy formed by the emperor's wife and others : Domitian assassinated, 18th of September.
96-98	849-851	Reign of Nerva, who attempts to combine political freedom and the sovereign power of the monarch.
97	850	The emperor adopts M. Ulpius Trajan.
98	851	Death of Nerva on the 27th of January.
98-117	851-870	Reign of Trajan.
99	852	Trajan arrives at Rome : first idea of a public system of education.
100-102	853-855	War with the Dacians, who are compelled to sue for peace.
104	857	War with the Dacians. Trajan constructs a stone bridge over the Danube.
105	858	Dacia formed into a Roman province. Arabia Petraea subdued.

A.D.	A.U.	
114	867	War with the Parthians. Armenia made a Roman province. The <i>columna Trajana</i> erected at Rome.
115	868	Trajan subdues Assyria and Parthia.
116	869	Revolt of the Assyrians and Parthians.
117	870	Trajan enters Arabia; while returning to Rome, dies in Cilicia on the 9th of August.
117-138	870-891	Reign of Hadrian.
117	870	Hadrian proclaimed emperor at Antioch. Renounces all conquests east of the Euphrates.
118	871	Hadrian returns to Rome; sets out for Moesia: a conspiracy against him discovered: returns to Italy. War against the Sarmatae.
119	872	The emperor begins a journey through all the provinces of the empire, beginning with Gaul and Germany.
121	874	Goes to Britain, Gaul, and Spain. The emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus born.
122	875	Hadrian returns to Rome: goes to the east.
122-125	875-878	The emperor at Athens.
129	882	Visits Africa and the east: returns to Athens.
131	884	The <i>Edictum perpetuum</i> promulgated. Insurrection of the Jews in Syria.
135	888	The emperor adopts L. Aelius Verus.
138	891	Death of Verus: Hadrian adopts Antoninus Pius; dies on the 10th of July.
138-161	891-914	Reign of Antoninus Pius. Nearly unbroken peace over the whole empire: the Christians tolerated and protected.
141	894	The Brigantes defeated in Britain.
145	898	Marriage of M. Aurelius to the emperor's daughter Faustina.
153	906	Conflagrations at Narbonne, Antioch, and Carthage.
161	914	Death of the emperor on the 7th of March.
161-180	914-933	Reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus.
161	914	Birth of the Emperor Commodus. L. Verus made the emperor's colleague.
162-166	915-919	War with the Parthians, who are compelled to sue for peace.
167	920	Pestilence at Rome.
167-174	920-927	War with the northern tribes.
169	922	The emperor's return to Rome. Death of Verus.
174	927	Great victory over the Quadi. Insurrection of Avidius Cassius in Syria.
175	928	Aurelius in the East.
176	929	Returns to Rome: makes his son Commodus his colleague.
177-180	930-933	War with the Marcomanni.
177	930	Persecution of the Christians in Gaul.
180	933	Death of Aurelius at Vienna on the 17th of March.
180-192	933-945	Reign of Commodus.
182	935	Conspiracy formed against the emperor by his sister.
184	937	The Caledonians defeated.

A.D.	A.U.	
186	939	The legions in Britain demand the deposition of Perennis.
189	942	Cleander, his successor, torn in pieces by the populace at Rome.
192	945	Assassination of Commodus on the 31st of December.
193	946	The reign of Pertinax for three months, when he was assassinated.
		The sovereignty sold to Didius Salvius Julianus.
476	1229	The overthrow of the Western Empire.

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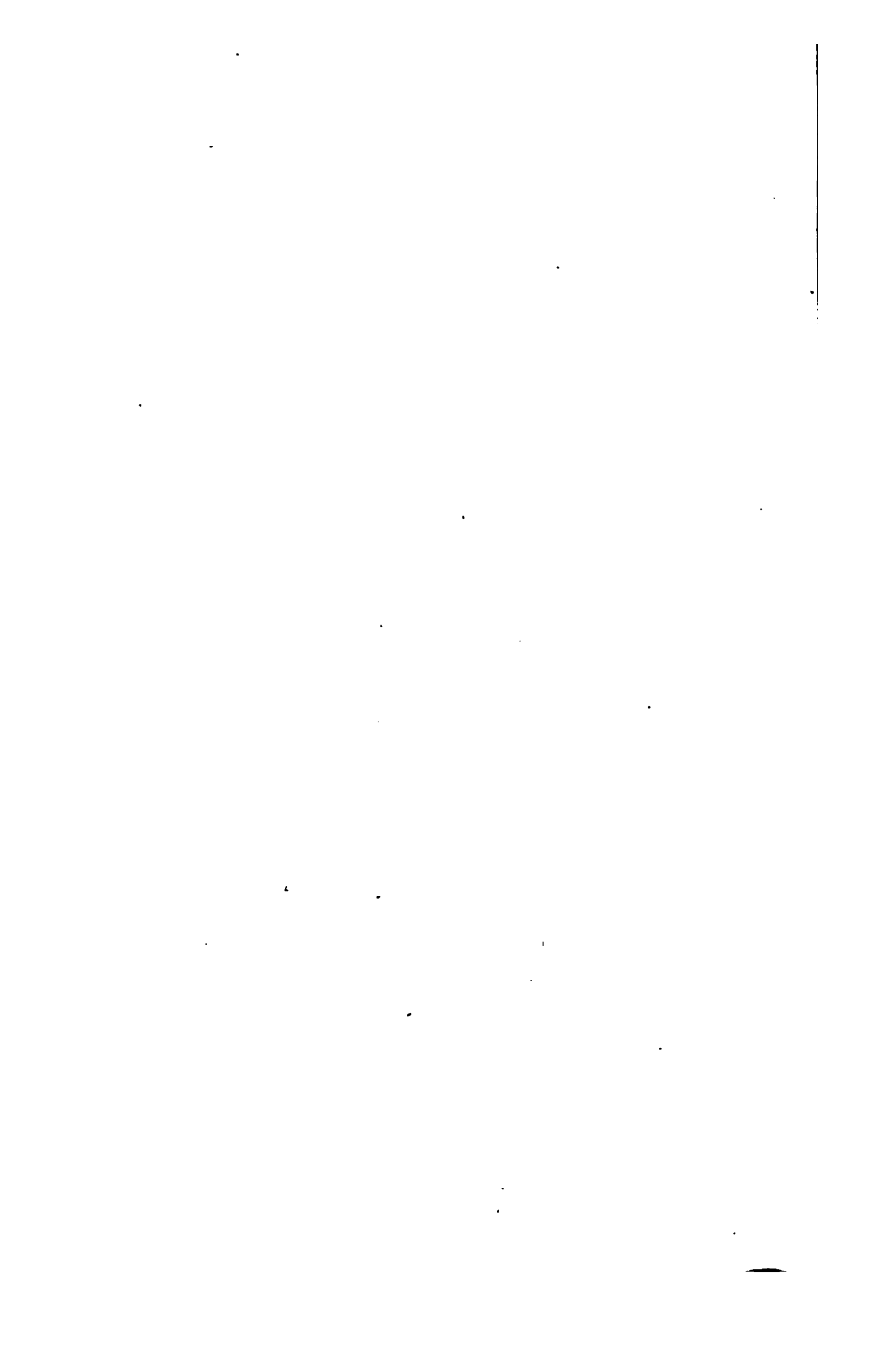
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